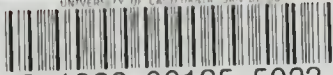


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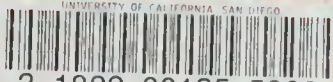
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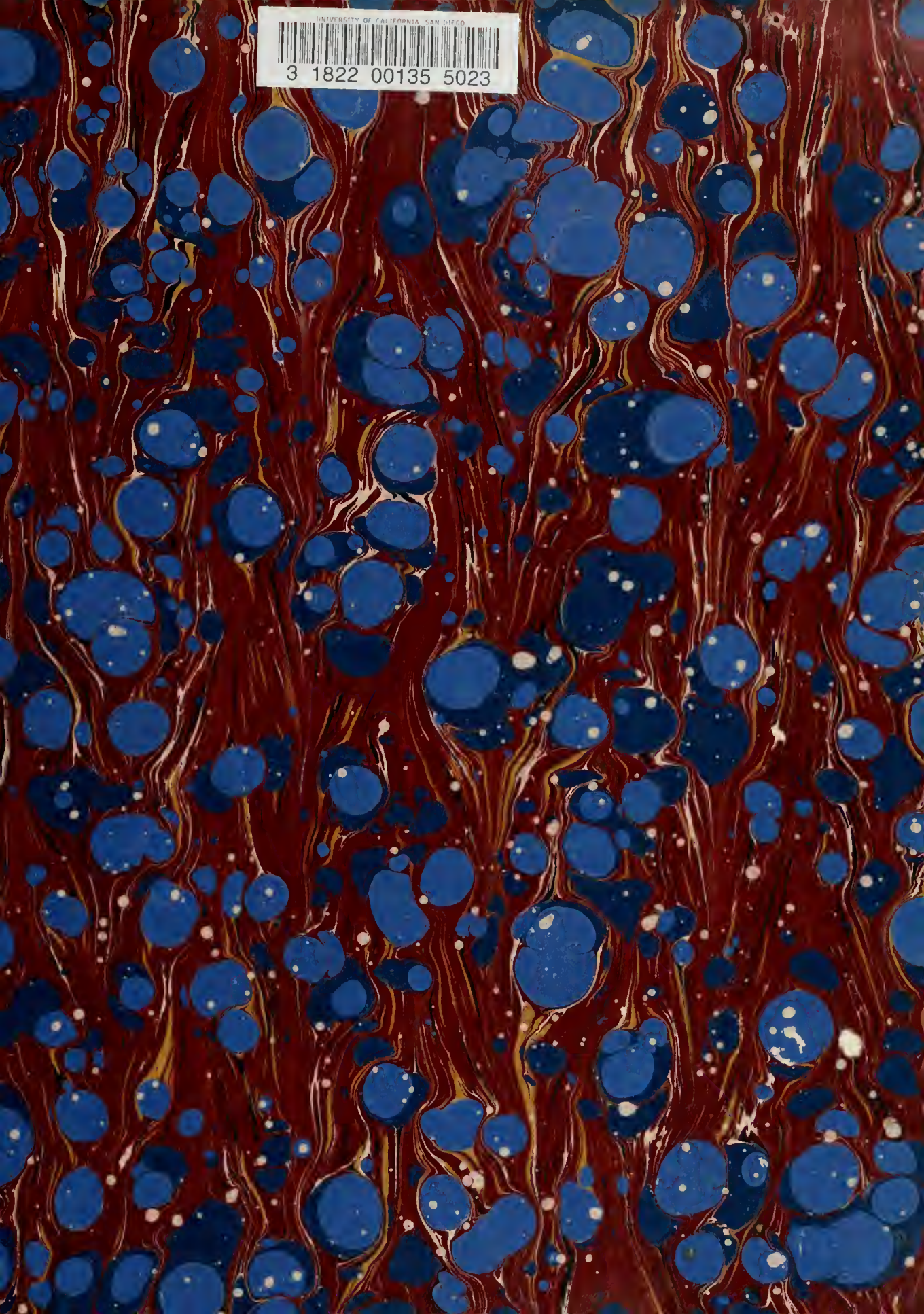
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# CANADA

AN ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF THE COUNTRY









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# CANADA

## AN ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF THE COUNTRY

THE CANADIAN DOMINION CONSIDERED IN ITS HISTORIC RELATIONS, ITS NATURAL RESOURCES, ITS MATERIAL PROGRESS, AND ITS NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

---

BY A CORPS OF  
EMINENT WRITERS AND SPECIALISTS

---

IN FIVE VOLUMES

---

EDITED BY  
**J. CASTELL HOPKINS**

A thor of Life and Work of Sir John Thompson, Life and Reign of Queen Victoria, Life and Work of Mr. Gladstone, The Sword of Islam: or Annals of Turkish Power.  
Corresponding Member of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Member of the American Historical Society,  
Member of the Council of the British Empire League in Canada.

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ILLUSTRATED

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VOLUME V.

THE LINSOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY  
TORONTO, CANADA

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by the Bradley-Garretson Company, Limited, in the office of the Minister of Agriculture.



THE HON. SIR ALEXANDRE LACOSTE,  
Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench, Quebec.



## PREFACE

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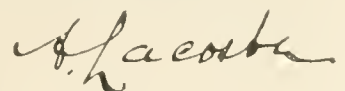
THE HON. SIR ALEXANDRE LACOSTE, Knt., D.C.L., LL.D., Chief Justice of the Quebec Court of Queen's Bench.

**M**R. CASTELL HOPKINS has well fulfilled the promise of his Prospectus. His work is, in every sense, an encyclopædia of the country, a really national work, from whose pages we can obtain the most varied and comprehensive information in regard, practically, to every subject relating to Canada. In it, the most interesting questions are treated by men, many of whom, to say the least, are so prominently and eminently identified with their several subjects as to give a stamp of authority to their utterances. The public will, no doubt, greatly appreciate the energy and patience and ability displayed by Mr. Castell Hopkins in the arduous work which he has so patriotically undertaken, of making Canada better known and thereby contributing to its importance and *prestige*.

The combination, in a single work, of contributions by writers from all the different sections of the country will extend to a greatly enlarged circle a knowledge of our distinguished compatriots, and an appreciation of the sentiments of the different sections of Canada and of the different races by whom they are inhabited. It is in the interest of our common citizenship that we should be brought more nearly together, and be taught by such a work as this to know each other better, and thus dispel the prejudices which separation tends to create. If this Canada of ours is ever to reach our high ideal it must be by more intimate companionship, cordiality and mutual confidence amongst the residents of its now comparatively separated Provinces. It is especially important for us, French-Canadians, that our fellow-countrymen of other origins should learn to know us better and appreciate more correctly the genuine sentiments of patriotism by which we are animated, in common with themselves.

It is not surprising that those who know nothing of us can be easily induced to believe that our origin, our language, and our religion, and the affections they naturally inspire, are incompatible with the patriotism and devotion which should animate every true Canadian subject of Great Britain. No impression could be more misleading and more unfortunate. They ignore or forget that, even within fifteen years after the cession of Canada to Great Britain, the French-Canadian militia were amongst those who contributed most to repel the armies of the American Congress under the walls of Quebec, and that it was a French-Canadian who, in 1812, won for England the victory of Chateauguay. We certainly cannot give a better evidence of devotion than to shed our blood in defence of our country. If England had sought to smother in the folds of her victorious banners the different creeds and sentiments of the people of her various Colonies, I may venture to say that her loyal subjects would fall far short to-day of the hundreds of millions who now recognize allegiance to her. It is, above all, to her liberal political policy that she owes the retention of her principal Colony on this continent. She relies on the merits and advantages of her institutions as her strongest hold upon the loyalty and devotion of her subjects, and she is right in doing so. We French-Canadians love the English constitution and we share in the pride of it in common with our fellow-subjects of English birth. We are "Britishers", and for the institutions which as such we enjoy, we would, if need be, shed our blood. We are satisfied with Confederation: the constitution which it has given us is, if respected by all, the safety and protection of all. We move forward, side by side with our fellow-citizens, full of hope and confidence in the future; working without any mental reservation to the best of our ability for the prosperity and glory of our common country; inspired by sentiments of liberality and charity for all our compatriots.

It is in such a spirit of liberality that Mr. Castell Hopkins has invoked the aid of representative Canadians of all classes to contribute to the valuable work which he is now bringing to a conclusion. May it serve the double purpose of increasing the respect for Canada abroad and cementing the spirit of union and harmony amongst us at home.



## EDITOR'S NOTE TO VOLUME V.

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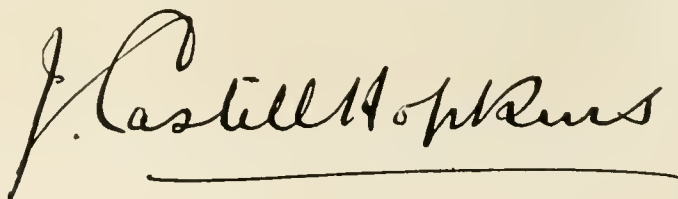
THE five Volumes of the Canadian Encyclopædia now presented to the public will perhaps warrant a few personal words from the Editor—words of utterly inadequate thanks to the contributors, of congratulation to the enterprising and energetic Publishers, of appreciation for the very practical support given to an arduous undertaking by subscribers throughout Canada and other English-speaking countries. For himself, he may truly say that a work of this nature has been the dream of years and that although the Volumes have been directly planned and published in the course of a comparatively brief period, they are, so far as the Editor is responsible, the result of many years' study of Canadian affairs.

The plan of arrangement is original, as stated in the Introduction to the first Volume, and does not attempt to imitate in form any other work of an Encyclopædic nature. It is not alphabetical, and the various branches of some wide and far-reaching subject are not therefore scattered under different headings throughout a series of volumes. Those who are interested in Mining or in Agriculture, in Educational Systems or in the Universities, in a particular religious Denomination or a special constitutional epoch, will find varied information upon the subject desired, gathered together in the one Section. And, as the years pass by, can there be any doubt that the mass of history here condensed in contributions by men of recognized experience, authority or standing in the Canadian community, will become increasingly valuable as a source of knowledge regarding past conditions, when the Work has served its more immediate purpose of current reference. No history of Canada deals with the topics of mineral, agricultural, educational, or general material development which are included within the pages of this Work and the Editor may therefore be permitted to draw attention to the matter as a particular feature of his plan.

The Editor's Notes are, perhaps, a somewhat unique feature of the Volumes. The intention was to provide extracts from official documents, historic speeches, political manifestoes, etc., bearing upon the subject in hand and difficult of access to the ordinary reader, although necessary to a complete comprehension of the text. Biographies were only introduced where it seemed desirable to throw light upon names mentioned in the body of the Work. This arrangement also enabled the Editor to bring together statistical tables, lists of important appointments and tabulated references of various kinds which would have been impossible, or else very greatly scattered, under the ordinary Encyclopædic treatment.

A few words of special thanks must be given here. Mr. George Johnson, Dominion Statistician; Mr. R. E. Gosnell, late Provincial Librarian at Victoria; Mr. F. Blake Crofton, Provincial Librarian at Halifax; Dr. George Bryce, of Winnipeg; Sir James M. LeMoine, of Quebec and the Hon. George W. Ross, of Toronto; have given the Editor much kindly assistance from time to time. Sincere appreciation may also be expressed for help accorded by the Earl of Aberdeen when Governor-General of Canada; to Lord Strathcona, Canadian High Commissioner in London; to Sir Charles Tupper, Bart.; and to Sir Sandford Fleming, of Ottawa. Mr. James Bain, Jr., of the Toronto Public Library, Mr. Benjamin Sulte, of Ottawa, and Mr. John Reade, of the Montreal *Gazette*, have been more than generous with an assistance which cultured and courteous sympathy has rendered pleasant as well as practical. To the Rev. Dr. William Gregg and the Rev. Dr. R. H. Warden in connection with the Presbyterian Church history; to Lieut.-Colonel James Mason and Mr. L. Homfrey-Irving in connection with Militia matters; to Mr. P. F. Cronin, Editor of the *Catholic Register*, and Mr. Avern Pardoe, Provincial Librarian of Ontario, as well as to very many others; the Editor's thanks are greatly due and most cordially given.

In conclusion, it may be permissible to say that in such measure as these Volumes build into the edifice of Canadian development a few more bricks of knowledge concerning the resources, history and progress of the Dominion, in such degree will the Editor feel rewarded. And, as the circulation of the Work extends in Great Britain and other countries, where people are seeking information upon matters pertaining to Canada, it does not seem unreasonable for him to hope that these Volumes may also prove of some service to the future of our country.

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THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.

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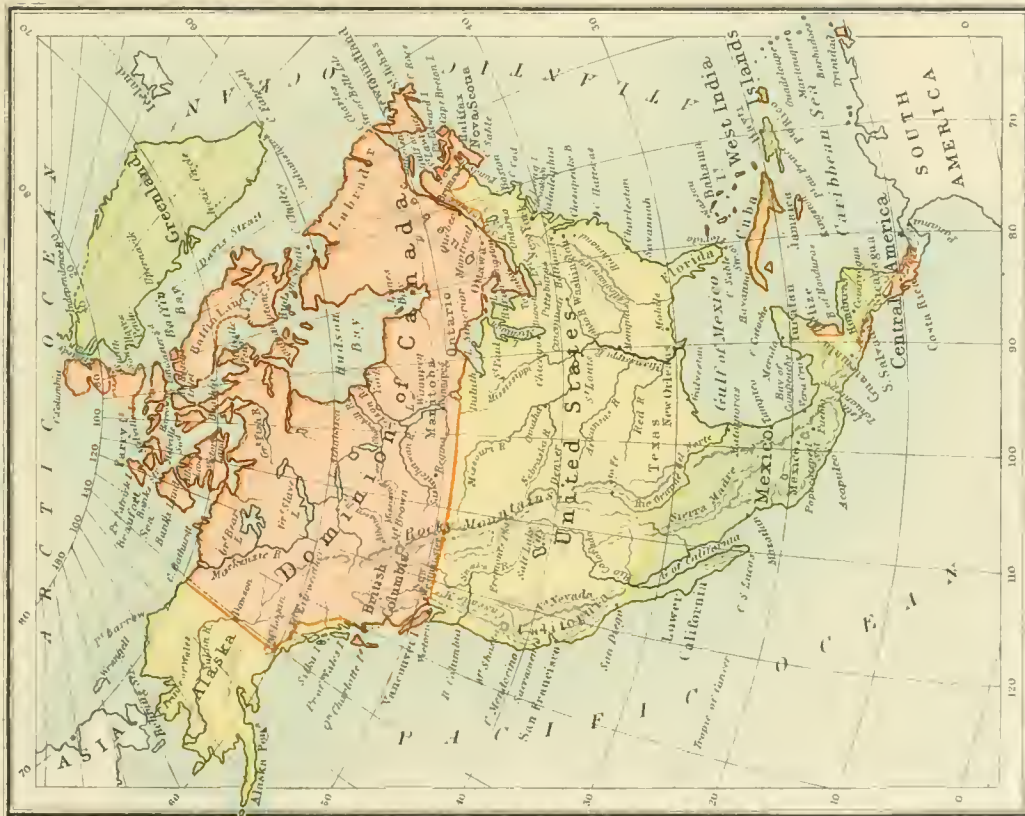
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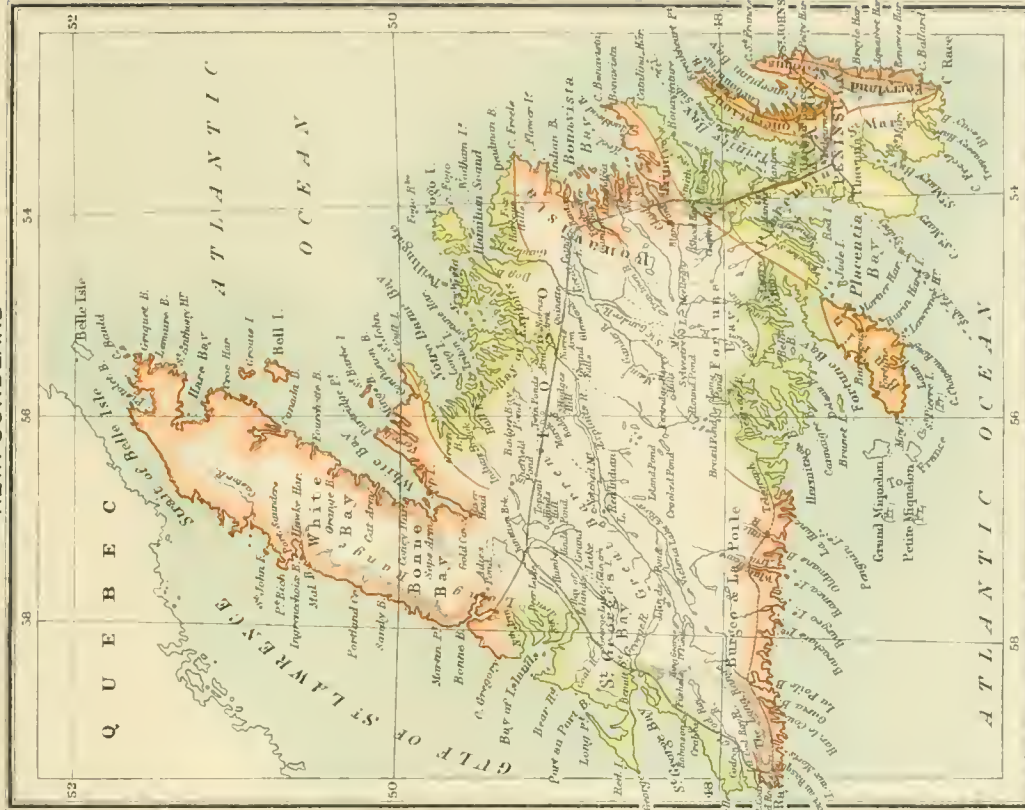
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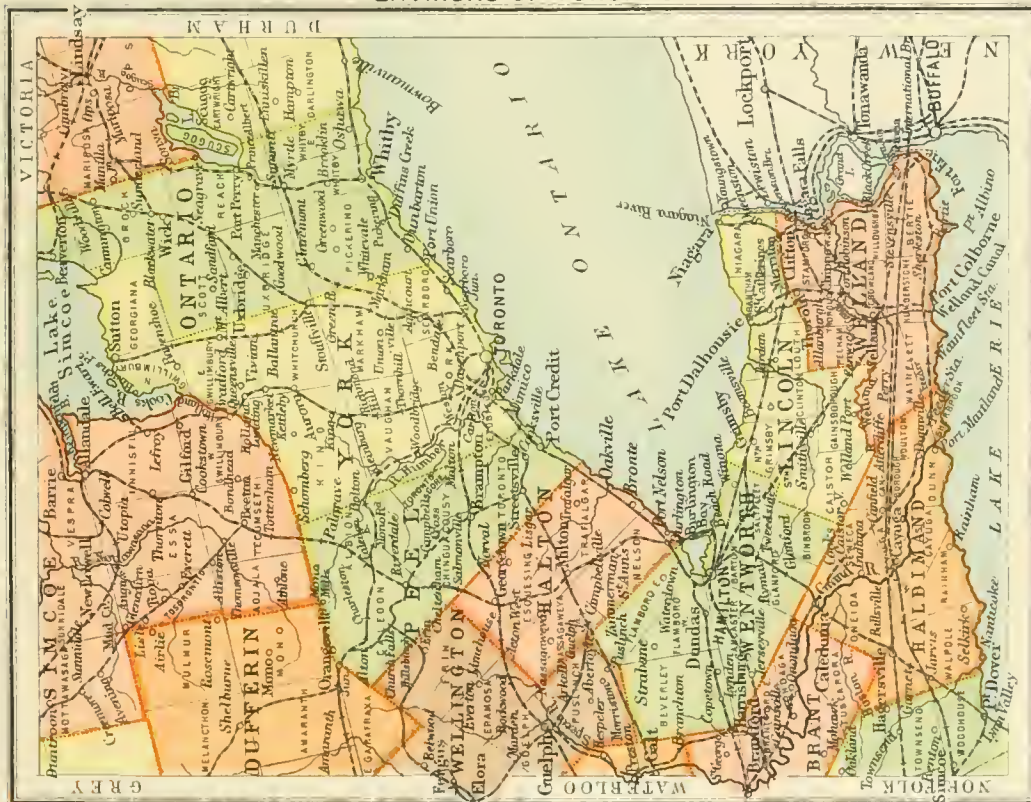




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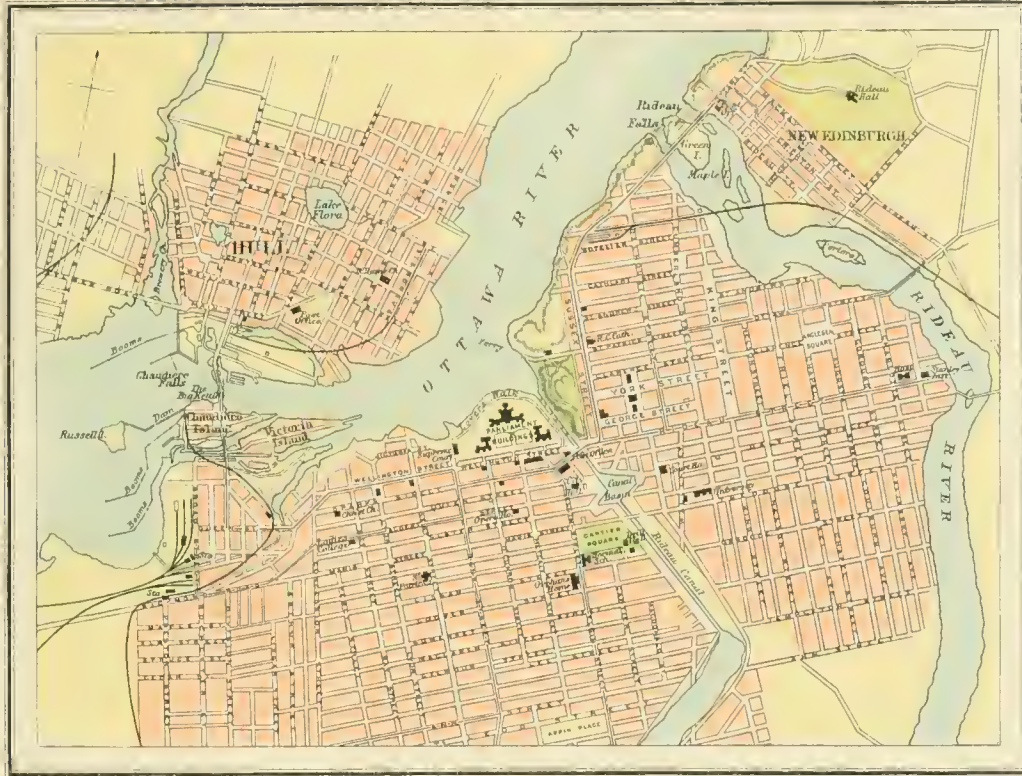


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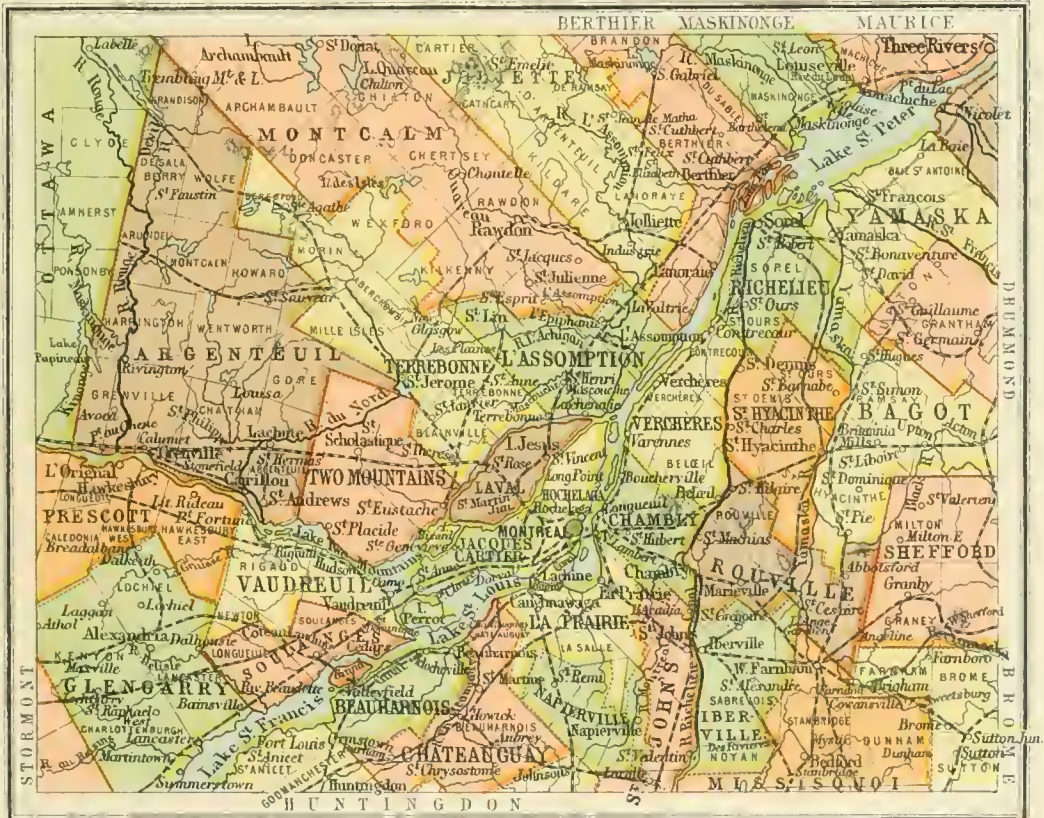




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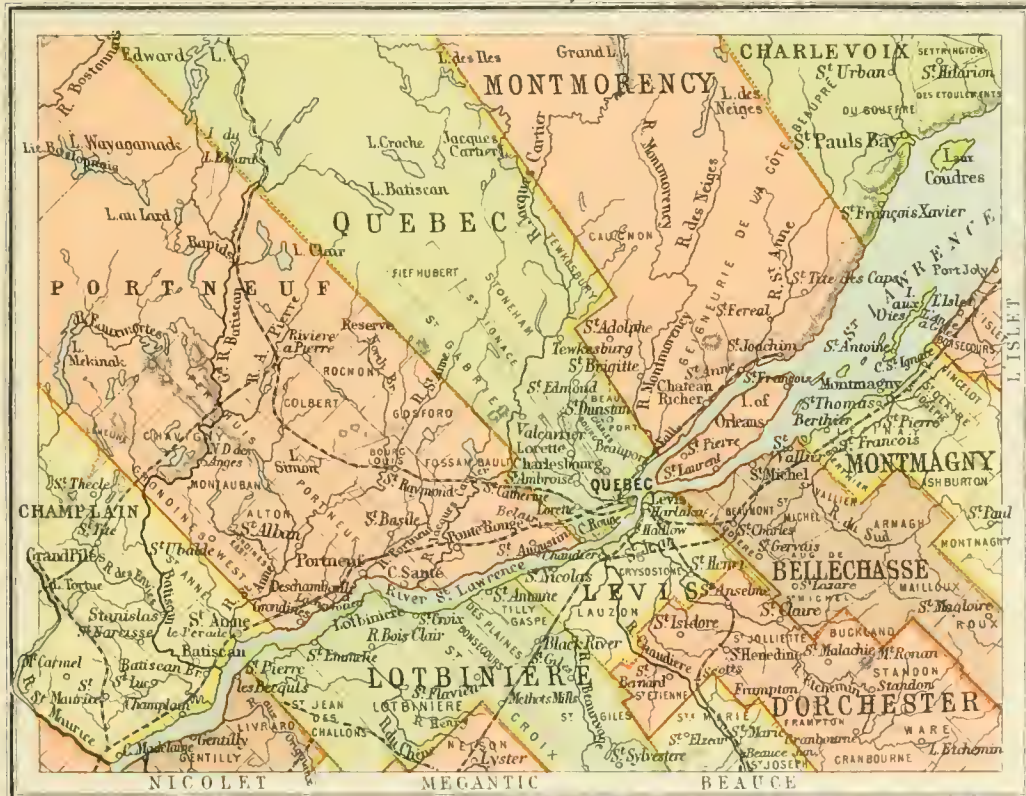


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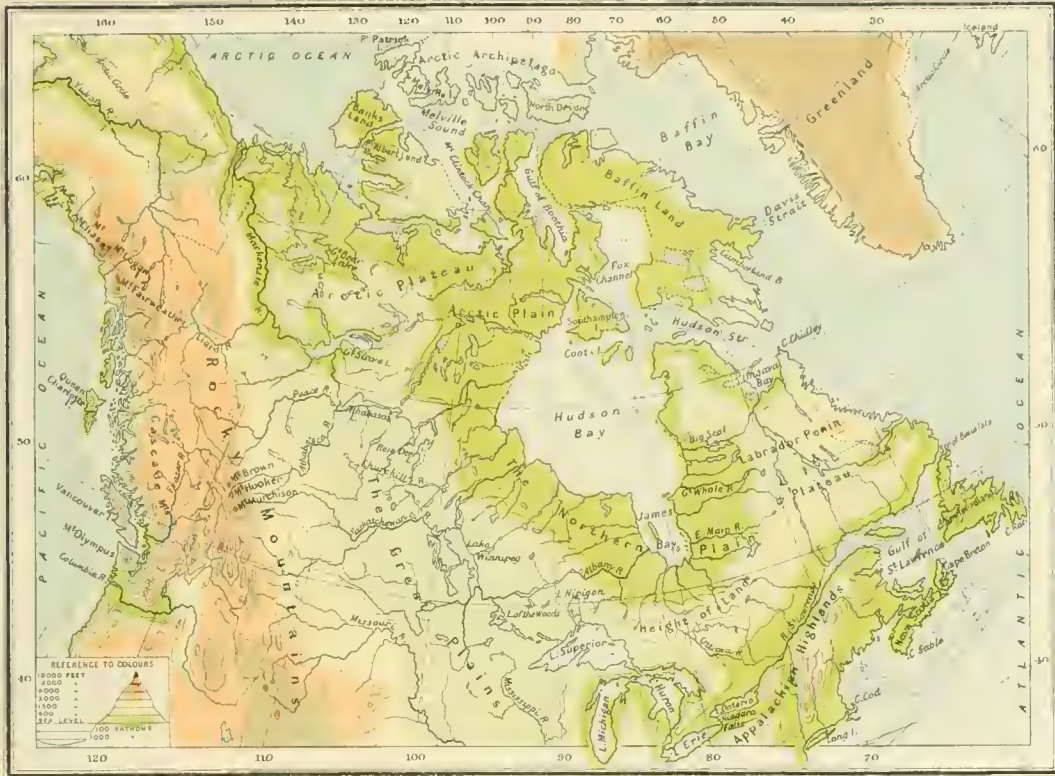
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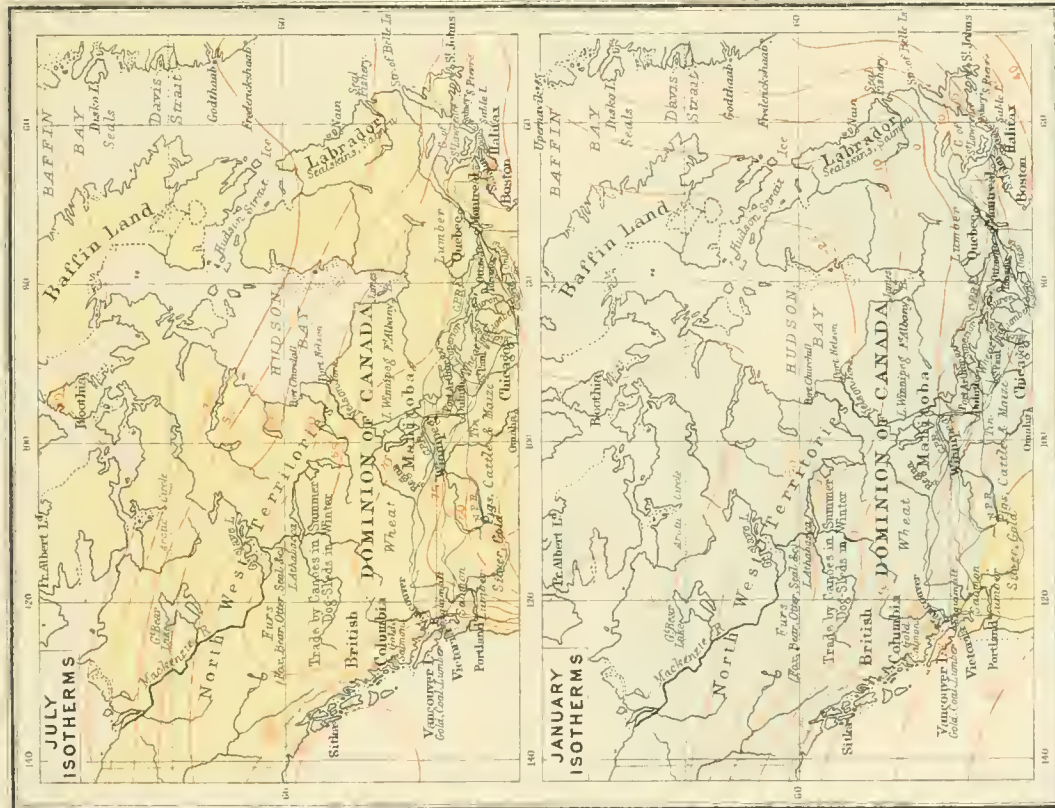
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# CANADA—OROGRAPHICAL FEATURES



# CANADA—TEMPERATURE





# SECTION I.

AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT.





## PIONEERS OF THE CANADIAN FARM

BY

WILLIAM K. MCNAUGHT, President of the National Club, Toronto.

STRANGERS travelling through Canada for the first time are generally impressed with the beauty of the country, which, though lacking the garden-like appearance of the more highly cultivated parts of Europe, nevertheless bears upon its face the impress of intelligent and sustained tillage. It would doubtless be hard to make them believe that, generally speaking, the civilization of Canada is hardly more than a century old, and that practically the whole country, except some small and isolated settlements, was a century ago a primeval wilderness, held in almost undisputed possession by the wild beasts of the forest and the native Red men, who depended upon the chase for their subsistence. Perhaps no two pictures could present a greater contrast than the Canada of a century ago and Canada as it stands to-day.

A hundred years since, this country, with the exception of the few isolated settlements already referred to, was almost absolutely in a state of nature which, although beautiful to the eye of the painter, afforded but little real satisfaction to the settler, who was forced to wrest his livelihood from the soil itself. At that period of its history even those harbingers of civilization, the trappers, had hardly begun to put in an appearance, and, while adventurous and hardy *voyageurs* and *couriers de bois* occasionally penetrated the solitudes, they did so only as a means of obtaining access to those great mercantile forts which the genius and indomitable perseverance of the founders of the Hudson's Bay Company had planted throughout the north-western half of the American continent. The arable lands of Ontario, and the vast prairies of the North-West which now furnish food and offer homes to the teeming millions of the old world, were as yet unbroken by the plough, and no larger craft than

the tiny birch-bark canoe, propelled by the paddle of some dusky savage, had ever furrowed the magnificent inland seas which are now whitened by the sails or lashed into foam by the steamships which bear within their bosoms the commerce of half a continent.

To-day, in the Dominion of Canada, we not only have highly cultivated farms almost invulnerable; but dotted over the entire country may be found towns and cities which will compare not unfavourably with those of older lands. The snort of the iron horse is heard from one end of the country to the other, while tall and smoke-belching chimneys evidence the fact that the manufacturing industries of the land have developed abreast of its requirements and resources. This transformation, more wonderful in its way than that performed by the *genii* of Alladin's Lamp, challenges at once the wonder as well as the admiration of those who know anything of the obstacles which had to be overcome in order to turn this Dominion from a wilderness into one of the most fruitful countries upon the face of the earth. While there have undoubtedly been many agencies at work to bring about the present state of affairs, and each is deserving of its due share of credit, it is nevertheless beyond question that the original and most potent factor, and the one which has really made all subsequent achievements possible, is to be found in the labours of our Canadian pioneers.

These lowly and obscure toilers in the midst of our trackless forests laid broad and deep the foundation of Canada's position. It was their labour and skill which cleared the forests, opened up the highways, laid out the sites of our towns and cities, and utilized the water powers which form the basis of our manufacturing industries. They did all this and more, for by their uprightnes

and purity of life, and their perseverance in overcoming difficulties of every conceivable kind, they laid the foundation of a national character which has made the name "Canadian" a synonym for intelligence, perseverance and integrity wherever it is known. To the great world at large, the vast majority of these humble toilers are absolutely unknown. Like the heroic rank and file of the British armies which under the leadership of the indomitable Clive conquered India, or inspired by the genius of Wolfe added Canada to the Empire, these pioneer heroes have passed away, and even their names have been forgotten, except by their immediate descendants. They left their impress upon the country, however, and their life work is writ in large and indelible letters upon the pages of Canadian history.

In the days of the early pioneers, railways were absolutely unknown, and even ordinary gravel or, in fact, any other kind of passable waggon roads were conspicuous by their absence. To-day, as a rule, the railway precedes the settler, and where this is not practicable our paternal Provincial Governments open up the country for settlement by means of what are known as "colonization roads," which being properly ditched and gravelled are fairly useful at all seasons of the year. In the pioneer days the only roads were "trails" through the forest, made by cutting down the underbrush from a space wide enough to admit of the passage of an ordinary waggon or cart. Although generally following a given direction, these roads or trails were necessarily very crooked, since they had not only to twist and turn to avoid trees and rocks, but were also obliged to keep to the dry ridges and accommodate themselves to the configuration of the country. These "mud roads," as they are called by the early settlers, were at best only roughly graded in places with ordinary earth, without any gravel, and in a great many sections were passable only during certain portions of the year, notably during the dry season in summer and the hard frosts of winter. In those parts of the country where swamps abounded, the roads were practically impassable for teams except during the winter months, when the frost and snow combined to make them firm enough to bear the

weight of teams and loaded vehicles. As might have been expected, the distances traversed by these trails, winding about as they did to avoid swamps and marshes, were very much longer than the real distance from point to point, as the crow flies; in some cases three or even four times as long.

So far as I can learn, the first real attempt to build first-class roads in Ontario was inaugurated by the military authorities, and finally culminated in the construction of a splendid highway (known as *The Governor's Road*, in honour of Governor Simcoe) from one end of the Province to the other. Passing through what are known as the towns or cities of Prescott, Brockville, Kingston, Belleville, Whitby, Toronto, Hamilton, Brantford, London and Chatham, it finally found its way to Windsor, its western terminus. The effect of opening up this great thoroughfare was to stimulate the settlement of lands on both sides of it for a considerable distance, and though at the present time its influence is almost unknown outside of the localities through which it runs, it was considered a gigantic undertaking in the early days and something worthy of being talked about. Before the era of railroads, it was the principal if not the only means of communication between the inland towns through which it passed, and each stage of this highway had a score or two of teamsters or waggoners, whose sole business it was to haul merchandize from one point to another, covering the same section of the road probably three times a week, year in and year out. Those were also the days of the old fashioned stage coach with its four horses.

At that time, when all of the principal points in the country were garrisoned by British regulars, this highway was the principal means of communication between them. It was no uncommon sight to see detachments of British infantry from one to five hundred strong marching along the road in order to exchange barracks with those who were to take their places. In those days the genuine "Tommy Atkins" was well and favourably known all over the settled portions of Canada, and many of these soldiers whose time had expired, or who had purchased their discharge, secured land and, settling down in this country, turned their swords into pruning-hooks

and became loyal and reputable citizens. But to return to the pioneers. The want of local and passable roads made it difficult for the early settlers to obtain even the ordinary necessities of life which could not be manufactured at home or grown upon their own farms. While they could raise beef, mutton and pork and grow wheat, oats and potatoes and other crops in abundance, one of the principal troubles they encountered was the getting their grain ground into flour and meal. Grist mills were few and far between, and as steam power was practically unobtainable on account of the expense and difficulty of transporting the machinery, the mills had to be located wherever water power was available. It was no uncommon thing in those early days for the pioneers to carry their grain on their shoulders from ten to twenty miles to a mill, and convey the flour back home again by the same slow and weary process.

Even where the roads were passable for their ox-teams and carts the loads which could be thus conveyed were necessarily small, and the journey tedious and oftentimes very difficult. Where swamps were to be traversed the loads had sometimes to be *portaged* across on the drivers' shoulders, the oxen finding it as much as they could do to haul the empty cart or waggon through mud which was often more than axle deep. Under such conditions we can readily understand that, even had these struggling pioneer settlers been blessed with money with which to purchase manufactured goods, they would have experienced considerable difficulty in conveying them home from the towns where they were to be obtained, on account of the distance and the condition of the roads. With these almost insuperable obstacles confronting them, it is hardly to be wondered at that Canadian pioneers used but few goods which they could not produce themselves. If necessity is the mother of invention, it is also the mother of handicrafts. Necessity compelled the majority of these early settlers to become manufacturers. Thus the men who built the log house in which the family lived also fashioned in a rough and ready way the scanty furniture which embellished it. Their carts, sleighs and ox yokes were usually of their own manufacture, as were also most of the few

farm implements used by them, such as ploughs, harrows and flails. They were in fact Nature's handicraftsmen, and manufactured almost every wooden article which they used, purchasing only the iron parts of composite articles which they could not themselves make.

The wives of these pioneers were not one whit behind their husbands in this respect, and it was simply wonderful to contemplate the way in which, in some cases, even refined and delicate women, heretofore unused to such a mode of life, adapted themselves to the exigencies of the situation, and by the exercise of ingenuity and thrift gave an air of cheerfulness and comfort to their rough and uncouth surroundings. All honour to these pioneer dames who, in addition to their ordinary household duties, found time to card the wool and spin it into yarn, which after being dyed and woven into cloth by some hand loom weaver in the neighbourhood was again taken in hand by them and made into garments suitable for the members of their households.

Another great privation experienced by the early settlers was the lack of saw-mills. True, the saw and grist mill usually came together wherever there was a good water power convenient to a growing settlement, but as these were the effects, rather than the cause, of such settlement it was not to be wondered at that those who preceded their introduction were put to no little inconvenience for want of sawn lumber. In many places the only practicable way to obtain lumber was either to saw it by hand with a whip saw, or to split logs and hew them down to the proper thickness with a broad axe, as in the making of square timber. Both of these methods were slow and expensive so far as time was concerned, but as it was "Hobson's choice" they either had to adopt one of them or go without. Under such conditions, however, it can be readily imagined that house-building and other operations of a like nature were not only difficult, but they were not indulged in to any greater extent than the actual necessities of the case required.

At the present time our farmers can, as a rule, obtain fairly good prices for every kind of produce they are able to raise upon their farms. In a great many localities, especially in the older

Provinces where factory towns and villages are plentiful, they are able to take produce of all kinds to the market any morning, and, after selling it for cash, purchase such goods as they require at the lowest possible prices induced by an almost too plentiful competition. In contradistinction to this state of affairs, the position of the early settlers was not only unique, but provocative of hardships in every way. Markets, as we understand the term, there were none. It was perfectly useless for them to raise more vegetables or garden truck than they could themselves consume, for they could not dispose of it at any price. Their sales were for the most part confined to wheat, hides and wool, and the little that they could spare had generally to be teamed with oxen during the winter for many weary miles before they could find a purchaser for it at all. When they had succeeded in getting it to a market, the prices ruled very low, probably from one-third to one-half, or even less, of the present price for the same products; and even at these remarkably low figures, payment had generally to be taken out in goods. On the other hand, manufactured articles of all kinds were very high in price, at least from two to three times as dear as they are to-day. The reason for this was not far to seek. Canada, at that period of its history, had no manufactures of its own. All the manufactured goods that its people used had to be imported from European countries, and so between the original cost, then very much higher than at present, ocean freight and expensive inland carriage, not to mention the wholesalers' and retailers' profits, which were at least from one to two hundred per cent. larger than they now are, by the time they reached the poor consumer he had to pay pretty dearly for his whistle.

With such very great obstacles, it is hardly to be wondered that our Canadian pioneers were but small consumers of manufactured goods, or that they used but few things which they or their neighbours could not themselves produce. From this cause also it came about eventually that artificers of various kinds, such as weavers, shoemakers, blacksmiths, waggon-makers, etc., were induced to take up their abode at favourable points, where they were accessible to the settlers of the surrounding country. As many of these

artificers owned farms, they were quite willing to take their pay in manual labour on their land, or, where this was not the case, in farm produce, and their customers and themselves were thus enabled to exchange either the labour, or the product of their labour, to mutual advantage. Just here it may be mentioned that some of the most prosperous and reputable factories in this country originally made their start in this way, and, by thrift and careful management and keeping abreast of the growing requirements of the country, have been enabled to expand into large and flourishing institutions which would astonish their founders were they allowed to revisit the scenes of their earthly activities.

In the early days both churches and schools were practically unknown, except in the older and more thickly inhabited settlements. To-day Canada points with pride, and justly so, to its splendid system of education. But amongst the early pioneers books were few and hard to get, and what little learning the majority of the children received was acquired from their parents, who to their credit usually endeavoured to take the place of regularly qualified instructors whose services it was at that time almost impossible to obtain. In spite of these serious disadvantages at the start, the love of education was so inherent in the race that no sooner did the pioneers begin to find others settling around them than their instincts prompted them to build log school-houses and secure the services of regular teachers. The curriculum of these early schools was indeed limited, their teachers old-fashioned and perhaps uncouth, but, for all that, they not only formed the nucleus of our present splendid educational system, but succeeded in turning out students, who, although lacking the polish and the intellectual finish of later university matriculants, were nevertheless thinking men with ambition and back-bone enough to fully fit them for every requirement of their time. Not a few of the Canadian youths educated in these primitive log school-houses have made their mark in Canadian history, and their achievements in after life go to prove that, no matter how good schools may be, they are really only the stepping stones to knowledge and that a man's education goes on unconsciously from year to year according to his oppor-

tunities and abilities and his determination to make the best of them.

As with the early schools so with the early churches. At first there were none at all. Later on, when the settlement had progressed sufficiently to have a schoolhouse, the missionary or clergyman followed in the wake of the schoolmaster, and held services in the same building as often as opportunity offered. It is not my intention to enlarge upon the hardships or the devoted and unwearied labours of these pioneer clergymen of different religious Denominations, but simply to say in passing that they did a great work in a very humble and unostentatious way; a work for which they reaped little or no earthly reward. It is impossible for those of us who have always enjoyed the privilege of attending Divine worship to understand the delight with which the early settlers flocked from far and near to hear the preaching of the Word. To their hungry souls, these infrequent services were like water to the thirsty traveller, and they counted such opportunities great gain, even though they had often to be purchased at the expense of long and weary journeys which generally had to be made on foot. The rude and primitive places of meeting have long since been replaced by churches in which is to be found every accessory to modern worship, but I very much question if the fervent zeal of those early preachers did not get much more closely in touch with the innermost hearts of the people than do their more highly educated successors who to-day occupy the pulpits of our land.

It must not be supposed, however, that, while the early settlers had trials and tribulations in plenty, there was no sunshine in their lives. As every cloud is said to have its silver lining, so they also had their times of refreshment and merry making, when they cast dull care to the winds and made the most of their opportunities. True, their dances were usually held on the threshing floor of some large barn, the walls of which were lighted up by home-made tallow candles, while the best they could boast of in the way of an orchestra was perhaps a violin played by some itinerant fiddler or some not over skilful backwoodsman. It may be admitted, also, that the manners of those who took part in these

often impromptu functions had not that repose which marks the caste of "Vere-de-Vere," nor were they usually dressed in anything more fashionable than homespun and home-made garments, but in spite of all these drawbacks they enjoyed themselves just as thoroughly, if not more so, than do any of our up-to-date exquisites at a fancy dress ball of the present period.

If the pioneers were rough and perhaps uncouth, they were at least honest and kind-hearted. Dependent as they so often were upon their neighbours for assistance of every kind, they became practical communists, in the sense that they willingly shared of their plenty with those who were less fortunately situated than themselves, knowing full well that the day might speedily come when they themselves would have to ask instead of give a similar favour. Nothing binds people more closely together than common hardships and common efforts to surmount them. Our pioneers could not have been independent of each other had they so desired, and they did not try. As a rule they would rather have shared their last loaf of bread with a neighbour than have seen him go without, for experience had taught both their heads and their hearts that what was the concern of one was really the concern of all alike. In times of sickness and trouble, the sympathies of these pioneers went out to their afflicted neighbours as freely as if they had been members of one family. Doctors were so few and far between as to make their skilled services practically unattainable in many sections, and, although they might be rough and uncouth nurses, they cheerfully sacrificed their own comfort and did everything that tender and true hearts prompted them to do in order to help the sufferers.

Unlike those vast fertile prairies which lie between the eastern boundary of Manitoba and the Rocky Mountains, and which only need to be broken by the plough in order to bring them under cultivation, the great bulk of the country from the Atlantic Ocean to Lake Superior was originally covered with heavy timber, and before any crops could be raised upon the land the forests had to be chopped down and cleared away. To any person unacquainted with the *modus operandi* of clearing a bush farm this would

seem to be an almost insurmountable obstacle, but although new to the work, our pioneers soon learned how to accomplish this task quickly and with the least expenditure of time and labour. As might be imagined the clearing of such an enormous tract of territory was a slow and tedious operation. The country was not stripped of its forests and brought under cultivation in the well-defined and systematic manner that the reaper now uses to mow down a field of grain. On the contrary the operation was more like the nibbling of myriads of insects at some gigantic cheese, attacking it from every quarter until at last it became so thoroughly honey-combed that it would no longer hang together. In like manner the early pioneers were at first, not only isolated, but often separated by considerable distances from each other. As fresh settlers arrived they proceeded to make homes for themselves, the result of which was, that in the course of time the forests were turned into cultivated fields and the isolated patches of clearing were gradually united so as to make the cleared country we see to-day.

*Underbrushing.* Although the forest might differ in various localities as to the nature and size of its timber, the general principles adopted in clearing it were practically the same in all parts of Canada. The preliminary work was that of underbrushing, or clearing away the growth of the very small trees or saplings which usually grow thickly amongst the larger timber. This work was usually performed in the autumn of the year before the snow fell so as to insure their being cut off as close to the surface of the ground as possible. This was done so that when the land was cleared and crops came to be sown their stumps would be out of the way of the plough or harrow. As soon as cut, these saplings or underbrush were carefully piled up in the open spaces in such a way as to insure their being consumed when the general burning took place later on.

*Chopping.* The real labour of chopping down the forest was generally done during the winter months, when hardly any other kind of work could be performed to advantage. The only tool used was what is known as the American chopping axe, an article differing considerably in shape from the axe of Europe, and generally weighing

from four to five pounds according to the strength and skill of the person handling it. Of course the time taken to chop an acre of bush necessarily varied according to the character of the timber and the skill of the chopper, but, taking the average of choppers and timber lands, it may be safely said that an acre every fortnight was about as much as an ordinary man could accomplish at this kind of work. The man who had chopped down ten acres of fairly heavy timber and cross-cut it properly for logging was considered to have performed a very fair winter's work.

While chopping appears to be an accomplishment easily learned, it is nevertheless one in which skill and brains told, just as in everything else. This was particularly the case in regard to the order and the places in which the trees were made to fall. They were not chopped down at random and allowed to fall just where they listed, but rather according to a predetermined plan. Before a single tree was felled, the ground was thoroughly explored in order to find out the general lean of the timber, for very few if any trees grow really perpendicular. This learned, the ground was laid out in sections in such a manner as to throw the timber when felled into "windrows" or "jam piles". Windrows were made by chopping a lane twenty-five or thirty feet wide down through the timber, the trees all being felled so as to lie parallel with each other the lengthway of the windrow. Afterwards all the trees on either side as far as they would reach were chopped so as to fall as nearly parallel as possible and with their heads upon the foundation first made, thus bringing an immense body of timber and brush together and ensuring its almost total destruction when fired in the spring. "Jam piles" were generally about the length and breadth of an ordinary tree, and were formed by chopping down about a dozen of the largest trees parallel with each other, for a foundation, after which all the trees in the vicinity, as far as they would reach, were thrown upon it until an immense circular pile of broken timber and tree tops was formed.

The highest skill displayed by choppers, outside of the purely mechanical part of the work, was in controlling the direction in which each

tree would fall. So expert did many of them become that they could fashion their cut so as to throw a tree in any given direction which did not interfere with the laws of gravity, and some of them could even gauge their aim accurately enough to strike a handspike almost every time. This skill they utilized to advantage, by throwing heavy trees, where possible, over the stumps of those already cut down, the result generally being to smash them up into such lengths as to save the usual cross cutting. As might be imagined, the chopping down of a tree was only the first part of the operation of preparing to get rid of it entirely. To-day, in the old settled districts, a piece of heavy timber is of considerably more value than the land. In the pioneer days it was not only a drug in the market, but a nuisance which the settler had to get rid of as speedily and as cheaply as possible. As soon as it was felled, therefore, the chopper cut off all the limbs and branches so as to allow them to lie flat on the windrow, and be in a proper position for burning. He then cross-cut the trunk with his axe into convenient lengths for handling; generally from eighteen to twenty feet long. This he did by standing on top of the fallen trunk and chopping it between his feet, thus getting in his work from that vantage ground.

The winter's work over, the "chopping" or "fallow," as the ground covered with the felled timber was called, was allowed to remain untouched until along towards the middle of May or early in June (according to the season), when the sun had dried the brush and leaves sufficiently to make them burn readily. The burning of the brush was a very critical as well as an important operation, and the settler had to patiently wait a time when the wind was in a quarter which would not only carry the sparks and burning cinders away from his buildings and crops, but would not endanger those of his neighbours, if he had any, before he dared to apply his torch to the dry leaves and brush along the windward side of his chopping. Once alight, the fire fanned by the breeze quickly spread until the whole chopping was one seething mass of flames, which licked up leaves, brush, chips, limbs, broken timber and everything that it could possibly devour, leaving usually (if the burn was successful) little

beyond the blackened tree trunks outside of the windrows.

*Logging* was the next operation, and was usually performed by a "gang" of five men where the timber was at all heavy. One of these drove a yoke of oxen which hauled the logs to some convenient spot, while the other four (two at each end) rolled them, by means of handspikes, up short skids into tapering heaps four or five logs deep, each log being kept in place by settling into the hollow formed by two of the logs in the layer below. As but few settlers had men or boys enough in their family to make up a logging gang of their own, they were forced to band together and exchange work with each other for this purpose. Thus five men, each having logging to do, would form a gang, and work probably a week on each place until they had gone the round. As a rule the man on whose place they worked provided the oxen, in which case it evened up all right, but, where the settler had no oxen and they had to be provided by a neighbour, the owner was entitled to an extra day's work of a man for the use of his team. The amount of ground that a gang of men could "log" varied, of course, with the nature of the timber, and of the material of which the gang was composed; from three-quarters of an acre to one acre was, however, generally considered to be a fair day's work.

Sometimes the exigencies of the situation demanded that the settler's chopping should be logged up in a hurry, and, in order to effect this, he resorted to what was known as a "logging bee." This meant that his neighbours for miles around were all invited to come and work together on his chopping on a given day, and as many yoke of oxen were secured as there were gangs of men. On the day chosen the men were all assembled betimes; the fallow was apportioned and staked out into equal divisions; leaders were appointed, each of whom selected the men to form his own particular gang, and at a given signal the work commenced. Under the inspiration of the "grog boss," usually an old man in the sere and yellow of life who dispensed the whiskey, this soon developed into a fierce struggle as to which gang could accomplish their allotted task in the shortest time. Although the

victors were not crowned with laurel, they had the proud satisfaction of being acknowledged as the champion loggers, and of being for the time at least the most envied men in the settlement.

*Branding.* After the logs had been made up into piles they were usually fired as soon as possible after the job was completed, and by a judicious use of the handspikes, when they had burned down pretty well, the brands, as the charred pieces of logs were called, were kept burning together until but little was left of them. When everything about the log heap was burned that would burn, the remnants or brands were hauled by the oxen and again made into heaps and fired. This second logging or "branding," as it was called, generally put the finishing touches on the destruction of the timber, and the ground was then considered to be cleared and ready for cultivation.

To look at a newly-cleared field, with its blackened surface, its great beds of ashes showing where the log piles had been burned, and its charred and hideous stumps, with their roots sticking out in every direction, one might wonder how on earth it could ever be cultivated. As a matter of fact, it did not receive very much cultivation for a few years, and what it did get was of the most primitive kind. The first crop was generally potatoes, the work of planting usually being done by hand with strong iron hoes. Sometimes wheat was put in as the first crop, in which case the ground was sometimes harrowed once before the seed was sown, and a couple of times afterwards. The harrow used was usually a very primitive affair, being made of thick round poles shaped exactly like the letter A, the iron teeth being placed along the two long legs and slanted backwards at an angle sufficient to help the harrow over the roots and other obstacles that it was continually compelled to surmount. In the early days these crops were harvested by hand with the old-fashioned sickle, and later on by the cradle, which in its day was considered to be a wonderful labour-saving machine. If the settler could manage it, he rarely took more than one or two crops off his newly-cleared land before seeding it down in grass, the reason being that in many sections ploughing was almost impossible on account of the stumps and roots with

which the ground was filled, and which made it not only almost impossible, but slow and often dangerous, work.

Once seeded down in grass, the land was generally allowed to remain as hay and pasture for five or six years, by which time, if the timber had been hardwood, the smaller stumps and roots were so much decayed that they could be readily pulled out by a yoke of oxen. Those capable of being dealt with in that way were then piled around the large ones remaining, and the heaps fired on the first dry and convenient day. The result of this treatment was to practically clear the field of stumps altogether, leaving it ready for its first real ploughing. After this had been done a couple of times, and the field properly harrowed and cross-harrowed, the hills and hollows soon disappeared, and it gradually assumed that smooth and level surface which is the delight of the farmer who uses machinery to any considerable extent.

In those parts of the country, however, where the principal timber was pine or hemlock the stumps decayed so slowly that the method already described was practically impossible. As pine and hemlock stumps of fifty years' standing may be found almost as sound as the day when the tree was felled, and as they are extremely difficult to burn, the only way to get rid of them was to pull them out with a stumping machine. This was done pretty much on the same principle that the dentist pulls a tooth—by force. Once out, however, the earth was cleaned off their roots and placed back in the holes from which they were torn. The stumps themselves were either put in heaps and burned, or, as was often the case, hauled to the side of the field and placed close together along the edge so as to make a rough-looking but very strong and serviceable fence. These, in brief, are the principal operations by means of which this Canada of ours has been transformed from a wilderness into the great agricultural country that we see at present. While all of them are still to be seen in the newly-settled districts of Ontario and Quebec, it may be safely asserted that, although our present settlers work hard, they do not have to undergo anything like the privations or dangers endured by their predecessors of the early pioneer days.



# CANADA'S WHEAT AREA AND RESOURCES

BY

SYDNEY C. D. ROPER, late Editor of the Dominion *Statistical Year-Book*.

IT seems difficult to believe that it is not thirty years since the possession of undeveloped wheat lands was the finest immigration advertisement that any country could wish for, and that to-day the choicest of these lands are practically going begging for want of occupiers. Yet such is the case. And while it is dangerous and unwise to make predictions with any degree of certainty, it seems reasonably safe to assume that wheat will always be one of the principal staples of food throughout the world, and the question therefore of its production always one of considerable interest. Those countries, therefore, which are capable of producing it in any quantity will remain important factors in the consideration of the world's food supply. On this assumption that wheat will never be displaced from its position in the front rank as an article of food, and in view of the fact that Canada undoubtedly possesses an enormous area of land that is adaptable for wheat cultivation, it is clearly worth while spending some little space in an examination of the extent and capabilities of that area.

With the exception of some of the regions in the extreme north, there is practically no part of Canada where the soil and climate are not suitable, more or less, for the production of wheat, but some parts of the country offer such particular advantages for its cultivation that they require more detailed attention than the rest of the Dominion, which, therefore, for the purposes of this article may be divided into two portions—the Provinces of Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and British Columbia forming one portion, and the Provinces of Ontario and Manitoba and the North-West Territories forming the other. The production of the Provinces which form the first or less

important portion does not require much consideration, and particulars of the yield are obtainable from various census returns. In 1688 the Province of Quebec, or New France, as it was then called, produced 100,971 bushels of wheat; in 1734, 737,892 bushels, and in 1827, 2,921,240 bushels. The maximum production was reached in 1850, when, according to the census returns of 1851, the total yield in the Province amounted to 3,073,943 bushels, and since then the quantity has gradually decreased, until, in 1890, the production was only 1,568,289 bushels. Various causes have combined to make the pursuit of other branches of agriculture more profitable than the cultivation of wheat, and it is extremely probable that the returns for 1900 will show a still further decrease in the Quebec output of this cereal.

In the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick the crop has always been insignificant, and is now practically nil, the combined production in 1890 having only amounted to 375,615 bushels, and it is not likely that wheat growing will ever be seriously undertaken there. In the Province of Prince Edward Island the production has steadily increased from 346,125 bushels in 1860 to 613,364 bushels in 1890, the supply being just about sufficient to feed the population of the Island. The probabilities are that, while this Province may continue to produce sufficient wheat to meet the home demand, it is not likely to ever have any material surplus for export. The production in British Columbia has increased from 173,653 bushels in 1880 to 388,300 bushels in 1890, but this increase has been mainly incidental to the growth of population and spread of settlement, and the Province has still to import wheat for its own consumption, and, as everything points to the probabilities of the

majority of its population following pursuits other than agricultural ones, the chances are that the home demand will always exceed the home supply. As factors in the question of wheat production, therefore, the above named Provinces need not be very seriously considered, as they are and are likely to continue consumers, rather than producers, and will offer an ever increasing home market for the product of the remaining districts. But it should, at the same time, be borne in mind that, while the area actually under wheat is decreasing, the area capable of producing it is increasing with the progress of settlement and is available for use if ever extraordinary circumstances should arise to necessitate it.

When we turn, however, to the second portion of the Dominion we find a very different condition of affairs, for it is within these limits that the future of wheat production in Canada lies. The Province of Ontario, or Upper Canada as it was formerly called, was for many years the great wheat-producing district of Canada. In 1841, according to census returns, the crop amounted to 3,221,989 bushels; in 1860 to 24,620,425 bushels, and in 1880 to 27,406,091 bushels, which was about 85% of the total production of the Dominion in that year. About this time (1881) the Provincial Government commenced to collect annual statistics of the crops of the Province, and in 1882 published the first Report, which placed the wheat crop for that year at 40,921,201 bushels. These Reports have since then been published continually and have afforded a fairly reliable means of arriving at the annual yield. Since their establishment there has been a steady and persistent decline in the area under wheat cultivation, the number of acres in 1882 having been 1,775,337 as compared with 1,132,316 acres in 1896, a decrease of 643,021 acres. The average acreage during the five years 1891-1895 in fall wheat was 850,525 acres, and during the nine years 1882-1890 it was 908,723 acres, while the average acreage in spring wheat during the same periods was 394,526 acres and 569,426 acres respectively. The decrease in area was not the result of failing crops, for the average yield has been well maintained, since in fall wheat it has been during the two periods 21.3 bushels and 19.4 bushels per acre respectively,

and in spring wheat 15.2 bushels per acre for both periods.

It is when we come to the average value that we find out the cause of the decreased cultivation, for in fall wheat the value for the five-year period was 71.4 cents per bushel as against 89.3 cents for the preceding nine years, and in spring wheat 74.4 cents as compared with 89.1 for the same preceding period, and had it not been for the remarkable appreciation of wheat in 1891 the difference would have been still more striking, for the average value for the four years 1892-1895 was only 63 cents per bushel. In consequence of this extreme fall in prices the farmers of Ontario have turned their attention more and more to stock raising, dairy and mixed farming (substituting hay and root crops for wheat and barley) until the Province has become in the main a dairying rather than a cereal-producing country. It is evident, however, that wheat cultivation only needs the stimulus of better prices to become, almost at any time, once again one of its principal industries, for, encouraged by the tendency to higher prices during 1896, the farmers of Ontario increased the acreage under wheat by 141,200 acres, and as the season of 1897 was a remarkably favourable one the yield was the largest since 1891, amounting to 28,856,000 bushels, and present indications point to a still further increase in the area for 1898. It is impossible to say with any exactitude just what is the extent of the area in Ontario that is actually suitable for the cultivation of wheat, but, since the area of the Province, exclusive of the Great Lakes, is 219,650 square miles, or 140,576,000 acres, it should, after making due allowance for unfavourable natural conditions, be safe to say that there are at least 25,000,000 acres well adapted for growing wheat, the average yield of which would range from seventeen to eighteen bushels per acre.

Large, however, as is the area and favourable as is the climate in Ontario for the production of wheat, both one and the other sink into comparative insignificance when compared with the capabilities of Manitoba and the North-West Territories. The Province of Manitoba has an area of 64,066 square miles, or say 41,000,000 acres, nearly the whole of which is not only well

adapted for wheat growing, but consists to a large extent of what is perhaps the finest wheat land in the world. The Provincial Government first commenced to collect crop statistics in 1883, when the area under wheat was only 260,842 acres, but this area had increased in 1895 to 1,140,276 acres, and in the present year (1897) the land sown with wheat amounted to 1,290,882 acres. The average yield, year by year, has varied considerably, ranging from 12.4 bushels per acre in 1889 to 27.86 bushels in 1895, but the general yield has been well maintained and gives an average for the sixteen years, 1882-1897, of 19 bushels per acre. If it was not for a certain liability to early frost and rain about harvest time, which conditions have more than once damaged the most promising crops at the very moment of maturity, and which are responsible for the extreme fluctuations in yield, the climate would be as near perfection as possible.

When all conditions are favourable it would seem as if the land could not do too much to make up for less advantageous seasons—well authenticated cases of over 50 bushels to the acre having been reported on several occasions. The hot sun, combined with cool nights and dry atmosphere, unite with the extreme richness of soil in producing a firm grain that has no superior in the world, and what is known as “Manitoba No. 1, extra hard” will always bring the highest price obtainable in the market. While the actual crop in 1897 was not so large as reported in some previous years the circumstances attending its harvesting have made it one of the most profitable in the history of the Province; the quality of the grain was very high, fully two-thirds being said to grade No. 1, hard; and the appreciation in price prevailing at the same time resulted in the farmer's getting from 25 cents to 30 cents per bushel more for his wheat than he had been accustomed to get for several years past, thus bringing about a proportionate degree of prosperity throughout the Province.

A large portion of the North-West Territories, which for the purposes of this article are understood to comprise only the three provisional Districts of Assiniboia, Alberta and Saskatchewan, is almost as equally well adapted to the growth of wheat as the Province of Manitoba.

The area of these Districts contains about 189,000,000 acres, one-half of which at least is composed of land more or less suitable for wheat, but at the present time there are not 300,000 acres under its cultivation, the lack of population being the principal drawback to development. No trustworthy statistics, outside of census returns, have ever been collected of the crops in these Districts, and it is impossible to say with any accuracy what the production has been. The yield varies in different localities but the average is probably about 17 bushels to the acre. According to the Census of 1881 there were 5,675 acres under cultivation of wheat in the preceding year, and the product amounted to 119,592 bushels; the Census of 1885 returned the area under wheat at 67,256 acres and the product at 1,147,124 bushels, and that of 1891 gave the area at 113,808 acres and the production 1,792,409 bushels. In his report for 1896 the Lieutenant-Governor of these Districts placed the area under wheat in that year at 241,700 acres and the yield at 4,755,500 bushels, being an average yield of 19.5 bushels per acre. It is stated that, in consequence of damage by frost in the previous year, the area was much smaller than usual, which no doubt was the case, but, as the figures given were not collected on any principle and were only a series of estimates roughly put together, it may be taken for granted that they are too high, and that the actual area and yield were less than the quantities stated. Beyond the fact that the Territories shared in the grand harvest weather which prevailed so extensively during the summer of 1897, and reaped proportionate benefits therefrom, no information more trustworthy than newspaper reports can at present be obtained as to the wheat area and product in the past season.

The Unorganized Territory, being that northern part of the Dominion which has not been specifically mentioned, undoubtedly contains a considerable area capable of producing wheat, but not in such quantities as to leave anything for export or indeed in sufficient quantity to meet the local demand for home consumption, and if these regions are ever settled the bulk of their wheat supplies will surely have to be purchased outside. It will be understood, therefore, that

in the consideration of the wheat production of Canada the Provinces of Ontario and Manitoba and the North-West Territories are the only portions of the Dominion that need be materially taken into account, and, in order to illustrate this more plainly, the following table has been prepared, which shows the estimated crop in the two Provinces in each year for which official figures are available, and the proportion of their total to the total estimated crop of the Dominion. The figures obtainable for the yield in the Territories are of such doubtful value that it has been thought inadvisable to include them in the table, otherwise the proportion would have been so much larger. As it is the two Provinces have supplied on an average 88.3 per cent. of the total yield :

Wheat production in the Provinces of Ontario and Manitoba, and proportion of combined crop to the total wheat crop of Canada—1882-1897.

YEAR.	Ontario.		Manitoba.		Total.	Proportion of combined crop to total crop of Canada.
	Estimated Crop.	Yield per Acre.	Estimated Crop.	Yield per Acre.		
	Bus.	Bus.	Bus.	Bus.		
1882.	40,921,201	21.4	* 4,000,000	17.7	44,921,201	94.1
1883.	21,323,902	13.6	5,686,355	21.8	27,010,257	87.8
1884.	35,327,292	22.1	6,174,182	20.1	41,501,474	91.5
1885.	30,638,162	17.9	7,429,140	20.8	38,067,302	90.0
1886.	27,589,695	18.4	5,893,480	15.3	33,483,175	87.1
1887.	2,073,728	13.9	12,351,721	27.7	32,425,452	83.2
1888.	20,284,346	17.1	* 7,000,000	15.2	27,284,346	82.7
1889.	18,699,372	15.0	7,201,519	12.4	25,900,891	84.1
1890.	21,951,288	16.3	14,665,769	19.6	36,617,057	88.4
1891.	32,554,026	23.3	23,191,599	25.3	55,745,625	91.8
1892.	28,782,892	16.9	14,453,835	16.5	43,236,727	90.0
1893.	21,734,311	15.4	15,615,923	15.6	37,350,234	90.4
1894.	19,879,950	17.9	17,172,883	17.0	37,052,833	87.1
1895.	17,628,825	17.3	31,775,038	27.9	49,403,863	89.1
1896.	18,597,763	15.5	14,371,806	14.3	32,969,569	84.0
1897.	28,856,132	20.1	18,251,950	14.1	47,108,082	86.3
	401,840,095	17.7	205,245,503	18.8	610,085,598	88.3

\* No official returns.

The next table, showing the estimated production and distribution of wheat in Canada since 1882, has been compiled by the writer upon a basis arrived at by him some years ago, while compiling and editing the Statistical Year-Book, after a very careful investigation of the whole question; and results have, year by year, tended to show that on the whole the basis was a correct one. There can, it is thought, be little doubt that the Provincial returns were in the earlier years too high, and that they are distinctly more

accurate at the present time, and there is also good reason to believe that the returns of exports were, and indeed still are, under the mark, as it is certain that a considerable quantity of wheat (especially in the form of flour) of which no record is taken, goes from the country *via* the United States for outside ports, principally those of the United Kingdom. Allowance also has to be made, which cannot well be estimated, for loss by fire, water, and in transport, such losses occurring more or less every year. The Provincial figures, moreover, are made up direct from threshers' returns, and therefore deductions must be made for loss in cleaning and for short measurement and also for damaged grain used for feed :

Estimated production and distribution of wheat in Canada—1882-1897.

Year.	Estimated Crop.	Estimated net quantity available for distribution.	Net Exports.	Allowance for seed.	Required for consumption.
1882.	47,751,706	42,976,535	7,222,265	3,427,917	24,378,200
1883.	30,840,762	27,756,686	*3,516,442	3,333,911	21,661,615
1884.	45,263,417	40,827,075	2,792,330	3,664,674	24,952,395
1885.	42,736,327	38,462,694	4,662,975	3,390,611	25,228,450
1886.	38,224,503	34,402,053	6,133,283	3,338,939	25,194,735
1887.	38,954,233	35,058,810	2,761,633	3,247,472	25,768,446
1888.	32,964,851	29,068,366	*1,218,636	3,457,816	26,040,936
1889.	30,791,656	27,712,491	96,076	3,808,760	26,339,654
1890.	41,372,134	37,234,921	4,062,559	4,010,979	26,637,908
1891.	60,721,193	51,619,073	12,343,426	4,335,819	26,945,030
1892.	48,182,295	42,364,066	14,796,379	4,027,575	27,288,404
1893.	41,292,802	37,163,522	10,645,886	3,678,172	27,618,118
1894.	42,534,801	38,281,321	7,756,727	3,810,529	27,958,832
1895.	57,348,400	51,613,600	11,438,876	3,907,252	28,189,898
1896.	39,415,137	35,473,624	12,747,221	1,645,995	28,522,945
1897.	54,563,650	48,927,285	†12,972,322	‡1,800,000	‡25,800,000

\* Excess of imports. † Quantity available for export. ‡ Estimated only.

It is evident that according to the foregoing figures the estimated crop of the first eight years considerably exceeded the distribution, a condition of affairs which can only be explained away by the reasons given above, the principal factor in the surplus being no doubt over-estimated production. It is certain, however, that the crop returns are continually increasing in accuracy, and it will be found that, after writing some four or five million bushels off the Manitoba crop of 1891 for grain rendered useless by frost and rain, the whole amount available for distribution during the second period of eight years has been accounted for, since there are probably some twelve million bushels in the country at the time

of writing available for export. The consumption, which varies in different parts of the country, has been placed at an average of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  bushels per head of the population of the Dominion. In Ontario it is probably about five bushels per head, in Quebec a little above that figure, and in the Maritime Provinces, owing to the more extended use of Indian corn, a little below it, but west of Ontario through to the Pacific coast it has been calculated at six bushels per head, which makes  $5\frac{1}{2}$  bushels a fair general average for the Dominion. The probability is that this rate is somewhat higher than the actual one, but, as the probability also is that the actual production is under the estimate, the one may be taken at present to set off the other, and the figures can be reduced as more exact information becomes available about both consumption and production. The rate is higher than the official calculation of consumption in the United States, viz., 4.7 bushels per head, but allowance has to be made for the displacement of wheat in certain sections of that country by corn-meal and rice. It is not so high, however, as the consumption in the Australasian Colonies, which ranges from 5 to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  bushels per head, nor as in the United Kingdom, where it is about 6 bushels per head. It is probable that the deficiency in the export figures already alluded to is less than it was, and it may be that by degrees the total exports will be represented with tolerable correctness, but it is much to be regretted that the details, as published in the Trade and Navigation Returns, which might be of great use in many ways, are incorrect and misleading; *e.g.*, the foreign exports of wheat from the Province of Manitoba, which often exceed 50 per cent. of the total shipments of the Dominion, are divided up between Ontario and Quebec, and some insignificant quantity gravely set down as the total export from that Province.

I have now shown what the actual production has been down to the present time and have given some idea of the extent of the area available, from which details it can be ascertained that the average production at present is in the neighbourhood of 45,000,000 bushels annually, and that there are something like 160,000,000 acres in the Provinces of Ontario and Manitoba and the North-West Territories alone which are suitable

for the cultivation of wheat without any reference to the capabilities of the rest of the Dominion. Before speaking of the prospects of the development of this area, it may be well to refer for a moment to the cost of production, which must always have an important bearing on the remunerative ability of wheat growing. It has not been possible to obtain such exact data on the subject as would have been desirable, but, as far as the information available goes, it seems probable that the average cost of growing a bushel of wheat in Ontario ranges from 75 cents to 80 cents, and in Manitoba from 58 cents to 60 cents; while in Great Britain, which is the largest purchaser of wheat in the world, it is about \$1.16 per bushel, and, though the figures themselves may not be quite correct, it is believed that the relative proportions are represented with a fair amount of accuracy.

And now with reference to the prospects for the future. The wheat resources of Canada are so large that they cannot be considered except in general terms, and are practically illimitable, but to what extent they will be developed is a question that time alone can answer. The production of the country in proportion to its capabilities is at present very small—how can it be increased? People have often amused themselves by calculating what the result in bushels would be if so many farmers took up so many acres of land and sowed so many of them with wheat, but such calculations are of little use and one good practical suggestion would be of more value than all the theoretical possibilities. The United States increased its output from 230 million bushels in 1869 to 611 million bushels in 1891, an increase of nearly 400 million bushels; under the same conditions the Canadian North-West might multiply its production with still greater results in about the same space of time, but what are the present prospects of such conditions prevailing again? It has been said that five conditions must concurrently obtain to insure an increase in wheat production on a large scale, viz., favourable climate, fertile soil, an unemployed area, sufficient population and ample means of transport. To these should be added one more, and perhaps the most important one of all, a fair market price.

The favourable climate Canada undoubtedly has, the drawbacks not being any greater than those incidental to any climate, while the soil, if not, as claimed by some, the richest in the world, is at any rate unsurpassed in fertility, the average yield being in excess of that of any of the great wheat-exporting countries. In the United States it is  $12\frac{1}{2}$  bushels per acre, with a tendency to increase in consequence of improved methods of cultivation; in Russia it is about nine bushels; in British India about nine bushels; in Australasia from ten to eleven bushels; and in Argentina probably from twelve to thirteen bushels, the data from this country being very indefinite; while in the Province of Manitoba the production of the last fourteen years has given an average of nineteen and one-half bushels per acre. In some years the figures for the whole Province run up as high as twenty-five and twenty-seven bushels; in the Province of Ontario the production averages over seventeen and one-half bushels and in the North-West Territories it is seventeen bushels or over. As to the unemployed area it is, considering the favourable conditions that pertain to it, probably the largest now remaining adapted for the cultivation of wheat. The United States is, and will for some time to come, be the largest exporter of wheat, but, in the opinion of many, wheat growing in that country has reached its maximum, in which case the demands of a steadily growing population will have a tendency to reduce the exportable surplus, and it has already been predicted that the day is not far distant when the whole local wheat crop will be absorbed by the home demand.

The first three, then, of the necessary conditions prevail in Canada to a most satisfactory extent, and the fourth, viz., ample means of transport, which is at the present time apparently absent, may be considered practically to exist, for there is no question that, in these days of rapid development, means of transport will be supplied concurrently with, if not in advance of, the increase in production. Therefore the two remaining conditions, *i.e.*, population and a demand for wheat at a remunerative price are the ones that are wanting, and are not only absolutely necessary to a successful realization of the preceding conditions, but are the hardest to supply. The

first of these two conditions, *i.e.*, how under existing circumstances to provide inducements for the surplus population of other countries to move in and people the vacant lands of the Canadian North-West, is one of the great unsolved problems of the day. As remarked above, thirty years ago these lands would have needed no advertisement, they would have advertised themselves if they had been within the reach of settlement, but such a state of affairs is past and probably gone for ever. The cultivation of wheat, *per se*, is not a remunerative pursuit and the market value of agricultural produce of all kinds is so low that the pursuit of agriculture as a means of livelihood is distinctly out of favour. The whole tendency of civilized life to-day is concentration in cities and towns, the steady-going life on a farm is out of fashion, people have to get rich in a hurry, and that can no longer be done by farming. It may be, however, that continued concentration will itself provide a remedy by congesting the centres of population to such an extent that the making of a living will become impossible to many, and recourse will of necessity be had to the lands now lying unoccupied. It being evident then that the first of these conditions cannot be provided for without some change in the present position of affairs, let us see what are the chances for the second condition—a remunerative price—the existence of which is, as a matter of fact, the key to the whole question. It is generally recognized now that the supply of wheat will, under ordinary circumstances, be fully equal to, it not exceed the demand and it might therefore seem at first sight as if the great area of fertile wheat land in Canada was after all of no such very great value. But such is not the case, for wheat will always be in demand to a certain extent at some price or another, and, while it appears tolerably certain that the world will never again see a continued maintenance of the high prices of years gone by, it is equally certain that there will from time to time be appreciations in value that will go far to make up for the years of lower prices. Of this fact the present appreciation (1897) is a good illustration, coming as it does as a result of two years of comparatively short crops and the consequent consumption

of reserves. The appreciation began early in the summer and, as far as present indications go, will last until next year's crop is well in sight, when, if the yield is anything up to the average, it will gradually disappear. The period of time thus covered represents what will be the average duration of these appreciations.

Brief as these periods of better prices will probably be, they will be of inestimable benefit to the farmer, the profits resulting being sufficient to carry him over several bad years, during which he can make a comfortable living by growing the coarser grains, stock raising and dairy farming, knowing that his land is always available for the production of a remunerative wheat crop whenever indications point to the probabilities of a lively demand. Perhaps one of the most successful ways of introducing into the North-West that population which is so essential to its devel-

opment will be by taking proper advantage of these transient appreciations of wheat values and pointing out forcibly and effectively the large profits that are to be made by those who are on the spot when the rise in price commences and matures. The wheat question is one full of uncertainties and surprises, and it is quite possible that one's theories may be upset by the march of events, but, however that may be, it seems tolerably certain that in spite of the unfavourable outlook at the present time for any permanent rise in the price of wheat, and in spite of the apparent difficulties in the way of utilizing to their full extent the agricultural resources of the country, the wheat lands of Canada are a heritage of enormous value and one that, though it may require many years of development, can never be anything but a source of strength and wealth to the Dominion.

## AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT IN ONTARIO

BY

C. C. JAMES, M.A., Deputy Minister of Agriculture in Ontario.

THE great primary sources of wealth in the Dominion of Canada are four in number—our fisheries, our mines, our forests and our farms. From our Canadian fisheries we derive annually wealth to the amount of \$20,000,000; from our mines nearly \$30,000,000; from our forests about \$80,000,000; and from our farms, according to the Dominion Census, no less an amount than \$600,000,000. I may then commence by stating that agriculture is the most important industry of Canada to-day—we are, to a large extent, a “nation of farmers.” Let me put the matter in another form. For every dollar of minerals produced last year (1897) in Canada there was over \$20 worth of farm products added to our wealth. The wheat crop of Ontario alone was worth nearly as much as all the gold, silver, copper, nickel, coal, iron, salt, petroleum and other minerals of the whole of Canada. When we keep facts like these in mind we can readily understand why the managers of banks and loan companies are keen students of agricultural statistics, and why the values of bank stocks in Canada are so closely affected by the yield per acre of our staple field crops and the prices of the same in the great markets of the world. It may be added that the capital invested in Ontario in agriculture is about \$900,000,000; the persons engaged in agriculture in Ontario in 1891 numbered 292,770; and that the annual agricultural product of the Province is between \$200,000,000 and \$300,000,000. The last item, of course, varies with the product and market values.

Ontario is a large Province. From the mouth of the Albany River on James' Bay to Pelee Island in Lake Erie, the distance is about 750 miles; while from the eastern limit on the St. Lawrence to the western, near the Lake of the

Woods, it is about 1,000 miles. Its total area is 220,000 square miles, larger than the nine North Atlantic States by one-third; larger than Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio combined. But a small portion is, as yet, settled; in fact, eighty per cent. of the entire Province is still in possession of the Crown; and, while the large portion unsold is valuable principally for its timber and minerals, there are several millions of acres of the finest agricultural land as yet unoccupied. One section lies along the Rainy River, adjacent to Minnesota, U.S.; the other, the valley of Lake Temiscamingue, is to the north of Ottawa. These two districts are in the same latitude as Northern Minnesota. The former district is covered with deep, black, alluvial soil, and the other with rich clay overlaid with humus. Explorations in 1898 reveal a third area of still greater extent between Sudbury and Moose Factory.

The old settled portion of Ontario lies in the triangle, bounded on one side by the Ottawa and Lake Nipissing, on the second by the St. Lawrence, Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, and on the third by the St. Clair, Lake Huron and Georgian Bay. It is worth while opening a map to look at the configuration. With the exception of a short *portage* between Lake Nipissing and Trout Lake on the north, it is practically an island, washed by the waters of two large rivers and three great lakes. In addition, note its shape, like a wedge pushed down into the heart of the chief agricultural States, and you will begin to realize that its position and surroundings apparently fit it for a great agricultural land. Its backbone is the western branch of the Archæan Rocks, the material out of which rich clay is made. While the northern point of Ontario is an ocean port on James' Bay, the south-



ern point is further south than Boston and Chicago, U.S. The southern limit of Ontario is below the 42nd parallel; the northwest boundary line of the United States is the 49th. Practically all of the 2,114,321 inhabitants of Ontario are to the south of a straight line drawn from the Sault to Portland, Maine. In this area are 23,000,000 acres of occupied lands.

I would divide the agricultural history of Ontario into epochs as follows:

- 1st.....From 1783 to 1812
- 2nd.....From 1812 to 1837
- 3rd.....From 1837 to 1867
- 4th.....From 1867 to 1897

These periods are of nearly the same length, about thirty years—a generation each. In the first period the work consisted mainly in felling the forests to make an open place for the rude log houses and barns and the small field in which the wheat, oats and potatoes might be grown. The farms were well described as “clearings” and the cleared ground among the stumps served to produce only enough grain and roots to sustain the settler’s family. Cattle were few in number and the settler had to add hunting and trapping to his occupation of felling and tilling in order to supply his family with meat and clothing. In that period the two principal articles exported from the farm were oak and pine timber and wood ashes. Reference to the early trade records will show how important these two items were in the export trade of Upper Canada. The clearing of land and the making of potashes for export is an industry but little known to the farmers of to-day.

With the increase in cleared land came an increase in the area of land sown to grain, especially to wheat. This grain had risen to extraordinary values during the continuance of the great War of 1812-14, and this doubtless gave increased impetus to its cultivation. An investigation of the trade returns of the second period, 1812-1837, will show an increasing export of wheat to Europe by way of Montreal. Down to 1875 the exports of Montreal may be taken as practically those of Ontario alone, for Manitoba and the North-West had not yet become exporting sections. Ontario produced as fine wheat as was to be found in North

America—both spring and fall—and she has probably kept up her record in this regard better than any other part of the older settled portion of this continent.

From 1783 to 1812 the population had grown from practically nothing to about 80,000 persons, all of whom, with the exception of a few hundred, were directly connected with agriculture. From 1812 to 1837 the population increased from 80,000 to 397,489. By far the larger portion of this population lived upon the farm. I find on reference to the year 1830 that there were only five towns in the Province of over 1,000 inhabitants each, viz., Brockville, 1,130; Hamilton (including township), 2,013; London (including township), 2,415; Toronto, 2,860, and Kingston, 3,587. In 1830 there was only one daily paper in Ontario and only one bank. Even matches, steel pens, and postage stamps were as yet unknown. The first telegraph line from Toronto to Niagara did not appear until 1847, and the first railway train from Toronto north to Bradford did not run until 1853. Railway connection with Montreal by the Grand Trunk came three years later, in 1856. Even the canals along the St. Lawrence were small and of simple construction. The farm exports of the Province went down the St. Lawrence in Durham boats and *batteaux*.

During the third period, from 1837 to 1867, an extensive immigration set into this Province from England, Scotland and Ireland. The great famine in 1846 sent Irish immigrants to America by the tens of thousands. These newcomers settled, as a rule, in groups or blocks and formed the nuclei of some of the richest townships in Ontario.

The love of the British for live-stock is a marked characteristic and must also be reckoned with in considering our growth of wealth at this time. These immigrants from over the sea, especially those from Aberdeenshire and the south of Scotland, and those from Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, and the great sheep downs of the south of England, brought with them the love of good horses, good cattle and good sheep, and the pure-bred stock soon followed.

Ontario, by her sunny skies, clear air, clean

water, and rich pastures, has been well adapted to the rearing of live-stock. The settlers from England and Scotland not only loved good stock, but knew how to care for them, and in this period the true foundation of Ontario's agricultural wealth was laid. Where do we stand to-day, thirty years later? I can put it in a few words. As was proven at the World's Fair in 1893, there is no other part of the North American continent where so great a variety of the best of pure-bred stock is to be found to-day as in the Province of Ontario. Any one who doubts this can have convincing proof of it by visiting the magnificent gatherings of live-stock brought together every autumn at the Exhibitions held in Toronto, London and Ottawa, and at the winter shows held at Guelph and elsewhere by the Fat Stock Associations. What is its extent? Let me give it in figures:

Total value of live-stock on the farms	
of Ontario, July 1st, 1897 .....	\$93,649,804
Total value of live-stock sold for year	
ending July 1st, 1896.....	29,753,599
Total value of dairy products made	
in Ontario every year.....	27,000,000

We now come to the fourth period, the thirty years just ended, 1867-1897. The main feature of this period is the rise of dairying as a specialty—it is the age of the coming in of the cheese factory and the creamery. In 1851 the first co-operative cheese factory had been started near Rome, in Oneida Co., New York State, and soon after factories sprang up by the score in the Hudson Valley and to the west and north. In 1864 Harvey Farrington, of Herkimer County, New York State, with commendable enterprise crossed over into this Province and started the first factory at Norwich, in Oxford County. By 1867 there were half a dozen more. In 1883 the number had grown to 635, and in 1897 there were in operation no less than 1,161 factories, producing 137,362,916 pounds of cheese; the gross value of this production was approximately \$12,000,000. The amount of creamery butter increased from 2,700,000 lbs. in 1893 to 7,700,000 in 1897. These amounts refer to cheese and butter made only in factories and creameries, most of which are co-operative in character.

A word here as to the nature of co-operative

companies. The farmers of a township desire to organize a company. Half a dozen or more draw up an agreement in accordance with a special Act passed for the purpose and register the agreement at the local registry office. Sufficient money is subscribed to erect a factory and equip it. A committee of management is appointed. Fifty or more farmers agree to send their milk daily to the factory, where it is made into cheese or butter by an expert. Careful record is kept of the milk supplied by each patron, and also of its quality value for cheese or butter. The products are sold and the surplus, after taking out the cost of making and selling, is divided among the patrons according to the amount of milk that each patron sends. In 1897 there were 66,104 patrons of the 1,161 cheese factories. Following the success of the co-operative cheese factory has come the co-operative butter factory or creamery. Inside of ten years it is probable that the making of dairy butter at home will become as rare as is the making of cheese at home, and a factory system of butter making will be established far greater in extent and importance than is our present cheese factory system. I say "far greater" because the consumption of butter exceeds that of cheese.

So much for the main characteristic of our agriculture in each of the four periods referred to. The tree felling, log hauling and burning and potash making of the first settlers gave way to the grain growing of the second period; then followed the great boom of live stock development; and out of this has come the dairying which has proved so extensive and so remunerative. As to what else is now being developed, I might refer to the opening up of a great fruit-growing industry. Four causes have contributed much towards the development of our agriculture. These have been felt in all lands, but I will refer principally to their effect upon this country. They were:

1. The increased use of machinery.
2. Improvements in means and methods of transportation and communication.
3. The application of scientific discoveries.
4. Changes in methods of work and the introduction of co-operative associations.

I. Between 1881 and 1891, the decade between these last two Census enumerations, there was a large increase in the cultivated area of Canada, owing mainly to the settlement of the prairie lands of Manitoba and the North-West. In that period the wheat area of Manitoba alone increased from about 200,000 acres to 900,000. The Dominion Statistician, in Census Bulletin No. 18, says that "contemporaneously with this there has been an increase in the amount of land improved in Canada from 21,899,180 acres in 1881 to 28,537,242 acres in 1891." The agricultural product of 1891 was far in advance of that of 1881. Yet, if we turn to the farm producers, we find the following statement :

	1881.	1891.
Farmers and farmers' sons in Canada.....	656,712	649,506

Here is a falling off to the extent of 7,206, accompanied by the very large increase in the improved land of 6,638,062 acres. There are fewer persons engaged in agricultural work in Ontario to-day than there were ten years ago, but the product of their work is much greater. The agricultural statistics of the Ontario Department go back only to 1883. Let me put the statement in the form of a table :

	1883.	1897.
Total farm lands assessed....	21,458,067	23,360,428
Acres of field crops.....	7,542,623	8,701,705
Value of farm land.....	\$654,793,025	\$554,054,552
Value of implements.....	43,522,530	51,299,098

We have therefore an increase in farm lands of nearly 2,000,000 acres ; an increase in the cultivated land of over 1,000,000 acres ; a decrease in the value of farm lands of \$100,000,000 ; an increase in the value of farm machinery and implements of nearly \$8,000,000. At the same time there has been a very marked falling off in the price and cost of machinery of all kinds. I conclude, therefore, that in the past fourteen years, for which we have full statistics, there has been a very great increase in the machinery, implements and tools used upon the farms of this Province. This explains why it has been possible for a smaller number of workers to increase their total product.

II. The history of transportation development in Ontario would be a concise history of the social and material progress of the people. The

first settlers travelled by canoe, *batteau* and Durham boat, or overland by the Indian trails. The settlers' roads followed these trails, crude and winding at first, but straightened and improved in after years. The corduroy road of the settlers' own making, and the two or three military roads constructed in the latter part of the eighteenth century, were the principal avenues in bringing out supplies to the lake front for transportation by sailing vessels down the rapids of the St. Lawrence. During the second period of transportation development, the construction of canals around the rapids of the St. Lawrence greatly improved the communication with Montreal and assisted the farmer with his freight to Europe. About the middle part of the third period railway construction began, and for forty-five years the iron and steel rails have been insinuating themselves through the farm settlements, and the iron horse has been pushing himself more and more into the very heart of the farmer's business. The benefits of railway communication for the handling of farm produce and for bringing in farm necessities are so well known and understood that I need not delay to discuss them.

III. Agricultural science in Canada dates from 1874, when the Agricultural College and Experimental Farm were started at Guelph. To give some idea of the work now in progress let me enumerate the leading institutions of this nature in Ontario. We have, as stated, the College and Experimental Farm at Guelph, three dairy schools, ten fruit experiment stations and a system of experiment work directed from Guelph and carried on in 1897 by 3,835 farmers located in all parts of the Province. We have the Dominion system of Experimental Farms, with the central farm at Ottawa and four branches in other Provinces, a dairy school and several training colleges in Quebec, dairy schools in New Brunswick and Manitoba and a horticultural school in Nova Scotia.

Botanists are at work studying the plants of the world, and helping in the production of new varieties and the improvements of old varieties. Let me give but one example of the value of this. About 6,500,000 acres in Ontario are devoted to grain growing. If by selection and cross fertilizing we could obtain seed grain

that would add only one bushel per acre to our crops, the annual grain product would be increased by 6,500,000 bushels. The grain crops of Ontario in 1897 were worth over \$50,000,000. An improvement to the extent of 25 per cent. is quite within the range of possibility. The President of the Agricultural College in his Report for 1897, referring to this work in improving varieties of grain, says: "In this way some excellent foreign varieties have been introduced, tested and distributed throughout the Province—varieties which yield from six to eight bushels per acre more than any varieties previously grown. In oats and barley alone, the varieties introduced and distributed by the experiment station have, within the past four or five years, paid to the Province a good deal more than the entire cost of the College for the last ten years."

Entomologists are studying the thousand and one insects and diseases affecting our grains and fruits. The importance of Economic Entomology to the farmer is thus referred to by the late Professor Panton of our Agricultural College, in an article contributed to the Farmers' Institute Report for 1896-7: "The study of insects in relation to man has of late years commanded much attention, and is usually referred to as Economic Entomology. While there are some insects beneficial to man, there are many injurious. Some destroy his food, some injure his clothing, and others attack the animals that are of use to him. Nearly 100 species have been found preying upon his grain and forage crops; upwards of 40 upon his vegetables; 50 upon the grape; 75 upon the apple. The pine has 125 species as enemies; the oak 300; the elm 80; the hickory 170; the maple 75; the beech 150; while the unfortunate willow battles against 400 insect foes." The following statistics show what an immense loss is sustained by man from insects:

1854. The United States lost \$15,000,000 by the wheat midge.

1857. Canada lost \$8,000,000 by the wheat midge.

1864. The United States lost \$73,000,000 by the chinch-bug.

1870. New York State lost \$5,000,000 by the cabbage worm.

1873. The Southern States lost \$25,000,000 by the cotton worm.

1874. The United States lost \$356,000,000 by the grasshopper.

1884. Canada lost \$500,000 by the clover midge.

IV. Let me finally refer in a few words to the changes that have taken place or are now taking place in the life and methods of the farming community. It is but a few years since the farmer lived in a log house built by his own hands and but rudely furnished. The heating and cooking were done at the big open fire-place. The food of his table was entirely of his own raising and was therefore limited in its variety. For many years his clothes were of deerskin or of home spun, his winter's cap one of the same material, his summer hat was of straw plaited by his own family. His logging and hauling were done by oxen. He cut the grain with sickle, scythe or cradle, and his wife and children followed with rakes, binding and shocking the grain. He threshed on the barn floor with the cumbersome flail or by the tramping of his horse's feet, and he winnowed after the manner of by-gone centuries. He flung a bag of wheat over the back of his only horse, or he placed it in his canoe, or perchance he swung it over his own sturdy shoulder, and strode off by the trail to the little mill miles away where by water power it was ground into flour between stones.

To a large extent the farmer now does his own work and limits operations to his own farm and his own help. We still find, however, the thresher with his three or four helpers going from farm to farm with his machine and portable steam engine. Sometimes in a newly settled section the owner of a mower or binder will engage to cut for his neighbours in rotation. An interesting event in farming operations is the annual harvest excursion to the wheat lands of Manitoba. The farmers of Manitoba are unable of themselves to harvest their extensive crops in the short time between ripening and frost. Every year from 3,000 to 5,000 extra "hands" go from Ontario to Manitoba by special trains to take part in this work. Some return in the autumn, some find permanent employment, and some remain to take up claims for themselves. Other cases of

the migration of farm help are to be found in connection with fruit growing, hop-picking and flax growing. For instance, when the fruit crops of the Niagara district are about ripe large numbers of Indians from the Grand River reserves move into the district, pitch their camp and hire out to pick strawberries, raspberries, grapes, etc. When hops are ready to pick in Waterloo County or around the Bay of Quinte, and when flax is ready to pull in Perth County and the adjacent townships, numbers of women and children from the towns go out to engage in the work. Migration for temporary work is to be found also in the vicinity of canning factories. On the whole, however, the farmer in his method of work is approximating more and more to the mode of work known to dwellers in our towns and cities.

I have referred to the co-operation in work among the early settlers. We are coming into another form of co-operation. I have spoken of the success of co-operative methods in connection with the making of butter and cheese. One other form must be mentioned and that is the great increase in all kinds of associations for improvement. An agricultural society was organized at Niagara (Newark) in 1792 or 1793. Of its existence and of its usefulness but little is known at the present day. It was not till 1830 that practical encouragement was given these

societies on the part of the Legislature. They have continued ever since. In 1867 apart from these general societies for holding fairs, there was only one other Association, that of the fruit-growers. In 1897, however, there were Farmers' Institutes organized in every riding or district of Ontario, there were twelve live-stock associations, two dairy associations, a Bee-keepers' Association and the Entomological Society.

The Report of the Ontario Commissioner of Agriculture for 1868 filled only 272 pages and its distribution was confined to a few copies. In 1897 the agricultural reports of the Department were eleven in number and made 1,808 pages. Over 200,000 of these Reports were distributed, in addition to large numbers of bulletins. In the three years, 1868-69-70, the Legislature spent \$195,969 in behalf of agriculture, of which \$161,392 was for agricultural societies, \$30,000 for the Provincial Fair, and \$1,050 for the Fruit-growers' Association. In the three years, 1895-96-97, the Legislature spent \$718,156 for all agricultural purposes including the agricultural societies, the various associations, the Agricultural College, the dairy schools, Farmers' Institutes, Fruit Experiment Stations, Good Roads' Branch, Printing of Reports, and collection of Agricultural Statistics. The total expenditure by the Legislature on behalf of agriculture for the thirty years, 1868-97, inclusive, has been \$4,509,090.

The following statement of agricultural conditions during the years 1826-1841 is made up from the returns sent to the Upper Canada Legislature:

YEAR.	Population, No.	Area Occupied Acres.	Area Cultivated Acres.	Horses, No.	Oxen, 4 years and Upwards, No.	Milch Cows, No.	Other Cattle 2 to 4 years old.
1826 .....	166,379	3,353,653	599,744	23,806	26,302	62,198	25,669
1827 .....	177,174	3,579,554	645,792	25,228	29,091	66,878	27,661
1828 .....	186,488	3,632,540	668,326	25,701	29,814	67,188	37,304
1829 .....	197,815	3,726,330	717,553	28,388	33,332	75,071	34,765
1830 .....	213,156	4,018,385	773,727	30,776	33,517	80,892	32,537
1831 .....	236,702	4,387,777	818,416	33,428	36,131	84,373	35,162
1832 .....	263,554	4,716,372	916,357	36,822	39,054	92,274	35,172
1833 .....	295,863	5,154,211	988,056	40,254	41,870	95,042	35,760
1834 .....	321,145	5,127,064	1,004,779	43,217	42,455	99,823	36,795
1835 .....	347,359	5,703,219	1,309,785	48,118	46,080	110,051	39,371
1836 .....	374,099	6,089,694	1,283,709	55,064	48,938	121,024	44,706
1837 .....	397,489	6,280,611	1,440,505	57,250	48,453	120,110	49,110
1838 .....	399,422	6,769,050	1,469,737	63,396	47,703	129,711	50,649
1839 .....	409,048	6,670,083	1,556,677	66,220	47,491	136,171	47,607
1840 .....	432,159	7,011,706	1,713,163	72,696	48,990	148,483	49,565
1841 .....	455,688	6,868,504	1,811,431	75,316	49,940	157,411	56,756

The important table which follows is made up from Census reports. The increase in live stock appears especially prominent:

Ontario.	1842.	1848.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.
Population.....	487,053	725,879	952,004	1,396,091	1,620,851	1,926,922	2,112,989
Land occupied, acres.....	6,212,726	8,413,591	9,828,655	13,354,896	16,162,676	19,259,909	21,091,698
Land improved, acres.....	1,751,528	1,780,157	3,705,523	6,051,609	8,833,626	11,294,109	14,157,952
Horses, No.....	113,647	151,389	201,670	377,681	489,001	590,298	771,838
Neat cattle.....	504,963	565,845	744,264	1,015,278	1,403,174	1,702,167	2,052,474
Sheep.....	575,730	833,807	967,168	1,170,225	1,514,914	1,359,178	1,021,769
Swine.....	394,366	484,241	571,496	776,001	874,664	700,922	1,121,396
Wheat, bush...	3,221,989	7,558,773	12,682,550	24,620,425	14,233,389	27,406,091	21,318,582
Oats, bush.....	4,788,167	7,055,730	11,395,467	21,220,874	22,138,958	40,209,929	47,160,246
Potatoes.....	8,080,402	4,751,346	4,973,285	15,325,920	17,138,534	18,893,996	17,635,151



Barley Cutting in Ontario.

# AGRICULTURE IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES

BY

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NOVA Scotia and New Brunswick have not hitherto been noted for their agricultural production, but the little Island Province of Prince Edward, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, has, for many years, been a large producer and exporter of food products. The non-appearance of the field products of the first mentioned Provinces upon the markets, and the trade returns showing their large importation of grains, meats and flour has led to the opinion that Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were not capable of agricultural development, and this has probably kept many settlers from their shores. As a matter of fact, however, not only is Prince Edward Island a grand agricultural district, but the other two Provinces have large areas which are not excelled in natural fertility and other favourable crop-growing conditions by any other areas of equal size on the American continent.

It behoves me then to offer explanations for this non-development of agriculture. There are two circumstances which perhaps are most largely responsible. 1st. The immigration to these Provinces of the United Empire Loyalists, who were men of all professions and very few of them trained farmers, put a class of settlers upon the lands who had very little idea how to farm. There is abundant testimony to this day of the hardships these people underwent and their utter incapacity to carry on a system of agriculture such as would have been profitable to them. Then the immigration which came later, chiefly from Ireland, to New Brunswick and of Highland Scotch to Nova Scotia, did not bring people who understood agriculture any better. They came without capital and had to go to work to earn their farms. In this way they were trained into the habits of the older settlers in the new country, and before they were their own masters had

forgotten all they ever knew of the practice of agriculture in Ireland and Scotland. 2nd. The other chief cause of the lack of improvement in agriculture has, in New Brunswick, undoubtedly been the great development of the lumber industry and the coast fisheries; and in Nova Scotia the allied importance of fish, lumber and minerals.

Perhaps the results of the lumber business upon agriculture in New Brunswick in the first half of the present century cannot better be told than in a Report made to the Government of that Province in the year 1849 by Prof. J. F. W. Johnston, a noted English Chemist, who was brought out from England to critically examine the Province from an agricultural standpoint. In his Report upon the influence of the lumber industry he says: "1st. It has provided a more ready market for farm produce in many parts of the Province. 2nd. It has kept up the prices of such produce, so that, when the lumbering trade has been good, the prices have been generally higher than in neighbouring Provinces. 3rd. It has given employment at good wages to idle hands; and to small farmers it has afforded winter work and an opportunity of earning money at a time when they had comparatively little work at home. These are some of the benefits which the lumber trade conferred upon the Province. But unfortunately, whether from its own nature or from the abuse and competition of those who followed it, this trade was also productive of much evil:

1. It has not merely given labour to idle hands who could obtain no employment in farming, but, being itself the first and most important pursuit in the Colony, it became the leading or chief employment of the able-bodied men of the Province. Farming, which silently grew

up after the lumber trade had been already established, was considered altogether secondary and subsidiary to it. The ground was cultivated chiefly to raise supplies for the lumberman. As a more "respectable" pursuit, and as affording the prospect of excitement and adventure, the occupation of lumbering tempted the young men in great numbers from the more sober and monotonous pursuits of agriculture, and thus greatly retarded its progress in the Province.

2. It also unsettled and demoralized the minds of these young men and gave them extravagant habits of living, which they imparted in some degree to their families and connections, and which still cling prejudicially to the settled population in some parts of the country.

3. It acted in a similar way upon the minds of many of the most promising immigrants from the Old Country, enticing them into the woods, then teaching them thriftless habits, and in fine, making them not only less valuable additions to the productive labour of the Province, but also less able to maintain their families in comfort, and to train up their children to be useful and industrious members of society."

And he further says: "The lumber business has exercised a directly retarding and injurious effect upon the regular culture, the average productiveness and economical tillage of the land.

1. It has given occasion to the small farmer who engaged in it to carry off his hay into the woods, and thus to diminish greatly the quantity of manure, by which his land might have been enriched had his hay been consumed upon his farm.

2. This selling or carrying off the hay has made it necessary in numerous instances to maintain the cattle on the farm at the starving point during the winter, so that in spring they had become mere skeletons, too weak for their work, if they were labouring oxen, and probably short of provender.

3. It has carried him away, not unfrequently half the summer, attending to the sale and delivery of his lumber, to the manifest and ruinous neglect of the operations upon his farm and of the general tending and welfare of his family.

4. It has not only carried off the best labourers and distracted the attention of the farmers, but it has raised the price of labour beyond the general ability of the farmer, who gave his whole attention to the land, to employ paid labour profitably in the operations of husbandry."

What was true in 1849 has been true since until within the last fifteen years. Within this period, however, the lumber business has passed into the hands of large operators and the supply of logs has been getting farther and farther removed from the farm lands, so that many erstwhile lumbermen are now giving their farms their presence and attention for twelve months of the year. What has been true of New Brunswick has been true to a greater or lesser extent of Nova Scotia, and with the added diversion in that Province of more extended fisheries and considerable mining. The latter occupation, however, probably is more beneficial than hurtful to agriculture, as it gives all the year round employment to many thousands of men and these mining centres make excellent markets for agricultural products. So much by way of apology for the comparative backward condition of agriculture in the Maritime Provinces.

The assertion was made at the first of this article that there were many areas in these Provinces which could not be excelled for agriculture anywhere on the continent. It is, perhaps, not possible to completely prove this as, unfortunately, in the past no accurate crop statistics have ever been kept, but from the evidence which can be adduced the reader will be able to glean some facts which will be at least corroborative of the assertion made. A brief glance at these Provinces geologically, geographically, physically and meteorologically will give us a fuller idea of their natural wealth for agriculture.

Geologically, the Maritime Provinces have a fair average chance. P.E. Island is nearly all of the new red sandstone, which gives a soil of fair fertility, naturally drained, easily worked and one responding quickly to applied fertilizers. In Nova Scotia the south shore of the Province is principally trap with some loam—Lower Silurian formation—while there are areas of granite and gneiss, and the Annapolis Valley section comes back to red sandstone. The eastern section is



mixed with trap, red sandstone and coal measures—this latter consisting largely of grey sandstones mixed with varying proportions of clay. Around the Bay of Fundy there is a large area of alluvial land of extraordinary fertility. Some of it has been cutting hay for 150 years without any apparent diminution of yield. This soil has a crop-producing power far in excess of the plant food contained in it. It is made up of wash from a variety of rock foundations. Coming up into New Brunswick we find that the coal measures cover a large breadth of that Province, forming gently undulating land with many large bog areas, where vegetable matter has been collecting for centuries and in some places formed deposits of twenty feet in depth. These bogs, when drained, are making strong cropping land and are also valuable, when hauled out, thoroughly aired and applied to the neighbouring soils as top dressing. The Miramichi, the Saint John, the Richibucto and numerous other rivers, run in part or in whole through this district. Along their banks a fringe of soil is often found better than the uplands present; and hence along the rivers the first settlers found comparatively fertile tracts of country on which to fix their families and commence their earliest farming operations. The intervals and islands of the River Saint John form some of the richest land in the Province; but this richness arises in a considerable degree from the circumstance that this river flows in the upper part of its course through geological formations of other kinds, and brings down from the rocks of which they consist the finely divided materials of which the alluvial soils of the Counties of Sunbury and York and Queens for the most part consist.

The Upper Silurian rocks cover an extent of surface in New Brunswick only inferior to that formed by the coal measures, and it is on them that very much of the natural fertility of the Province depends; and the whole northern portion of the Province rests upon them. From Woodstock north on the St. John River and across to the Restigouche the whole upland soil is largely made up of this decaying rock, which is very strong in potash and gives a soil said to be equal to anything known elsewhere. The late Edward Jack, C.E., of Fredericton, who had

examined this tract and had compared it by personal investigation with the whole eastern part of the American continent from the Mississippi Valley to the Atlantic and Hudson's Bay, expressed it as his honest conviction that there was no such large area of land, in all the territory he had examined, so well and naturally adapted to agriculture as could be found on the Upper Silurian formation in New Brunswick, lying between the Rivers St. John and Restigouche. It is to this formation that the fertility of the alluvial land along the St. John River can be attributed.

Lime and plaster rock is also widely distributed in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Gypsum is exported very extensively from Windsor and Antigonish in Nova Scotia, and Albert and Victoria Counties in New Brunswick, and lime rock of excellent quality is found in immense quantities in St. John County and more or less elsewhere. These two sources of a bountiful supply of lime are great aids to agriculture. I need not refer here to the mineral wealth of these Provinces or to its bearing upon agriculture, save to say that the great coal, iron, gold, silver and copper wealth of Nova Scotia is sure to attract a large population in time. New Brunswick is not so fortunate as her sister Province in minerals, yet she can show fairly profitable coal seams, nickel and copper indications, some good gold, considerable manganese and large deposits of iron. The petroleum area under New Brunswick is also said to be very large.

Geographically, the Maritime Provinces are situated in a latitude similar to Southern France and Northern Italy, and, were it not for the current flowing from north to south along the Atlantic coast, would enjoy a similar climate. The southern point of Nova Scotia reaches down to latitude 43 deg. 30", and northern New Brunswick is just up to 48 deg. The longitude is from 60 deg. west to 69 deg. Speaking from an English standpoint, the Maritime Provinces are the most easily reached British possessions outside of Europe, and this has served and will in a greater degree serve to promote trade with the Mother Country. Within the last decade the ports of the Maritime Provinces are becoming the principal all-the-year-round gateways between the vast continent to the west and Great Britain,

even large quantities of United States produce finding its exit through this channel. In the near future, when a Canadian Fast Atlantic passenger and mail Service shall have been arranged, it is probable we will find a very large proportion of the passenger traffic for more than two-thirds of the American continent going this way, as the ocean voyage is so much shorter than through any ports outside these Provinces. All this must stimulate agriculture as well as other industries.

The position of these Provinces, jutting out as they do into the Atlantic Ocean, gives them climatic peculiarities to which I shall later refer. It also gives them a great extent of coast line, with beautiful bays and noble harbours. Prince Edward Island is in reality all sea coast, for no matter how far into the interior one may get, an hour's drive in any given direction will almost invariably discover salt water. There are bays which deserve special mention, one, the beautiful Bay Chaleur, between New Brunswick and the Gaspé Peninsula, without rock, reef or shoal in its ninety miles of length and forty-five miles of breadth, is unique in its safety to navigators, while the Bay of Fundy, between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, with its mouth wide-open to the south-west, has features which are peculiar only to this Bay. Lying funnel-shaped towards the great tidal movement from west to east, it gathers from the incoming tide a great deal of water that does not belong to it, and then gradually compressing it between narrowing shores, piles it up in places sixty feet in height, and this gives rise to many peculiarities. This rush of tide twice a day has formed enormous areas of marsh land, and the process is still going on. The great rise and fall of water in this Bay has also a climatic effect in that it keeps the air continually moving, and in the regions about its head there is probably a cooler summer climate than can be found anywhere in the same latitude. While this is undesirable for horticulture and some crops, it is an almost perfect climate for live stock. The bay crop grows luxuriantly, the natural pastures are good, and troublesome flies are not nearly so bad as in warmer sections.

The physical features of the Maritime Provinces are not, perhaps, in some ways so favour-

able to agriculture as the peninsula of Ontario, and certainly do not offer the extended unbroken areas of tillage land that can be found further west. Yet these Provinces have some physical advantages all their own. They are specially good for stock-raising purposes. The abundant supply of fresh water everywhere distributed by lake, stream and river is perhaps the most important physical feature. In no country is this supply of pure, healthful water excelled, and in very few is it duplicated. This feature is almost invaluable for stock-raising purposes, and the average Maritime farmer will look at you most incredulously when you tell him of the trials of a Western Ontario stockman during a severe drought. It must not be supposed from this that drought is unknown in these Provinces, for there are in some seasons long periods of dry weather which prevent the full development of crops; but the normal ground water supply is rarely seriously diminished. There are but few sections where the wells go dry, and the lakes, larger rivers and streams always contain abundance of water. To insure a continuance of this favourable condition, it is probable that we must conserve our forest area and not make the mistake of some countries in permitting the ruthless destruction of trees. There are practically no mountains in the Maritime Provinces. Elevations of from 400 to 1,000 feet are frequently found, and considerable portions of southern New Brunswick and Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia may be described as broken, but nowhere is there an elevation above 2,000 feet—the highest point in New Brunswick being Bald Mountain in Queen's County, N.B., 1,800 feet, and some points a little higher in Cape Breton, N.S.

The numerous small and large streams give many chances for water-power, and this is beneficial to the farmer in enabling him to grind his grain and get his lumber sawn near home. The Provinces are, *par excellence*, the home of the spruce tree and the fir; nowhere does better spruce grow, nor grow more quickly, and this fact, with the ability to produce many other evergreen varieties and nearly all kinds of hard woods, insures the farmer a fuel supply and ample building material. The number of rivers, lakes and navigable streams has not only been of

inestimable value to the lumbermen, but is of almost equal value to the farmer in giving him during the summer months cheap and easy communication with the towns and cities.

Meteorologically, these Provinces have their own peculiarities both favourable and unfavourable to agriculture. Their maritime position delays the change from season to season and mild open weather will extend up till nearly the New Year; while in the spring, ice fields in the Gulf of St. Lawrence cause a coolness which sometimes extends throughout April and May and prevents such early seeding as can be done farther west. The average spring is, for agricultural purposes, from ten to fifteen days behind the peninsula of Ontario. The following figures from the Meteorological Service will afford a better idea of the climate than any lengthy description. To give an idea of the precipitation I give the following figures of rain fall and snow fall:

NOVA SCOTIA.		NEW BRUNSWICK.		P. E. ISLAND.		YEAR.
Rain. In.	Snow. In.	Rain. In.	Snow. In.	Rain. In.	Snow. In.	
36.95	86.5	26.81	107.1	39.53	117.1	1874
43.82	30.3	34.16	87.4	40.15	78.3	1878
35.37	115.2	29.69	139.0	28.07	169.2	1882
35.05	49.3	30.92	102.1	32.93	60.7	1886
43.42	61.4	32.99	67.9	35.07	50.5	1892

Of course different localities vary much, but space will not permit of my going into details; the figures are available in the Canada Meteorological Reports, which can be had on application to the Minister of Agriculture at Ottawa. I give, however, for convenience, the mean temperature at some of the representative points, with the precipitation:

STATIONS.	TEMPERATURE.			PRECIPITATION.		
	Maxi- mum. o	Mini- mum. o	Mean. o	Rain. In.	Snow. In.	Total. In.
<i>Prince Edward Island.</i>						
Alberton.....	85.0	9.4	42.36	29.25	48.5	34.10
Georgetown.....	91.5	3.0	44.08	36.70	67.0	43.44
<i>New Brunswick.</i>						
Bathurst.....	92.0	17.0	44.46	26.49	98.4	36.33
Dorchester.....	85.0	15.0	36.31	32.48	54.7	37.95
St. John.....	85.4	6.0	41.68	42.48	52.8	47.76
<i>Nova Scotia.</i>						
Digby.....	82.0	1.0	43.67	29.56	27.1	32.27
Halifax.....	88.4	3.0	43.80	48.43	50.6	53.49
Pictou.....	90.8	5.0	44.28	37.06	85.5	45.61
Sydney.....	88.5	1.0	43.03	44.06	76.7	51.73
Yarmouth.....	76.5	1.6	43.43	41.65	104.1	52.06

Plowing in the Maritime Provinces can be commenced, according to locality, from and

after the 10th of April, and considerable seeding is in some years done before the first of May. In the southern part of New Brunswick, and most of Nova Scotia and P. E. Island the snow leaves the fields before the first of April—some years early in March—and leaves the fields exposed to considerable freezing and thawing. This is very hard upon the grass roots, but it is an excellent pulverizing process for land plowed the previous autumn. In northern New Brunswick the snow usually comes in November before heavy freezing and stays till the first of May, thoroughly protecting the grass. Though the snow is so late in leaving, vegetation is very little behind that of the southern part, as the grass starts growing under the snow and the fields are green as soon as the snow leaves.

*Lands.* The price of agricultural land is in most districts low, running from \$5.00 to \$25.00 per acre (this includes buildings). Close to towns, values naturally increase and those dyke lands which have the wonderful hay-growing powers that were previously mentioned, are valued from \$100 to \$400 per acre, and will, as a rule, pay good interest on the investment. There are yet considerable areas of land held by the Crown. In Nova Scotia about 1,500,000 acres are yet ungranted, but most of this is unfit for agricultural purposes. The price of this land is \$40 per hundred acres. In New Brunswick it is estimated that there are about 7,000,000 acres of ungranted land, and much of it is of splendid quality for agriculture. Crown lands may there be acquired for actual settlement as follows:

1. Grants of 100 acres, by settlers over eighteen years of age, on condition of improving the land to the extent of \$20 (£4) within three months; building a house 16 by 20 feet and cultivating 2 acres within one year; and continuous residence and cultivation of 10 acres within three years.

2. One hundred acres are given to any settler over eighteen years of age who pays \$20 (£4) in cash, or does work on the public roads, &c., equal to \$10 (£2) per annum for three years. Within two years a house 16 by 20 feet must be built and 2 acres of land cleared. Continuous residence for three years from date of entry and 10 acres cultivated in that time are required.

3. Single applications may be made for not

more than 200 acres of Crown Lands without conditions of settlement. These are put up to public auction at an upset price of \$1 (4s. 2d.) per acre. Purchase money to be paid at once. Cost of survey to be paid by purchaser.

In Prince Edward Island there are about 45,000 acres of vacant Government land available, consisting of forest lands of medium quality, and averaging in price about \$1 an acre. Intending settlers are allowed ten years to pay for their holdings, the purchase money bearing interest at 5 per cent. and being payable in ten annual instalments.

*Crops.* Since the decennial Census of 1891, we have no statistics of farm crops or animals. The Governments of the Provinces, outside of Ontario, have never undertaken this work and so we are very much in the dark upon many important points. In 1891 there were 62,419 horses kept in Nova Scotia; 59,586 in New Brunswick; and 37,402 in P. E. Island. Of horned cattle Nova Scotia had 309,776; New Brunswick, 202,439; P. E. Island, 91,629. Of sheep Nova Scotia had 318,855; New Brunswick, 181,110; and P. E. Island, 147,097. Of swine Nova Scotia had 45,760; New Brunswick, 51,093; and P. E. Island, 42,652.

In 1891 Nova Scotia had Wheat: 14,157 acres; bushels (spring), 158,306, bushels (fall), 7,500. Barley: acres, 11,992; bushels, 227,530. Oats: acres, 94,117; bushels, 1,559,842. Rye: bushels, 23,500. Peas: bushels, 19,536. Buckwheat: bushels, 184,421. Beans: bushels, 24,950. Corn: bushels, 16,890. Potatoes: acres, 44,854; bushels, 5,113,612. Turnips and other roots: acres, 6,843; bushels, 1,349,076. Hay crop: acres, 539,057; tons, 632,391. Grass and clover seed: bushels, 2,117.

New Brunswick had Wheat: acres, 17,306; bus. (spring), 206,610; bus. (fall), 3,199. Barley: acres, 6,141; bus., 100,917. Oats: acres, 157,176; bus., 3,025,329. Rye: 6,321 bus. Peas: bus., 24,352. Buckwheat: bus., 1,136,528. Beans: bus., 20,137. Corn: bus., 21,021. Potatoes: acres, 42,703; bus., 4,827,830. Turnips and other roots: acres, 5,075; bus., 974,363. Hay crop: acres, 470,834; tons, 476,069. Grass and Clover: bus., 4,947.

Prince Edward Island had Wheat; acres, 44,

703; bus. (spring), 596,761; bus. (fall), 16,603. Barley: acres, 7,597; bus., 147,880. Oats: acres, 153,924; bus., 2,922,552. Rye: bus., 221. Peas: bus., 4,735. Buckwheat: bus., 84,460. Beans: bus., 2,445. Corn: bus., 2,651. Potatoes: acres, 43,521; bus., 7,071,308. Turnips and other roots: acres, 4,411; bus., 2,005,453. Hay crop: acres, 150,108; tons, 132,959. Grass and Clover Seed: bus., 12,417. While the above figures show the average for the whole country where much of the crop is grown under a very careless system of farming, the returns from the Experimental Farm, Nappan, N.S., show what a careful system will produce. At this Farm there has never been high manuring, but always good cultivation, the aim being to show what could be accomplished by good farming without expensive fertilizing. Here the average crops for 5 years have been: Wheat, 26 bus. per acre; Barley, 38 bus.; Oats, 51 bus.; Carrots, 450 bus.; Mangels, 800 bus.; Turnips, 912 bus.; Potatoes, 276 bushels. The quality of all these products is good. Doubts have often been expressed about the value of Maritime Province wheat for milling, but experience at the New Glasgow Milling Company's mills, New Glasgow, N.S., where there is a complete roller process grinding machine, shows that the output from Nova Scotia and P.E. Island wheat makes flour in every way as good as that from the western grain. The coarse grains all grow well and in New Brunswick large areas of buckwheat are grown. This grain provides a large amount of valuable cattle food upon land and under tillage conditions that would not produce any other crop. When well treated, as much as 70 bushels can be taken from an acre.

*Fruit.* These Provinces have great possibilities as a fruit-growing section and the following figures of the products for the year 1890 will show that already a fair start has been made:

New Brunswick. Apples, bus., 259,615. Peaches, bus., 35. Pears, bus., 96. Plums, bus., 3,784. Cherries, bus., 1,243. Other Fruits, bus., 7,602. Acres in Nurseries, 147. Acres in Vines, 28. Pounds of Grapes, 2,065. Nova Scotia. Apples, bus., 1,051,592. Peaches, bus., 534. Pears, bus., 7,115. Plums, bus. 9,246. Cherries, bus., 7,482. Other Fruits, bus., 31,561. Acres in Nur-

series, 214. Acres in Vines, 173. Pounds of Grapes, 2,065. Prince Edward Island. Apples, bus., 52,018. Peaches, bus., 19. Pears, bus., 71. Plums, bus., 1,479. Cherries, bus., 4,265. Other Fruits, bus., 2,473. Acres in Nurseries, 62. Acres in Vines, 72. Pounds of Grapes, 4,402. The crop of apples in Nova Scotia has doubled since these statistics were gathered. That portion of Nova Scotia lying between the North and South Mountains, stretching from Windsor on the east to Digby on the west and known as the Annapolis Valley, is the section in which most of the fruit is grown, and as a fruit-growing region there are few superior to it on the American continent.

*Animals and their products.* From the number of animals kept, as stated above, it will be seen that some beef, milk, mutton and pork must be made. The dairy industry, thanks to the active interest of both Dominion and Provincial Governments, has made great advances during the past ten years, and the methods on which it is conducted are becoming yearly more modernized. Practically all the cheese made is now manufactured in factories and factory butter-making is all the time increasing. In New Brunswick there are fifty-three factories where cheese is made, which last season (1897) put out 1,107,281 lbs. cheese; and nine factories where butter was made, making over 100,000 lbs. of butter. An effort, with considerable success, is now being made to start the central creamery plan of winter butter-making so much in vogue in Vermont and New York States. At Sussex, N.B., a factory is now running which makes up the cream sent in from six neighbouring cheese factory districts, and about a ton of butter per week is being made. A factory on the same principle is also running at Woodstock, N.B., and is working up a good business. This plan has been started by the Provincial Department of Agriculture. In Nova Scotia there are some forty factories for making cheese and butter and many of them are thoroughly equipped for either work. On P.E. Island there are thirty-five factories and all but two of them make cheese during the summer, but many of them make butter during the winter season, and the yearly output of

cheese and butter is becoming a large factor in the exports of the Province—bidding fair in a few years to overshadow all its other products. Beef is not made in any considerable quantities but some localities are now going into the fattening of cattle. Lambs are shipped in very large numbers from Eastern Nova Scotia and P. E. Island and some parts of New Brunswick, to the New England cities, and are highly prized there for the quality of their flesh. The supply of pork is not nearly equal to the local consumption except on P. E. Island but it is likely in a very short time that this stock will be increased manifold.

Taken as a whole, the Maritime Provinces of Canada can be put down as a country with great agricultural possibilities. With the home market that exists, and with their splendid position for export to European and tropical markets, there must be a great increase in production if the people would turn their attention to agriculture. Probably one cause which has exercised a deterrent effect upon agricultural development has been the lack of educational facilities along agricultural lines. The trend of education has all along been towards the learned professions (so called), and prominent teachers have not been slow to inculcate a desire in the young people for a more exalted sphere (in their opinion) than the farm would afford. In Nova Scotia some start has been made towards agricultural education, both in special agricultural and horticultural schools, and in giving the teachers at the Normal Schools such training as will enable them to apply their work in the elementary schools to agricultural thought and practice. In New Brunswick a Dairy School has been established for instruction in cheese-making and butter-making, both in the factory and on the farm. It is aimed to broaden and extend this School as the demand for it increases. Looking forward into the twentieth century, the future seems full of promise to the farmers of our great Canadian Dominion, and nowhere, I should say, was there a better prospect for solid agricultural advancement, comfortable farm houses and a contented rural population than in these Maritime Provinces.

# AGRICULTURE IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

BY

G. A. GIGAULT, Ex-M.P., Deputy Commissioner of Agriculture for the Province.

THE Province of Quebec has four agricultural schools: Oka, L'Assomption, Ste. Anne de la Pocatière and Compton. Last year (1896-7) they were attended as follows: Ste. Anne by twenty-six pupils; L'Assomption by forty-two; Oka by forty-nine; Compton by thirteen. To each of these schools is annexed a butter and cheese factory where, every year, are to be found good cheese or butter makers. In 1892 the Provincial Government began to subsidize a School of Domestic Economy previously established at Roberval, in the Lake St. John region, under the control of the Reverend Ursuline Ladies. The course of domestic and rural economy given in this institution is as follows:

1. All the pupils, irrespective of age, are trained to be good housekeepers, especially in order and cleanliness. They are also instructed in the principal rules of the culinary art. In order to accustom them to regulate expenditure on receipts, they keep a detailed account of their expenses and of moneys received. The whole is submitted to the approbation of their families.

2. Each pupil mends and repairs her linen, and must know how to sew and knit before learning fancy work. The work-room is open every day for at least three-quarters of an hour for the pupils who wish to learn carding, spinning, weaving, etc.

3. To all who are in a position to benefit thereby, two lessons are given weekly on the theory and practice of keeping a dairy and making butter and cheese for family use. Afterwards lessons are given in agriculture, horticulture, poultry keeping, etc.

Thirty-seven young ladies followed these lessons in 1893 and this year their number is still larger. The School was destroyed by fire in Jan-

uary, 1897, and re-built during the same year with great improvements.

In 1892 a Dairy School was established at St. Hyacinthe under the control of the Dairymen's Association of the Province, the Government having given for that purpose a grant of \$10,000. The makers who have followed the courses of the School since its opening are:

Courses.	Butter-Makers.	Cheese-Makers.	Total.
1892-3	60	154	214
1893-4	98	170	268
1894-5	59	253	312
1895-6	102	172	274
1896-7	147	155	302
	466	904	1,370

In this School are also trained inspectors for cheese and butter syndicates; the latter in virtue of Article 1753, 54 Vic., c. 20, s. 1, which reads as follows: "The Association (Dairymen's), with a view to obtaining more prompt and complete diffusion of the best methods to be adopted for the production of milk, the fabrication of dairy produce and in general the advancement of the dairy industry, may subdivide the Province into regional divisions, in which syndicates, composed of proprietors of butter and cheese factories and other like industries, may be established. The formation and working of such syndicates are governed by the regulations made by the said Association and approved by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, and such syndicates shall be under the direction and supervision of the Association. To such syndicates the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may grant, out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund, a subsidy equal to one-half of the expenses incurred for the service of inspection and instruction organized therein,

including the salary of inspectors, their travelling and other expenses directly connected therewith, but not to exceed the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars for each syndicate."

The Inspectors, including the Inspector-General, are appointed by the Lieut.-Governor-in-Council and are experts who hold certificates of competence from the Board of Examiners formed by the Dairymen's Association. For these syndicates the Association established regulations which were approved by the Lieut.-Governor on the 24th of January, 1891. Many syndicates were established. In 1896 there were twenty-eight in the Province. These associations have greatly contributed towards bringing more uniformity into and improving the quality of our dairy products.

In 1882 a Dairymen's Association was formed for the Province. It has done much useful work in the promotion and progress of dairy industry. Every year a general meeting of its members takes place. Interesting and instructive lectures are then given, the report of which is often consulted with advantage by those interested in dairying. Since 1896 inclusively, the Provincial Department of Agriculture holds, during the summer, dairy competitions organized after the Danish system, in which silver and bronze medals, diplomas and money prizes are distributed according to merit. As soon as the makers have received a despatch or a letter to that effect they forward, by the next train or boat, a box of butter or cheese made by them for market. The cheese, or butter, must be shipped exactly as it was ready for exportation. Those whose butter, or cheese, is considered of 1st and 2nd quality receive prizes; as to the other exhibitors, they are informed by private letters of the defects of their products. The exhibits are examined by very experienced judges chosen from among the leading exporters and from the Professors of the Dairy School; they are also analyzed by a chemist. They are paid for by the Government according to market price, and the Government also pays for the freight. These competitions produce the best results.

Fruits are cultivated in every region of the Province. The Montreal district is renowned for its apples, and chiefly its Fameuses, which

cannot be excelled. The Quebec district produces most delicious plums. Two Pomological and Horticultural Societies exist in the Province. Their reports always contain most useful information in fruit culture. This year (1898) the Government has established in the Province four Fruit Experimental Stations, one of them being in the County of Gaspé, another in Chicoutimi. By means of these Stations the farmer will obtain a thorough knowledge of the fruits that are adapted to the climate of the region where he lives. The results of the investigations and experiments of these Stations will certainly develop fruit-growing and make more lucrative that important branch of our agriculture.

In 1890 a law was enacted establishing competitions of agricultural merit for the whole Province. The farms of the competitors are visited by judges appointed by the Government. The distinctions conferred upon the successful competitors consist of:

1. A diploma and silver medal for the person who at the competition has obtained the degree of "distinguished merit."
2. A diploma and bronze medal for the person who has obtained the degree of "great merit."
3. A diploma for the person who has obtained the degree of "merit."

"Distinguished merit" is granted to the person who has obtained at the competition 85 out of 100 points allowed for perfect cultivation; "Great merit" is granted to the person who has obtained 75 per cent. of the same points; and "Merit" to the person who has obtained 65 per cent. The judges forward to the Commissioner of Agriculture a detailed report upon the farm and farming of each laureate. Such reports, published annually, are very instructive to the agricultural class. The number of laureates who have received silver medals were: 7 in 1890; 42 in 1891; 20 in 1892; 31 in 1893; 18 in 1894; 27 in 1895; 30 in 1896; 8 in 1897.

In 1896 the Government appointed J. A. Camiraud, of Sherbrooke, as a special officer intrusted with the mission of improving public highways. He gave lectures on that subject in several municipalities and had roads improved by two road machines and a stone crusher, put at his

disposal by the Department. The Hon. Louis Beaubien, then Commissioner of Agriculture, also offered to every county municipality to pay one-half of the first stone crusher's cost and of the first road machine which it would purchase for the improvement of its public highways. The Hon. F. G. M. Dechene, the present Commissioner, modified this policy by offering to each local municipality a grant equal to one-half of the price of the first road machine which it would acquire, to the extent of three municipalities in every county. A great many municipalities have availed themselves of this offer; many miles of public highways have been worked with the machines bought with the Government grants; and it is hoped that before long there will be a marked improvement in the making and maintenance of our roads.

In 1896 the Council of Public Instruction approved of a book entitled "Agriculture in Schools, in 41 Lessons." This agricultural manual is now taught in many of the rural schools.

The first Agricultural Society was established in 1789. It had H. E. Lord Dorchester as Patron and President, Lieut.-Governor Hope as Vice-President, and many leading men as Directors. Only the first report of this Society is in existence. It contains the remarks of some members and the results of the experiments made by them. In 1897 there were in the Province 65 Agricultural Societies in operation with 12,770 members. The amount they spent for agricultural purposes during that year was \$67,853.69. According to law every society should, once in every two years, hold an exhibition of agricultural produce, and organize alternately competitions in regard to the best cultivated farms. The intention of the Legislature was that the societies should devote as much money for farm and standing crop competitions as for exhibitions. Some of these associations comply with the spirit of the law and do a good deal towards improving agriculture, but, unfortunately, the majority hold only exhibitions and neglect the exercise of the most useful part of their powers. Competitions for standing crops or the best managed farms encourage the farmers to increase the fertility of their farms and to improve their cultural

methods; improvement which has the most beneficial influence upon agriculture and consequently upon the production of the soil.

In 1893 a law was enacted authorizing the formation of Farmers' Clubs and the payment of a grant to such associations. During the year 1896 there were 509 Clubs in operation with 39,284 members, and they spent for agricultural purposes \$94,571.63, including \$4,595.71 for the purchase of thoroughbred animals. Each Club has seven Directors. Their object is to promote improvement in agriculture and horticulture:

1. By holding meetings for discussion and for hearing lectures on subjects connected with the theory and practice of improved husbandry.

2. By promoting the circulation of agricultural papers.

3. By offering prizes for essays on questions of theoretical or practical agriculture.

4. By importing or otherwise procuring animals of superior breeds, new varieties of plants and grain, and seeds of the best kinds.

5. By organizing ploughing matches, competitions respecting standing crops and the best cultivated farms.

6. By procuring books, reviews and newspapers treating of agricultural subjects for the use of their members.

7. By promoting and favouring experiments in farming, manure, and improved agricultural machinery and implements.

Many of these Clubs have every year several meetings in order to hear lectures and discussions on agricultural subjects. They hold no exhibitions, but have organized many competitions respecting standing crops, chiefly for the purpose of encouraging the production of green fodder, roots and the use of fertilizers. Many experiments have been made with fertilizers, the use of lime, wood-ashes, etc., and the publication of the results obtained has been useful to the whole agricultural class. At the same time as the Farmers' Clubs were established, the *Journal of Agriculture* published by the Department was enlarged and greatly improved. In 1892 the *Journal* had only 7,516 subscribers for both the French and English editions, and it now has 47,611 readers. Before the establishment of Farmers' Clubs, about one-third of the parishes



or municipalities had no members of agricultural societies, or only a few members. To-day we find a large number of members of agricultural associations in almost every municipality, while the *Journal of Agriculture* penetrates into every region of the Province.

The lectures and discussions before Farmers' Clubs, the competitions and experiments organized by these associations and the reading of the *Journal of Agriculture* by thousands of farmers, have led to a widespread diffusion of the theories and facts upon which are based agricultural improvements. That diffusion has produced most beneficial results which are visible everywhere. The agricultural production, and chiefly the production of milk, has largely increased; the farmers pay more attention to the maintenance and increase of the fertility of the soil, and there is a most satisfactory improvement in the methods of cultivation. According to statistics gathered by the Dairymen's Association for this year (1898), there are in the Province 337 creameries, 1,263 cheese factories, and 217 combined butter and cheese factories, while, according to the Census, there were in 1890 only 111 creameries and 617 cheese factories.

According to the last Census (1891) the Province of Quebec produced :

Wheat .....	1,553,544	bushels
Barley .....	1,505,600	"
Oats .....	16,905,800	"
Peas .....	1,806,943	"
Buckwheat .....	2,009,448	"
Beans .....	79,078	"
Corn .....	790,685	"
Potatoes .....	15,024,644	"
Turnips and other roots .....	2,532,853	"
Flax Seed.....	27,647	"
Apples .....	1,034,139	"
Plums .....	60,513	"
Hay .....	2,243,435	tons
Maple Sugar .....	18,875,231	pounds
Honey .....	758,557	"
Hops .....	180,297	"
Tobacco .....	3,958,737	"
Home-made Butter.....	30,113,226	"
Home-made Cheese .....	4,260,941	"

The value of the Creamery butter produced

was \$555,932 and that of the cheese made in factories \$2,362,595.

Since that date the production of butter and cheese has largely increased, if not doubled. In 1890 the Province had 549,544 milch cows, 730,286 sheep, 369,608 swine.

The swine industry is taking a greater development and will add considerably to the revenue of the farming class. Fruit culture is becoming every year more and more important. This year (1898) the crop of wheat is much larger than usual, which is due to the increased fertility of the soil, dairying having largely contributed towards that result.

In 1894, I might add here, Mr. J. D. Leclair, Superintendent of the St. Hyacinthe Dairy School, and myself, as Assistant-Commissioner of Agriculture, were sent by the Government to Denmark and other European countries in order to collect information regarding the dairy industry abroad, the agricultural methods generally in vogue in the different European countries, and the best means to be adopted for the furtherance of the exportation of our products to the English market. Besides Denmark we visited Belgium, France, Ireland and England. In our Report published in the same year (1894) we stated the following conclusions :

1st. To develop our butter trade with England it is absolutely necessary that the vessels doing the service between that country and Canada be supplied with refrigerators. It is also necessary to ship the butter weekly, that it may arrive fresh and without that stale taste which relegates it to the last class.

2nd. The Provincial Dairy School should be enlarged and improved.

3rd. A competition in dairy products, organized after the Danish system, would aid in improving the methods of fabrication of these products.

4th. If we desire to increase our pork exports, we should try to procure meat suitable to make bacon, that is to say, not too fat; to fatten the pigs when they are young, and to kill them when they do not weigh over two hundred pounds. This trade should be developed at the same time as that of butter, from which, moreover, it is inseparable.

5th. The poultry export trade is susceptible of

development, and can be made remunerative to the raisers, provided the killing, dressing and packing are properly done.

6th. Our apples are in favour on the English market; but if we wish to encourage the multiplication of our orchards and increase the production of the fruits, without overcrowding the local market, our nurserymen and the owners of the orchards should try to produce apples that can be shipped without being bruised, and that will keep a few months after having been picked; these apples should command attention by their quality and appearance.

7th. In England they attach the greatest importance to the uniformity of the products put up for sale. This uniformity should exist in the case of our butter, cheese, apples and all our products.

8th. The schools for instruction in the domestic economy of the farm house must be greatly increased.

9th. An elementary treatise in agriculture should be published and taught in our primary schools.

10th. The establishment of agricultural lectures has done good service in our country and elsewhere to agriculture, and we must try to increase their efficacy."

The winters in Quebec are cold and the summers somewhat similar to those in France—this Province having the summer suns of France, being in the same latitude. But very exaggerated notions prevail abroad as to the severity of the winters in the Province of Quebec. There is decided cold; but the air is generally dry and brilliant, and the cold, therefore, not felt to be unpleasant. Snow always covers the ground during the winter months. It packs under foot, and makes everywhere winter roads, over which heavy loads can be drawn in sleighs with the greatest ease. These roads, for the purpose of

teaming, are probably the best in the world, and they are available in the newest and roughest parts of the country before the regular summer roads are made. The snow which lasts, generally commences in December and goes away in April. The snow covering is most advantageous for agricultural operations, as is also the winter frost. Both leave the ground in a favourable state, after its winter rest, for rapid vegetable growth. The climate of Quebec is one of the healthiest under the sun, as well as the most pleasant to live in. Fever and ague, though scourges of the south-western States, are unknown here. There is no malaria, every climatic influence being healthy and pure.

The soil of the Province is found to be for the most part extremely rich, and susceptible of the highest cultivation. It is adapted to the growth of very varied products. The cereals, hay, root crops and grain crops, grow everywhere in abundance where they are cultivated. Spring wheat gives an average of about fifteen bushels to the acre. Cattle-breeding on a large scale is carried on, and for some years past cattle have been exported in large quantities from this Province to the English market. For pasturage the lands of Quebec are of special excellence, particularly those in the Eastern Townships and north of the St. Lawrence. Indian corn, flax and tobacco are grown in many parts of the Province and yield large crops. Other portions are especially favourable for the growth of apples and plums. Large quantities of the former are exported, and some of the varieties which are peculiar to this Province cannot be excelled, and they have specialties which perhaps cannot be equalled. The small fruits everywhere grow in profusion, and grapes ripen in the open air in the southern and western parts of the Province. They are now beginning to be largely grown and have proved fairly profitable.

## RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT OF MANITOBA

BY

LIEUT.-COLONEL, THE HON. C. A. BOULTON, Senator of Canada.

**A**MONG the important events of the Victorian Era may be included the opening out of that vast territory now known as the North-West Territories of Canada, formerly part of the possessions of the Hudson's Bay Company. In this connection Prince Rupert, Lord Selkirk and Sir George Simpson are preserved as leading names in the new civilization that has followed upon the footsteps of early fur traders, such as La Verendrye and others who have left their traces on the maps to indicate the part French Canada played in the pioneer history of this interesting country. The officers of the Hudson's Bay Company preserved for the British Empire a splendid inheritance. They were cut off from the rest of the world by physical obstacles, such as the forests of Canada on the east, the navigation of Hudson's Bay on the north, the Rocky Mountains on the west and the great desert prairies of America on the south. The officers of the Company, scattered in command of posts throughout the territory, had a small world all to themselves, and made no effort to expose to the outside world the magnificent resources with which Nature had endowed this rich agricultural region. They were fur traders, and the native population were their hunters and trappers, whom they treated with parental care and ruled with judgment, but they kept them to their business of trapping, and claimed for themselves a monopoly of the fur-bearing animals. The zealous self-sacrificing missionaries of the French Canadians were among the early pioneers of the last century, who penetrated through the dense forests and by the rapid waterways to this far off region and great lone land, which is to-day a centre of civilization. They reached the prairie region of the interior by way of Lake Superior before any effort was made to penetrate it from the Hudson's Bay.

In 1869 this large territory was transferred to Canada by the Imperial Government so as to constitute an unbroken nationality on the soil of British North America, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This was part of an Imperial policy that was conceived in the minds of statesmen on both sides of the Atlantic, upwards of half a century ago; a policy to carry out which both political parties in Canada buried the hatchet for a space. The vast region, to govern which was now going to test the energy and capacity of the Canadian people, extended from the head of Lake Superior to the base of the Rocky Mountains, through 450 miles of forest and eight hundred miles of prairie from east to west, and from the boundary line of the United States to the Arctic Ocean, well drained by large rivers and numerous lakes, great and small. The Province of Manitoba was the first offspring of the new Canadian nationality, the betrothal of which was entered upon on the First of July, 1867. The troubles which arose in 1869 and 1870 upon the transfer of the country to Canada necessitated a force of Imperial troops under Colonel (Lord) Wolseley to firmly establish Canadian authority. He led his men through the forests that lie between the head of Lake Superior and the Red River, which river may be said to mark the eastern boundary of the prairie region that lies beyond. He tracked up the rivers, and *portaged* over the heights of land with a force of a thousand men, and came out at the mouth of the Winnipeg River on a large lake of the same name, arriving at Fort Garry on the First of August, 1870. After placing two companies of Canadian militia, one at Fort Garry, the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, and the other at the lower Fort 30 miles below, on the Red River, forts that had been built by the Hudson's Bay Company to protect their stores

from Indian raids or from attacks by their great rivals, the Nor' West Fur Trading Company, Colonel Wolseley returned by the same route, having in one summer brought his troops through the trackless forests for 450 miles, returning the same season, before the close of navigation on Lake Superior.

Co-incident with the issue of the Queen's proclamation upon the arrival of Colonel Wolseley in August, 1870, Lieut.-Governor Archibald, under the authority of Canadian legislation, established his Government and extended the British constitution to the population of the Selkirk Settlement as part and parcel of Canada under the title of the Province of Manitoba. The Provincial powers were the same as those extended to all the Provinces of the Dominion. For nearly fifteen years after the establishment of the Provincial Government the Hon. John Norquay, a native of the Selkirk Settlement and partly of Indian blood, was the leading spirit in the Government of the Province and held the position of Premier during that time. In 1872 the Canadian Government passed an Act for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and, after surveys had marked the way, let contracts for the construction of that portion between Lake Superior and the Red River, where the town of Winnipeg was situated on the site of Fort Garry. It was, however, not until 1880 that the idea of a trans-continental railway took practical shape. In 1882 the Lake Superior section by its completion brought eastern and western Canada together on Canadian soil, and with it came a rush of the Canadian people to enter upon the pioneer work of developing a new Province. Within a year they doubled the population that had drifted in, in the decade of the seventies, over the American railway lines from the south. In 1881 the boundaries of the Province were extended to the 29th range of townships west, making it about three hundred miles from north to south—a square block of prairie soil which is hard to beat for its uniform richness, drained by the Assiniboine River, the Red River, the Souris River and numerous other smaller rivers. The "bottom lands," which extend from eighty to one hundred miles east and west of Winnipeg, have been at one time the

bottom of a large lake from which the waters have receded, leaving a deep deposit of silt and clay of great agricultural value and the ancient mark of its shores on the table-land to the west. On the western boundary of this distinct formation the country rises to a plateau of about eight or nine hundred feet, so that, while the City of Winnipeg is only 700 feet above the level of the sea, Neepawa and Brandon, not far distant, are from fifteen to sixteen hundred feet above the same level.

The resources of Manitoba are agricultural, the Province being situated in what is known as the wheat belt of the continent. It is a recognized fact that the nearer wheat is grown to the frost line the better the quality, and, although wheat is grown successfully several hundred miles north of Manitoba, the sample of wheat that is raised within the Province has a world-wide reputation for its excellent quality. The first efforts of settlers on the virgin soil over which they spread themselves were disappointing, and the rich growth that followed seeding was at first continually frozen in the berry. While it was useful for the food of the population, it was not fit for export except at a very low price. The reason for the frost thus attacking the grain in its ripening process arose from the radiating effect of the prairie vegetation, through which the sun could not penetrate. I may here quote from Mr. Taylor, United States Consul for Manitoba, and a life-long resident of our northern latitudes, who points out that "there are only two divides between the mouth of the Mackenzie, which empties into the Arctic Ocean, and the Mississippi, which empties into the Gulf of Mexico. The head waters of the Mississippi are close to the southern boundary of Manitoba, where they are separated from the waters that flow into the Hudson's Bay, notably the two great Saskatchewan, whose head waters are separated from the head waters of the Mackenzie River north of Edmonton." Therefore the contour of the earth represents a valley of 6,000 miles in length through which the winds blow backwards and forwards. Similarly the hot winds of the Gulf of California and the Arctic air of the Klondike exchange compliments with one another through the valleys which run

between the Selkirks and the Rockies on the west coast.

As to the climatic effects of cultivation in Manitoba, we have evidence of its effect apparent, for when the soil is first turned up to the sun it is very cold, but, after it has been exposed by the breaking up of the prairie with the plough, the black soil soon warms up and radiates heat where before it radiated cold. For the first crop or two the rich but cold soil keeps the plant growing late into the autumn, when the frost of the north becomes too strong and nips the berry in its soft stage and stops growth. After the prairie is broken up and the sub-soil loosened to the rays of the sun to the depth of six inches, the danger from frost disappears. That, with the cultivation of an extended area, creates a general modification of temperature during the growing season. The prairie which is thus turned up for cultivation now amounts to a million and a half acres, not a large proportion of the seventeen million acres of prairie land contained in the bounds of Manitoba, but sufficient to change the character of the temperature in the autumn, and to such an extent that last year (1897) twenty-five million bushels of wheat, all of which was of unrivalled sample, was produced in Manitoba and the Territories beyond, some 18,000,000 bushels being exported through eastern channels to distant markets.

The grain is graded by official inspectors at the City of Winnipeg and at the elevators at Fort William, and the reports of the grades published by car lots show the great change in the places on the list of "No. 1 hard" and "No. 1 frosted," the latter grade having nearly disappeared. There are some differences of opinion as to the value of grading. The grading is a convenience to large buyers, but many farmers would prefer to sell on sample. The opportunity for buyers, who are interested in getting the crop as cheaply as possible to manipulate it to their own advantage, is greater than any measure of protection the farmers can institute for themselves. This is evident by the fact that the upward tendency for prices is generally after the grain has passed into the hands of the middleman. In fact when the demand is brisk with an upward tendency grades are lost sight of. The general effect

of this system is gradually causing farmers to build granaries on their farms, as their means permit, so that they can wait on the demand instead of being obliged to deliver their crop from the thresher to an overflowing market for want of granaries. A system of elevators in the hands of private individuals or companies furnishes the storage at the railway stations and terminal points, and a storage capacity of this nature is capable of storing several million bushels and handling for export the whole crop.

There are two large milling companies in Manitoba who require about six million bushels to conduct their operations annually and a portion of our wheat is purchased for eastern Canadian millers to grade up the quality of their soft wheats. There are also a number of buyers in the City of Winnipeg who purchase for the export trade. The buyers for export work together as a syndicate, consequently there are practically only three buyers: the Ogilvie Milling Company with steam mills at several points; the Lake of the Woods Milling Company at Keewatin, which has dammed back the Lake of the Woods at its outlet into the Winnipeg River 120 miles east of the City of Winnipeg, (thus creating a magnificent water power with which to drive their machinery) and the Syndicate of buyers for export. Each of these three units has at local points a local representative to purchase from the farmers. They are instructed daily from Winnipeg as to the price they are allowed to offer for the wheat. Farmers have the privilege of shipping their wheat to the elevators at Fort William and getting an advance from the banks on the shipping bill, but that has not been found a satisfactory way, for anything like a competitive price ceases with its shipment. Grades and weights at Fort William and storage expenses leave the farmer at the mercy of buyers.

Manitoba is essentially an agricultural Province. There is some forest wealth, but not sufficient for local requirements, while lake fisheries are a limited source of wealth which may easily become exhausted by a too heavy export drain. Mining for the baser metals can only be prosecuted when population becomes sufficiently dense to establish a local market to insure a prof-

itable sale to warrant their operation. The Laurentian range of rocks, which runs nearly across the continent in Canada, passes through Manitoba on the eastern side of Lake Winnipeg, and contains various minerals which will no doubt play an important part in the future industrial life of the Province, when economic conditions warrant their development. Gold mining is prosecuted in the Lake of the Woods district, 120 miles east of Winnipeg, and is likely to become a permanent industry, owing to the economy with which the mines can be worked. So many arteries of navigable waters cheapen the transport of ores to smelters, while the Canadian Pacific Railway also passes through the centre of the district. Economy of production will, therefore, compensate for the low grade of ore which in other districts would not pay.

The real mine, however, in Manitoba is the farm. Its soil will undoubtedly make it a rich agricultural Province in the future. It has not yet got beyond the pioneer stage. In most cases homesteads have still to be made complete with all the accessories that are necessary to a properly equipped farm. Primitive structures are still in the ascendant, though many comfortable homes have been built out of the proceeds of the soil throughout the Province. The Assiniboine River cuts the prairie section of the Province into two equal parts, respectively called Southern Manitoba and Northern Manitoba. Southern Manitoba has a light, gritty soil on the open prairie, and is *par excellence* the wheat-growing section of the Province. Northern Manitoba, as a rule, has a heavier soil and is better adapted for coarse grains and stock of all kinds. Manitoba will always have an average crop as a Province, there being so many different soils. The western half is 1,600 feet above the level of the sea, with a sandy loam. The bottom lands of the eastern half are clayey and are only 700 feet above the level of the sea. The southern half has a light, gritty soil and the northern half has black loam. Mixed farming is therefore more generally pursued north of the Assiniboine, while wheat is more generally the product of the Province south of the broad valley through which the Assiniboine River winds. The fall from the head waters of this river to its mouth at Winni-

peg is about 1,600 to 1,800 feet, so that it crosses and re-crosses the valley in a tortuous manner bearing alluvial deposits. Otherwise the waters would run off too rapidly.

There are in the Province several elevations called mountains, as they only gradually rise a few hundred feet from the level of the country, and are all covered with growing timber which alone distinguishes them from the treeless prairie. They are the Turtle Mountains, which the boundary line between the United States and Canada divides into two equal parts; the Pembina Mountains, a few miles north-east of them; and the Moose Mountains, just beyond the western boundary of the Province in the south. The largest range of hills is the Riding Mountains in Northern Manitoba. A valley through which runs the Valley River separates them from the Duck Mountains and the Porcupine Hills to the north. The Province of Manitoba is, as a general rule, fortunate in its water supply, apart from the rivers and streams, which are fairly numerous. Water can generally be got by digging at a depth of 25 to 50 feet. This underground supply of water comes down from the Rocky Mountains through the lower strata of gravel and comes to the surface in Lakes Manitoba, Winnipegosis and Winnipeg, large sheets of navigable water which empty into Hudson's Bay, after being fed by the watershed of the Red River from the south, the Assiniboine from the west, and the Winnipeg River on the east. There are in parts of Manitoba and the North-West Territories large beds of blue clay in the sub-strata, through which the underground drainage cannot penetrate. Consequently it has to go below them. Where these exist, well waters are not easily traceable and a system of Artesian wells will have to be resorted to. These beds of blue clay do not exist to a large extent in Manitoba, but where they are found they are a cause of inconvenience. Coal has not been discovered in Manitoba, but a few miles west of the boundary on the Souris River coal beds have been opened, and the Territories adjacent to the Rocky Mountains are underlain with a vast sub-stratum of coal so that the consumption of this mineral is only limited by population and the freight charges of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The railway transportation of the Province centres in the City of Winnipeg and it is virtually a monopoly in the hands of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. The main arteries are the main line of the C.P.R., which is transeontinental from the Atlantic to the Pacific; the South Western, which runs south and west within fifteen miles parallel to the boundary of the United States, and is a link in a loop-line to Regina; the Manitoba and South Western, which parallels the C. P. R. about twenty-five miles south of it; the Manitoba and North Western, which runs north-westerly to the County of Russell in the Shell River district; and the Lake Dauphin Railway, which runs north skirting the western shore of Lakes Manitoba and Winnipegosis. There are three lines in the Red River Valley running from the American boundary line to Winnipeg—the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway; the Northern Pacific, with branches to Portage la Prairie and Brandon; and the Pembina branch built by the Government on the east side of the Red River and now the property of the C.P.R. The South Eastern Railway runs to the American boundary south of the Lake of the Woods. These lines of railway cover fairly well the agricultural districts and bring nearly all farms to within twenty miles of railway transportation.

The minds of western people are intent upon opening out a new route to the ocean by way of Hudson's Bay. This is a great inland sea, separated from the Atlantic Ocean by Hudson's Strait, which is 100 miles wide and 500 miles long, and serves as the outlet for the waters of the Hudson's Bay and also for the Arctic waters which flow through Fox's Channel. There is little practical knowledge of the navigation of this ocean route in possession of the public. It has been navigated annually by the vessels of the Hudson's Bay Company, under sail, for a century and it has been navigated more or less ever since its discovery by Hudson. French and English fleets have in turn captured the forts erected at Churchill, and other points, from one another in their struggle for the supremacy of this silent ocean. After the treaty which ceded Canada to British rule the Bay was left to its loneliness so far as the adventurous spirits of that age were concerned.

Since the transfer of the territory to Canada, the interest the people of Manitoba and the Western Territories took in the opening of this route for competitive transportation caused successive Administrations to send up three exploring expeditions to make a report upon its capacity for navigation and the difficulties incidental to it. The influence of eastern interests in western trade and transportation is such that no practical result has arisen from these expeditions. They have so far shown the practicability of successful navigation for three or four months in the year. The chief difficulty lies in the Straits, which become blocked by Arctic ice from Fox's Channel. This ice takes a month or six weeks to clear in June and July. Another difficulty is the ice in Baffin's Bay which the summer sun breaks off and the ice current drives south past the mouth of the Straits and thus blocks the entrance in the early season. The Arctic ice from the north of Europe also comes down the east coast of Greenland to melt in the warmer currents which come up from the south and are to be met with off the coast of Newfoundland. Another difficulty is the Bay itself when the shore ice breaks off in the spring and congregates in the centre of the Bay. It floats about, driven hither and thither by the winds, and forms an impenetrable mass of loose ice one or two hundred miles in extent, until gradually absorbed by the rays of the sun. With these exceptions, which only exist during a portion of the summer, navigation is perfect.

That Hudson's Bay is destined to become an outlet for an ever-increasing commerce no one acquainted with the resources of the vast territory to which it is an adjunct will for a moment doubt. The prairie fields of Manitoba and the North-West Territories beyond are the nearest source of food supply to the British Isles. It therefore becomes an Imperial question how to connect the ocean ports on the Bay with the agricultural products of the interior. The five hundred miles between the mouth of the Great Saskatchewan at the head of Lake Winnipeg is practically *terra incognita*, and has never been traversed except along the rivers which empty into the Bay. Though they have been utilized for upwards of a century no one was disposed to

inquire what the character of the country was as a whole. There are two methods which can be adopted. One is to still utilize these water courses by improving their channels and by the construction of locks to connect Lake Winnipeg with York Factory by way of the Nelson. The cost of this public work is estimated by Lieut.-Colonel Scoble, who surveyed the channels for canalling purposes, at \$4,000,000 for a seven-foot draft. The other is by the construction of a railway from the Saskatchewan River to Port Churchill, a fine deep-water harbour on the Bay. The cost of constructing this railway with its terminal facilities would be about \$20,000,000 and it should be, in the interests of economy, a public work.

A railway operated under Government management to the Bay, with all the experience of the past, is not an alarming charge at this figure. The British Government is equally interested with Canada in the opening of this new route, because it means a safe outlet for what they most require, our excellent sample of grain and quality of cattle, and in fact live stock of all kinds. With the more extensive settlement of the country, the single line of transportation furnished by the C.P.R. would be totally inadequate, and to tie up a great inland territory subject to the sole will of an irresponsible corporation, would only breed trouble. The people of Canada are not yet prepared to undertake the wholesale management of our transcontinental system, but there are two public works in the interest of national development which will no doubt engage the attention of the Government of Canada. One is the construction of a railway to the Bay, and the other is the construction of a railway to the Yukon Territory from Edmonton, to develop the internal resources of the country, both mineral and agricultural, and bring supply and demand together by the shortest route. The outlet by the Hudson's Bay is limited to four months. Modern appliances may extend it a little, but there is not a shadow of doubt that the opening to the Bay will stimulate the growth of the fertile district drained by the North Saskatchewan, and Manitoba will benefit by the competition thus developed.

The climate of Manitoba is dreaded by many.

It is a northern latitude, and the temperature falls very low in the winter at times, but what is called a "cold snap" seldom lasts long. The mean temperature stands about ten or fifteen below zero, and, as the frost absorbs all the dampness from the snow, the climate is dry and is not so severely felt as the damp cold of eastern climates, even though the temperature may be much lower in Manitoba. When the snow falls in November it stays till the end of March, and during that period sleighing for work or merry-making can nearly always be relied upon. In January a warm wind sometimes passes over the face of the prairie, and creates a partial though not lengthened thaw. It is a western wind called the Chinook, which at the foot of the Rocky Mountains forces a range of sixty degrees in twenty-four hours. After it has passed over 600 miles of snow it has lost its greatest effect, but in Manitoba it creates for a week or so an agreeable cessation of the steady cold. No one finds the cold disagreeable so long as moderate protection in the construction of the houses is provided, but badly-built houses which allow the wind to penetrate make existence uncomfortable and fuel expensive.

A young family brought to Manitoba and settled on a farm soon becomes practical and informed in all that pertains to economic management and successful production. The change of life for the senior members of a family is not so agreeable, especially when they not only come as pioneer settlers but as primitive farmers. There are two things as necessary in Manitoba as elsewhere for successful production—no over-cropping and careful cultivation. The man who overcrops his land and cultivates carelessly will land in the poor-house. The man who takes off two crops and then summer fallows well will create a good farm and an independent home with an income proportioned to the amount of land he cultivates. The dairy, live stock and wheat should go hand in hand as a general rule. The Province of Manitoba is populated with a good class of settlers, mainly Canadians, English, Scotch and Irish. Bringing their experience with them and intermingling their fortunes, all start on the same foundation, though farm life may not, of course, be equally congenial to all.





RANCHING SCENE, NEAR Q'APPELLE, IN ASSINIBOIA.



## RANCHING IN THE CANADIAN NORTH-WEST

BY

JOHN J. YOUNG, Editor of *The Herald*, Calgary, N. W. T.

THE fact that between Manitoba and the Rocky Mountains there are half a million square miles of land—a country five times the size of Ontario—admirably adapted by nature to the industries of ranching and farming, leaves no ground for pessimistic predictions regarding the future of the Dominion. It is no disparagement of other parts to say that in this vast region, linked with the agricultural resources of Manitoba on the east, and the enormous mineral wealth of British Columbia on the west, lies the hope of Canada. It is a heritage destined not only to support a population of many millions, but to provide meat and bread and butter to many more millions in older lands.

The 507,127 square miles comprised within the borders of Alberta, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan and Athabasca may be roughly classified into mixed farming and ranching lands. The regions peculiarly suited to cattle ranching are those which, prior to the advent of the railway and settlement, were the favourite haunts of innumerable herds of buffalo, extending from the base of the Rockies eastward some 500 miles and northward from the international boundary about 200 miles, with Calgary, Medicine Hat, Macleod, Lethbridge and Maple Creek as the principal centres of trade and population.

The pastoral requisites natural to this section—abundant grass which is available both in summer and winter, a pure and plentiful water supply, light snowfall and a mild temperature—are also found in scattered portions of Saskatchewan and the Peace River Country, which, though 600 miles north of Calgary, is no further south than Glasgow.

While the mainstay of the pastoral industry is Southern Alberta and the adjoining portion

of Western Assiniboia, there are large and successful herds of cattle around Battleford on the Saskatchewan River, and also on a smaller though no less promising scale in the fertile prairie sections watered by the Peace. The history of ranching in Western Canada dates back twenty years. The first start was made in the neighbourhood of Macleod and Pincher's Creek in 1878. The Indians, who were not then on their Reserves, killed a large number of the cattle. The rest were only saved by being driven away. The year 1881 saw the first ranching on any considerable scale. The Cochrane Company brought in a large number of cattle from the south and placed them on the Bow River, near Calgary, following these with a still larger number in 1882. Like most great enterprises ranching was not successful at the outset. Its pioneers had the difficulties of an unknown country to contend with. In the first few years the losses from exceptional climatic conditions and from mistakes born of inexperience were heavy enough to discourage even the boldest optimist. But time, study, and large capital in later years overcame the early difficulties of winter losses and the lack of profitable markets, until to-day it is universally acknowledged that there are few safer, more profitable, healthier and pleasanter occupations anywhere than cattle ranching in the Canadian West.

The native grass is amazingly nourishing, the purest water from the perennial snow of the Rockies courses through the country in numerous broad rivers and smaller streams, and both water and pasture are free as air. The cost, therefore, of producing beef on the prairies is practically limited to simple items of labour, such as the semi-annual "round up," branding, and the putting up of a certain quantity of hay as an

insurance against exceptional cold and storms, for be it understood that in an ordinary mild winter both cattle and horses thrive unsheltered on the open pasture, requiring only to be fed in the severest weather. Two important elements in the situation in the main ranching section of Alberta and its adjoining territory are the fortunate distribution of the water supply and the frequency in winter of the mellow Chinook winds, which come to us through the mountain passes laden with the warm breath of the Pacific.

The question of markets was settled with eminent satisfaction by the development of the British Columbian and Yukon mineral fields and by the establishment of cheap transportation to Great Britain. The average price of marketable steers during 1896-7-8 was  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cents per pound, live weight at Winnipeg, which netted from \$37 to \$45 per head for three or four year olds—leaving the rancher a profit with which he seldom quarrelled. In the absence of any official statistics it is impossible to give with absolute accuracy the number of cattle, sheep and horses now on the range, but a fair estimate, based on interviews with prominent ranch-men and shippers, places the figures at 250,000 for cattle, 120,000 for sheep, and 25,000 for horses. This does not include live-stock owned by small farmers in Assiniboia, Saskatchewan and Northern Alberta. The value of the cattle exported from the range country during 1898 was in the neighbourhood of \$1,250,000.

Both the number of stock on the range and the number exported increases at a rapid rate each year. The quality is also improving, the result of frequent importations of thoroughbred animals from Ontario. An interesting factor in the development of ranching in Alberta is artificial irrigation, for, great as is the natural water supply, the annual rainfall is comparatively meagre, and there exist large tracts of land lying back from the rivers, and eastward from the more favoured district, which with a more equal distribution of water will become—in fact, are already becoming—capable of maintaining many additional thousands of cattle and of producing immense quantities of cultivated fodder. According to the official figures, there are in the south-

western portion of the Territories 63,000,000 acres of semi-arid grazing country, which under irrigation would become excellent farming lands.

In the opinion of those who have studied the situation, the interests of the country would be best served by giving to each fifty thousand acres a five thousand acre patch of irrigated land upon which intense cultivation could be carried on. Already, private enterprise, unassisted by either the Federal or Local Governments, except in the case of the large canal between St. Mary's River and Lethbridge now being constructed by the Alberta Construction Company, has brought wide tracts under irrigation, the result proving the vastness of the possibilities ahead of the West in this direction.

One of the peculiar advantages of cattle ranching is that to both the rich man and the poor it offers an equally inviting field. "In the Canadian North-West," as Miss Shaw says in her excellent article in *The Times* of October 21st, 1898, "any man having earned enough money to buy a cow may turn her loose upon the public range. Upon branding her calf in the following spring, he will be the possessor of two animals instead of one, and may continue while he works for wages to add to the number of his herd, until such time as he sees a chance of making profit enough to justify the establishment of a separate homestead. This is the poorest kind of rancher, and in this way beginnings are often made. The richest of Canadian ranchers own herds ranging up to about 15,000 head, and some of them have already established themselves in charming homesteads, surrounded by the same kind of comfort and refinement which Englishmen associate with the life of an English country house. Between the two there is every stage and grade of development. Homesteads, ranging in importance from the little lumber shack, which may have cost less than \$100 to build, to the stone house spreading its red roofed verandahs in the midst of well-kept lawns and flower gardens, are scattered in sparse groups throughout the prairies. To them all the ranges are open. For all alike the creeks are running. In any one of the wooded hollows where the swelling hills shelve down to a fold of timber, low-growing at the water's edge, which from a reminiscence of early settlers is known in

this country as a 'coulée,' the cattle of the shack, or of the great ranch, may be found."

The general affairs of the ranching community are in the hands of the Western Stock Association, which numbers the chief cattle men among its members. The Association is one for the mutual protection of stock owners. It watches and suggests legislation on such questions as the destruction of wolves, the inspection of hides, the brand ordinance, and detects and prosecutes cattle thieves. The Association has existed since 1896. Ranching in Western Canada is still in its infancy but the infant is now a very robust member of the family, and shows every promise of eventually taking a place very near the top of the industries of the nation. While Southern Alberta is here treated more particularly as a stock-raising district, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that it is capable of growing the finest crops of wheat, barley and oats, as well as roots and garden produce. In this respect, with the possible exception of a liability in certain parts to summer frosts, Southern Alberta is the peer of any section of Canada.

The portions of the great West suited to grain and "mixed" farming, and already more or less dotted by agricultural homesteads, are Eastern and part of Western Assiniboia, Northern Alberta, and a large part of Saskatchewan. These again may be sub-divided according to their peculiarities and variations of climate, soil and topography. Eastern Assiniboia in no very material degree differs from Manitoba. We find there, as in Manitoba, the same alternation of poplar groves and open prairie, with here and there an occasional creek, wooded valley or *coulée*. The soil is rich, varying from sandy loam to heavy clay, and capable under proper conditions of cultivation and moisture, of producing phenomenal crops of wheat, oats, flax, barley, peas, roots, vegetables and small fruits. The natural water supply is not large. That furnished by the Qu'Appelle, Souris, Pipestone and other streams has to be supplemented by wells, which are a necessity of every homestead. Water is found throughout the district at depths varying from ten to fifty feet—occasionally very much deeper.

The winter climate, like that of Manitoba, is much colder than that of Alberta, tempered as

the latter is by the Pacific breezes, but not as severe as that of Dakota, U.S., with its terrifying blizzards. Having spent ten years in Assiniboia I have no hesitation in saying that, given a well-built house and warm clothing, as far as climate is concerned, life may be made as pleasant on the central prairies as in Ontario and Quebec, over which Provinces the West has the advantage of almost unbroken sunshine. Every variety of farming is carried on, from straight wheat growing on the Indian Head plains, which for continuous productiveness are not excelled anywhere in the world, to the small stock farms of the Yorkton and Saltcoats districts in the north. Further west are the strong soiled plains of Regina and Moose Jaw, upon which settlers who came in fifteen years ago with little but their clothes have grown sufficiently prosperous to erect comfortable homes and surround themselves with the conveniences of civilization.

In Northern Alberta and along the Saskatchewan River, one of the mighty streams of the Dominion, an entirely different country is found. A first visit to this region is a revelation. If the title were not so universally claimed this section might be justly called the garden of Canada. It bears comparison, both in landscape and fertility, with the most favoured spots in England or Ontario. It is a succession of stream, lake, forest, hill, fertile valley and rolling prairie. In comparison with that of the more southern prairies, its climate is mild and soft, and the natural rain-fall is greater by reason of the abundant timber and proximity to the mountains. While its rank grasses do not carry the high nutritive properties of the shorter prairie herbage, its soil is capable of producing the heaviest crops. Near Edmonton yields of 40 and 50 bushels of wheat and of 80 to 100 bushels of oats to the acre are not uncommon. But this is essentially a mixed farming region, where the settler who produces grain, cattle, pigs, poultry and butter is sure of an easy and comfortable existence, with comparative affluence to look forward to.

The difficulties of pioneering on the prairie are not to be compared to those of early Ontario. The land here on a huge scale is admirably prepared by nature for farming. "The snowfall every winter," quoting again from Miss Shaw,

"irrigates it with unfailing regularity. There is nothing to interfere with the wild sweet sweep of the wind which dries the ground in due season for seeding. From end to end of the country sunshine falls unbroken upon all growth. Under such conditions the farmer can ask only for good soil, and here for thousands of square miles there spreads a soil which in its native condition will carry crops, running readily to 40 bushels of wheat and to 70 bushels of oats per acre." The average yield of wheat, however, is about 20 bushels, land being so plentiful that the farmer's

object is to cultivate large areas, rather than to secure the highest results from small fields. In conclusion, speaking as a pioneer of fifteen years' residence on the prairies, and as one who owes all he has in life to the illimitable opportunities of the West, the writer will place on record his conviction that the next two decades will see an agricultural and commercial expansion on these prairies that will bring the centre of wealth and population and political influence in Canada west of the Great Lakes, and assure the material prosperity of our Western people.

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## NORTH-WEST RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT

BY

WILLIAM TRANT, of Regina, N.W.T.

WHEN the North-West Territories became a part of the Dominion of Canada, the vast area was regarded as a *terra incognita*. It was believed to be an inhospitable region, the haunt of the Indian and the buffalo and useful only as a fur-producing country. No sooner, however, was it surveyed for settlement than it was recognized as a country admirably fitted for agricultural and pastoral pursuits. The topography and climatical conditions of the region are not so varied as might be imagined from its vastness and consequent differences in both latitude and longitude. It is true that away to the north to the limit of tree growth the landscape consists of a monotonous stony or mossy waste of frore soil, resembling that of the Siberian Tundras and known as the Barren Ground; but further south, foxes, wolves, beavers, bears, and other fur bearers are in abundance as well as moose and deer and an immense variety of wild fowl, all found in the pine forests that are the characteristic covering of the land—as well, though to a less extent, on the grass-clad plains still further south and now so well known all over the world.

The North-West Territories are eminently characterized by great rivers, lakes and swamps. The greatest river is the Mackenzie, whose chief tributaries, the Athabasca, Peace and Great Slave flow down to it from the Rocky Mountains after having gathered strength from many tributaries of their own. The channel of the Mackenzie also expands into the large lakes of Athabasca, Great Slave, Great Bear and others. The Great Fish River drains the north-eastern country to the Arctic Ocean but the southern portion of the country lies in the basin of rivers falling into the Hudson's Bay—the largest of them the Nelson, the head streams of which are the Saskatchewan Rivers, which flown down from the Rocky Mountains to form Lake Winnipeg. From the latter the Nelson issues. Thus the whole country is a net-work of streams and rivers. Of mountains there are none properly speaking, except the Rockies on the western boundary. In Eastern Assiniboia and near the international boundary there is a range of hills that rise very gradually from the surrounding plains and reach a considerable height. The range is known as Moose Mountain and is about thirty miles from east to west and half that dis-

tance from north to south. In Western Assiniboia, too, and also near the international boundary, the prairie is broken in two places by ranges of hills. One of these is Wood Mountain, which, although a splendid cattle country, is as yet but sparsely settled in consequence of the difficulty of access to markets. The second range of high lands is called the Cypress Hills, stretching eighty miles east to west and twenty miles north to south and reaching a height of 1,000 feet. In other parts of the plains there are similar breaks in the prairie though not of such formidable dimensions, such as the Dirt Hills, the Touchwood Hills and some others. Streams and creeks descend from these high lands to the plains around them, along the valleys of which settlement is rapidly proceeding. Timber is found in the ravines and *coulées* that intersect the hills and at many places, especially in the Cypress Hills, the water is used for irrigation.

The greater portion of the North-West Territories consists of prairie lands with occasional scattered groves and belts of trees along the rivers. There is also a large tract, consisting chiefly of timbered land but interspersed with open prairie. Beyond these regions there is a further belt of land which, though lying in a colder zone, is timbered, clothed with good natural grasses and as well fitted for the growth of barley and oats as are many of the less genial regions of northern Europe which support a considerable agricultural population.

At the eastern end of the Territories is the organized District of Assiniboia (450 miles long, 250 miles wide), called after the River Assiniboine. It is virtually a continuation of the grain-growing area of Manitoba, though the soil is lighter when compared with that of the Red River Valley. The District is devoted chiefly to mixed farming. Here farmers own small bunches of cattle, which in the aggregate produce a considerable quantity of butter, some cheese, and also supply a very fair amount of beeves. Here and there, too, are flocks of sheep, though this industry has not yet become fashionable among prairie farmers. In Western Assiniboia the prairie is more open. The soil is exceptionally good as a rule, and there is wheat-growing on a large scale. Beyond Moose Jaw the sub-arid region is

reached, where water is scarce and irrigation difficult. The winters, however, are milder, the snow-fall is light, and cattle and sheep graze outside nearly the whole of the winter. In some places, as for instance along the creeks that flow from the Cypress Hills, beautiful crops have been grown by irrigation, and owing to the absence of frosts and the sub-tropical character of the summer, corn, tomatoes, and melons do well. A natural feature of Assiniboia is the Qu'Appelle Valley, which has a world-wide reputation. It ends at Fort Ellice, at the juncture of the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine Rivers, its starting point being Long Lake, near Regina, the capital of the Territories, 150 miles to the west as the crow flies. At various points the River Qu'Appelle expands into beautiful lakes, the principal ones being Round Lake, Crooked Lake and the Qu'Appelle Lakes.

The District of Alberta (named after the Marchioness of Lorne, having been formed during the Governorship of the Marquess of Lorne) is immediately to the west. It is 430 miles long, the average width 250 miles. Calgary is the capital. Southern Alberta is composed of luxuriant open plains, broken by the valleys of numerous life-giving streams that flow in profusion from the heights of the Rocky Mountains. It is well within the Chinook (*i.e.*, southwest wind) belt, so that the winters are mild. Northern Alberta is very much the same as Assiniboia, though here different sources of wealth come into view, such as coal, which is found in abundance, and gold, which is washed from the Saskatchewan River, realizing about \$50,000 a year. Coal is also found at Lethbridge, in Southern Alberta, west of Calgary. Alberta extends into the Rocky Mountains as far as Banff, where are the celebrated medicinal springs, and where also land is reserved for a National Park.

The District of Saskatchewan (called after the river of that name, which means "swift current") lies to the north of Manitoba and Assiniboia. A considerable portion of the area is wooded, and the natural beauties of the scenery in many places are superb. Owing to remoteness from markets, the country has settled up but slowly. There is now, however, railway communication between Prince Albert and Regina, with the result

that during the past two years several thousands of immigrants have established large settlements in many places, especially near Prince Albert, the capital. Battleford, the original capital of all the Territories, is situated in this District, but owing to its remoteness from railway communication it has been deprived of that distinction which now belongs to Regina.

Athabasca and the other Districts are but little known. Settlement has not yet affected them, and all that needs to be said about these wastes is that as yet they are profitable only to the hunter, though not without wealth for the woodsman and the miner. The climate of the Territories is marked by the striking contrast of two seasons only—summer and winter—bringing with them alternations of fruitful labour and of an enforced repose that is divided between profitable industry and pleasure. Spring opens at nearly the same time all over the country. Early in April the alder and the willows of the Saskatchewan country are in leaf, and the Easter anemone covers the southern exposures to the very verge of the snows near the Arctic Circle. There is more summer heat in May than in the Eastern Provinces. The nights, however, are cool, and throughout the period of greatest heat, in July, the cool night breezes beget a welcome and refreshing change, often accompanied by heavy dews. This protects the cereals from the effects of drought even in dry seasons and produces a rich growth of prairie grass. As to the winters, undoubtedly they are cold and long, but on the whole they are health-giving, agreeable and singularly steady. The atmosphere and the snow are alike dry. The snow-flake is hard and gritty and can be brushed off the clothing like dust. No thaw, strictly speaking, takes place until spring except on the rare occasions of a Chinook. Generally speaking the further west the milder the winter, the greater frequency of Chinooks and the more shallow the snow. This holds good right up to the Rocky Mountains. Taking the Territories as a whole the rain-fall varies from six to twelve inches; and the snow-fall from 31 inches to 60 inches.

The North-West Territories are bisected by the Canadian Pacific Railway, running from east to west a distance of about 720 miles. Other lines

are those from Regina to Prince Albert; from Moose Jaw to the international boundary at North Portal; from Medicine Hat to Lethbridge and thence to the international boundary; from Calgary to South Edmonton on the Saskatchewan; from Calgary to Macleod and thence by the Crow's Nest Pass to the Kootenay. Altogether there are 1,780 miles of railway in the Territories, or 223.7 square miles of area to each mile of track. Taken according to population, the North-West has population 1.4 per cent.; railway miles, 10.7 per cent. Manufactures are but slowly entering the Territories. According to the last census the number of factory operatives was returned as only one, a woman. There is a foundry at Moosomin, a felt factory recently started at Qu'Appelle, a brewery at Prince Albert and Calgary respectively, brick-making at Regina and Moose Jaw and grist mills at several places, but no manufacturing districts have yet been started. As yet there is no statistical bureau in the Territories and it is therefore impossible to arrive with any degree of exactness at data to show the development of the resources of the country. A lignite coal is being worked in the Souris district in Assiniboia; a bituminous coal at Lethbridge, Canmore, Edmonton and the wide area indicated by these places, as well as at the Crow's Nest Pass; and an anthracite coal on the slopes of the Rocky Mountains. The only idea that can be formed as to the quantity is from the fact that last year (1897) 45,511 tons of coal of all kinds were exported from the Territories. Any figures relating to gold would be misleading, as those given include the Yukon District, which is not now within the Territories. The gold production of the Territories before the opening up of the Yukon had reached (in 1895) \$150,000.

In regard to agricultural produce the best criterion available is, that from the crop of 1897 four millions of bushels of wheat were carried by the Canadian Pacific Railway eastward and westward from the Territories. How much was left behind for food and seeding it is impossible to say. During the same year the railway also carried from the Territories 185 horses, 23,444 head of cattle, 583 hogs and 3,913 sheep. In regard to dairy produce the quantity of cheese made is so small as to be inappreciable. The



butter industry, however, is rapidly developing. This is due to the establishment of sixteen creameries scattered over the Territories, worked by the Dominion Government on money advanced by the Government for a period of five years (of which two have still to run), after which it is expected the North-West Government will continue the plan and establish other creameries. The sixteen at present in existence made last year 473,903 pounds of butter, which found ready markets in Europe, in the Kootenay, in the Yukon and in the distant Orient—the bulk of the home market being supplied by the domestic dairies.

It is difficult to obtain data to show the progress of the country as regards settlement. The following statement shows approximately the Government lands disposed of to date in Assiniboia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Athabasca, and are from official data furnished by the Dominion Department of the Interior :

Statement showing approximately the area reserved, disposed of and available for settlement, sale or otherwise in the Provisional Districts of Assiniboia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Athabasca.

	Acres.
Approximate area .....	345,000,000
	Acres.
Area reserved for railways—.....	55,234,880
“ of Indian Reserves .....	2,337,908
“ of School Endowment .....	10,200,000
“ of Timber Reserves .....	573,440
“ of Hudson’s Bay Company’s, one-twentieth within Fertile Belt.....	5,800,000
“ disposed of as Homesteads, Sales, etc.....	4,453,772
	87,600,000
Leaving area yet available for settlement, sale or otherwise of .....	257,400,000
Approximate area of the Mackenzie District, in which no lands have been disposed of.....	313,600,000
Approximate area of the Keewatin District, in which no lands have been disposed of.....	294,400,000

The amount of land sold by the Hudson’s Bay Company in Manitoba and the North-West Territories is, approximately, 360,000 acres.



A Manitoba Homestead.

## AGRICULTURE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

BY

R. E. GOSNELL, Late Provincial Librarian, Victoria, B.C.

THERE was a time when the people of British Columbia took umbrage at the expression, "A sea of mountains," as applicable to their Province, and the Hon. Edward Blake once got into very hot water for introducing it in a speech in the House of Commons of Canada. They do not now, however, feel so sensitive upon the subject and rather glory in its application than otherwise. I, for one, am prepared to accept the description as literally accurate and wholly adequate. The eyes of the world have been much turned to these mountains of late, which afford not only the grandest scenery in the world, but contain the greatest mine of wealth. Of course it is not necessary to explain that British Columbia is not all mountains, nor that its wealth is all in minerals. The existence of mountains suggests as a corollary the existence of valleys, as well, which are fruitful and healthful as abodes of men. Its sea-girt shores are covered with a wonderful growth of timber that casts in the shade the finest and most densely forested limits in Eastern Canada or in Michigan, U.S.A. The waters surrounding it and within it are filled with fish of the greatest economical value. And its geographical situation opens up through its ocean ports sheeted and funnelled vistas of trade and commerce away far to the East and to the South. We have, therefore, a combination of resources and a position of vantage on the ocean which are unique on the Continent of North America; and to adopt a Scriptural metaphor it illustrates once more in a remarkable way how a stone that was rejected by the builders has become the head of the corner.

First in order of importance is mining, but, as that is specifically excluded from treatment by me amongst our material resources owing to

expert consideration elsewhere in this work\* at the hands of scientifically equipped and practically trained men, I shall not pursue that phase of the subject.

The place of agriculture among the industries arising out of the natural resources of the Province, is by no means yet determined. There are two extremes to avoid: One is the hastily formed conclusion of new comers, who, judging by the standards of older and more settled farming communities, attach no importance at all to the prospects in British Columbia, and either go away wholly disappointed or settle down to some other calling, satisfied with the futility of making farming pay in a country like this. The other is the too enthusiastic anticipation of those who have not a very clear or practical knowledge of the conditions of successful farming in any country, and who, judging from exceptional results under favourable conditions, have an exaggerated notion of what is possible in an average way. The taking of both extremes is of common occurrence, and it is, therefore, somewhat difficult for any but a practical and experienced farmer to give a fairly accurate estimate of the agricultural capabilities of the Province.

I may here refer to the different local conditions which exist, and this is a phase too apt to be overlooked in any consideration of the subject. There are many variations of soil and climate within limited areas, materially modifying the theories which experiences in one locality alone would suggest as applicable to some other locality. This is accounted for by geological formation and physical environments generally, which, as we all know, are greatly differentiated. It may be remarked here that one of the difficulties with

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\*EDITOR'S NOTE. See Volume III., Section V., "Canada: an Encyclopædia of the Country."

which farmers are confronted in British Columbia is in the acquiring of local experience, which is often bought dearly, not because of ignorance in farming or incompetence, it may be added, but from lack of that special knowledge to which there is no guide but experiment.

Coming back to the possibilities of the industry, though still largely in the experimental stages, sufficient has been demonstrated to place it on a permanent basis as an important factor of Provincial wealth. There are many obstacles besetting the path of the farmer here, but there are also some compensating advantages, which will eventually turn the balance in his favour. The difficulties and advantages I wish to refer to are those in a sense peculiar to British Columbia. To take soils, the characteristic and predominant soil, except on bottom lands, is a brown loam, varying in quality and texture from a fine friable mould to a coarse granitic wash. The subsoil also greatly varies, being in places clay, hardpan, sand and gravel, and the value of the land is determined in a great measure accordingly. Many conditions, however, govern the latter. It depends largely in the first place on the amount of timber to be disposed of. Land that requires from \$50 to \$150 or more per acre to clear, though it may be made cultivatable and fertile thereafter, involves an expenditure of capital that renders the investment a doubtful one. The quality of the land itself, nearness to market and means of communication must be taken into account in that connection.

Bottom lands such as meadows, alder bottoms, "hardack" and swamps are the most fertile and easily made available; but, unless in the case of prairie or peat bogs, are usually covered with a very heavy second undergrowth, and require almost invariably ditching and draining, and in some cases dyking, so that in all but the most favourable instances clearing or making ready for cultivation is expensive and labourious. Vancouver's Island is supplied with good roads, but, as a rule throughout the Province, communication away from a line of railway or steamboats is, as in all new countries, usually not of the best. Then we have other obstacles to deal with. A Province blessed with fertility of soil and a mild, equable climate, is also fertile in weeds, described

as plants out of place, and is favourable to the development of disease and insect pests. That is to say, plant and insect life is prolific, and the careful farmer is ever on the alert to keep his farm clean, and in preventing and exterminating the enemies of his crops. There are also in some localities animal pests, such as destructive birds, coyotes, etc.

Competition with imported farm products is another thing the farmer has to contend with. In former years, in fact until very recently, merchants imported all kinds of farm produce from the neighbouring States and from the East, and dealt very little in home farm products, for the reason that the supply was for a long time insufficient, very irregular and uncertain, and badly marketed. This was a condition very hard to overcome, because the farmer could not deal with the merchant and was obliged to find private customers. This is being continually more and more overcome by the establishment by the farmers themselves of local markets, and home products now largely supply the market in a number of lines. The advantages which the British Columbia farmers possess are the active local demand; the rapidly growing market, as a result of increasing population and mining activity; the distance from competitors, and a protective tariff, which tend to keep up prices; the mildness of the climate; and, as a rule, the extraordinary fertility of the soil and the largeness of the yield.

Referring again to the supplying of the local market, home production is increasing so satisfactorily as to have wholly displaced in some lines imported articles, and to such an extent as in a few years to form a surplus for export. Indeed, an export trade has already been opened up with the North-West in fruit—small fruit, plums and apples. The department of agriculture that has made the greatest advance in the last two or three years is dairying, and from practically no local supply, except from a few individual farmers, there are about half a dozen co-operative creameries, producing an article of good quality and finding a large sale.

Owing to the contiguity of the Oriental markets, and the openings afforded in the North-West, there is likely to be developed a large amount of trade and industry in several special

lines. The North-West, including Manitoba, will take great quantities of fresh fruit, probably all that can be grown; while dairy products will be shipped to China and Japan, where a good market, among the European population, exists for butter and cheese of extra quality. British Columbia, it may be reasonably anticipated, will yet produce an industry of great magnitude in canned fruits and vegetables, and it is not unreasonable to predict that firms comparable with Cross & Blackwell and Lee & Perrin will yet come to the front in goods similar in character to those manufactured by them, and of world-wide fame. This is suggested by the prolificness with which small fruits, plums, pears, apples and all kinds of vegetables are grown, and the facilities there are for export.

Briefly, it may be stated that the special products which the adaptabilities of the Province suggest are: Condensed milk, hams and bacon, preserved meats, tobacco, leather, canned goods, paper, flax and sugar beet. In regard to the latter two named, while there can be no reasonable doubt as to their being successfully grown, yet as capable of creating industries on a large scale they may be regarded as problematical. Tobacco is grown and manufactured in the Okanagan Valley, and results are claimed to be satisfactory so far as operations have gone. Such fruits as peaches, apricots, tomatoes and melons (the latter two being usually classed as fruits) ripen and do particularly well in parts of the interior, but, generally speaking, are only cultivated in favoured localities on the Coast. The possible future large industry belongs to the interior in the way of cold-stored meats. Live stock has not heretofore been notable as a success, and from a variety of reasons; but with improved methods should become very profitable. This applies to cattle, pigs and poultry especially. Sheep are regarded as objectionable to breed on the interior ranges on account of their effect on the pasturage, and the Coast climate is too wet in fall and winter for them without proper shelter. On Vancouver's Island and some of the contiguous islands, however, they do well. No doubt, in time, many of the islands and side hills as well, now waste, will be utilized for running them. Poultry and pigs should be extensively bred.

With the exception of the Delta prairie land of the Fraser and the valleys of the interior, where farming is and can be carried on on a large scale in hay, cereals and stock, the future of British Columbia in agriculture lies in small holdings and intensive methods. Cheaper and better methods of clearing and draining are being employed, and will greatly increase the area under cultivation. The areas suitable for farming are to a considerable degree detached and irregular; but careful investigation will show that much more good land is available than is generally supposed; and much good land is in the hands of private parties that has for a long time lain unproductive. The taking up of land for speculative purposes accounts for this condition of affairs, which will gradually be remedied. At the present time there is not much demand for farm lands, and as security for loans, they are not in the great majority of cases accepted by the Loan Companies at all. It may be assumed that so long as the stronger inducements afforded by mining and speculation exist, agriculture will not receive that attention it deserves. Speculation has ever been unfavourable to the cultivation of the soil, which requires steady and persistent energy in one direction, and intelligent industry; but sooner or later the other influences at work will react on it, and it will become more prominent amongst the wealth-begetting agencies of the Province. Practically speaking, the inception of agriculture dates back to only about fifteen years ago, and is therefore making rapid progress. Those who have entered seriously into farming in British Columbia and exercised good judgment in selection, worked intelligently and industriously, eschewed outside speculations, and kept the goal of success steadily in view, have prospered.

In a general way the agricultural districts may be referred to as the Fraser Valley in the Westminster District, in which there are about 350,000 acres of arable land—150,000 acres being alluvial deposit; the southwestern portion of Vancouver's Island, which is comparatively well settled and contains some excellent land; and the Okanagan District, in which there are numerous fertile valleys, comprising in all about 500,000 acres suitable for general agricultural purposes. In the

latter, in addition to the areas referred to, there are still larger areas of pastoral land suitable, and used for grazing only. The three foregoing districts have been referred to first because they are distinctly agricultural and are the localities in which the principal farming settlements are to be found. There are, however, extensive tracts of open country in the North and South Thompson River Valleys, in the Nicola Valleys, in the Similkameen, in Lillooet, Cariboo and East Kootenay, in which, though principally pastoral and requiring irrigation for crops, are to be found at intervals good farms, or, as they are usually designated, "ranches," and these detached areas constitute in the aggregate many thousands of acres, which either do produce, or are capable of producing, any crops within the possibilities of the temperate zone—cereals, fruits and vegetables.

And, added to these, the capabilities of which with intelligent and intensive methods of farming, are very great, are still more extensive, though remoter, tracts to be found in the Columbia Valley, East Kootenay; in the Canoe River Valley, opening the way to the northern interior from Kootenay; in the Chilcotin country, including the Nechaco and Blackwater Valleys; on the northern end of Vancouver's Island and on the islands and coast of the Mainland, which, with increased facilities of communication and the demand created by the almost certain immense development about to take place and the consequent rapid augmentation of population, will provide homes for thousands of settlers. As yet these lands are mainly in the hands of the Government, and until communication is afforded and development takes place they are not recommended for settlement; because without facilities for reaching a market, farming life in isolated communities presents many obvious obstacles to success. Although suitable land in the already settled districts has all been taken up and is in the hands of private parties, farms partially improved or in favourable local-

ities may be obtained from \$10 to \$50 an acre, according to situation and character of land, improvement, etc., and it may be remarked here that a small farm of from forty to one hundred acres in extent is sufficient in British Columbia for the average farmer. A good many farms in good localities may now be obtained, and the average price for 100 to 160 acres, with from ten to twenty-five acres cleared, and buildings, is from \$15 to \$20 an acre on easy terms. However, it is difficult to give exact prices, which, as has already been stated, range all the way from \$10 to \$50 per acre. Farms with excellent possibilities may be obtained for the latter figure. In most cases, however, a settler who has improved farming in view may count on having a good deal of extra fencing, clearing, underdraining and building to do after he has acquired any land, in order to obtain the best results. Many of the farms have young orchards, but here, too, improvements of varieties and further planting will be desirable. Plenty of good water and good timber are almost always available.

The Province is entering on a new agricultural era, and a large number of farmers are making earnest and diligent efforts, under many difficulties, to re-create the industry on a sound, economic and healthy basis. Progress so far is not measured by many or conspicuous mile-posts; but, looking back over ten years, a decided advance has been made, and in ten years hence the change will have been marvellous. The time may reasonably be anticipated when the adjacent forests will be cleared away, the valleys fertile with waving grain, the hillsides vine-clad, and the landscape dotted with farm houses nestling among orchards and clusters of home-born trees and shrubbery, with long vistas of hedge lines and roadways to guide the eye—a pleasing picture to which the mountain background of native grandeur and the reflection of summer skies will impart a rare charm of scenic beauty and an air of pastoral and picturesque repose. British Columbia agriculture has a distinct future of its own.

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## DEVELOPMENT OF CANADIAN LIVE STOCK

BY

DAVID McCRAE, Director of the Dominion Cattle Breeders' Association, Guelph.

THE breeding and rearing of domestic animals has long been a prominent feature of Canadian farming. So well is the soil and climate of Canada adapted to the needs of live stock that in the Province of Ontario and in the Eastern Townships of Quebec it is the most prominent branch of farming. In the other Provinces remarkable advances have been made in recent years in the quality of the stock kept and the value of the products of domestic animals. In 1665 there came from France under the direction of the Marquess de Tracy the first considerable shipment of horses, cattle and sheep for the use of the colonists in Canada. These were from Normandy and Brittany, whence many of the settlers came, and thus formed the basis of the live stock of the Province of Quebec. In after years other importations were made from time to time before the conquest of Canada by the British in 1759. The live stock of the Maritime Provinces came partly from France and partly from New England. Nova Scotia had first French stock and afterwards some from the New England Colonies. New Brunswick stock was almost wholly from the latter, while Prince Edward Island had some direct from Great Britain. Upper Canada, now Ontario, was made a separate Province in 1791. The first settlers had a cow granted by the Government to every two families. Then they had to get a yoke of oxen to assist in the pioneer work. In the eastern part of the Province these were purchased from their French neighbours and in the western part either from the same source or from the settlers in New York State.

As the country prospered the land was cleared of stumps, the ox-teams gave place to horses; sheep, swine and poultry were introduced and became plentiful and profitable. Then a desire

arose for a better quality of stock, and it was but natural that as British flocks and herds were the best in the world they should be looked to as suited to improve Canadian stock. In these importations there was no regular plan. Often, to the particular section of the old land from which the settler came he returned for a visit and usually bought the breed he had been accustomed to in his boyhood. Thus it was that in Canada different breeds of stock were scattered up and down the land. Some have done well and spread. Others have disappeared. No section of Canada is devoted to one particular breed. Thus it comes that many of the most successful breeders of pure-bred stock are handling the breeds which their forefathers tended in the old homes beyond the seas. Canada has proved a remarkably healthy home for European stock of all kinds. The bracing northern air, the clear crisp days of winter and the sunshine all the year round, help to give that rugged health enjoyed by Canadian stock.

*Horses.* In dealing with the horses of Canada I shall confine my remarks to those breeds which are used for the labours of the farm. The breeding and handling of thoroughbred trotting and racing stock is a business by itself and outside the sphere of the ordinary farmer. Saddle and harness horses are somewhat different. They are usually bred on the farm and the bulk of the best are sold to the dealer to be handled and schooled for the market. Those not taken for this purpose are retained for the owner's use. Many Canadian farmers prefer the moderate sized, handy horse for farm work and think them all the better if they have a dash of the warm blood of the thoroughbred. Others prefer the heavy draught horse, and this feeling is growing amongst the better class of farmers, who find

heavy horses most useful in the farm and most sought after for the export trade. The Dominion Government issues statistics with each decennial census. The following are the figures for the stock on farms:

## HORSES ON FARMS IN CANADA.

Province.	1881.	1891.	Increase.
Ontario.....	590,298	771,838	181,540
Quebec.....	273,852	344,290	70,438
Nova Scotia.....	57,167	65,047	7,880
New Brunswick...	52,975	59,773	6,798
Prince Edward I'd	31,335	37,392	6,057
Manitoba.....	16,739	86,735	69,996
The Territories...	10,870	60,976	50,106
British Columbia.	26,122	44,521	18,399
	1,059,358	1,470,572	411,214

The Provincial statistics of Ontario show a steady decrease in the number of horses since 1891. It may be noticed that for the past two years there is an increase in the number of breeding mares. The figures are as follows:

	Working Horses.	Breeding Mares.	Other Horses.	Total.
1892	358,688	109,865	220,281	688,834
1893	373,615	100,553	211,019	685,187
1894	395,686	88,962	190,129	674,777
1895	423,673	72,156	151,867	647,696
1896	434,384	66,883	123,482	624,749
1897	436,921	69,940	108,809	615,670
1898	430,504	77,886	102,851	611,241

The export trade in horses, the produce of Canada, is herewith given in four-year periods and their approximate values as stated by the returns to the Customs Department:

	Number.	Value.	Average value.
1874-77	22,326	\$2,252,776	\$100
1878-81	74,194	6,624,938	89
1882-85	57,512	7,132,386	124
1886-89	73,468	9,045,370	123
1890-93	52,490	6,168,501	117
1894-97	63,323	6,082,353	96

The revival in horse breeding is now beginning. The past few years have been hard ones on the owners and breeders of valuable horses. Now there is a turn and the prices paid for good horses are increasing. The best demand is for heavy draught horses of the Clydesdale type

and for high stepping harness horses. Of the breeds in Canada there is one that deserves mention, namely, the old French-Canadian. This horse is descended from the early importations from Normandy and proved a most useful type for the Canadian farmer. In the early part of the century and up till about 1850 many of this breed went to Upper Canada, where they were great favourites. They were short-legged, thick, chunky animals, many of them black in colour, round-ribbed, deep at the heart and with a quality of bone which could not be excelled in its freedom from disease of every kind. Accustomed to bush work, good pullers, tractable and kindly they were very valuable to the settlers. They did much of the rough work for the farmers and did it well and could often show a good burst of speed. This is the breed which formed the basis of the "Morgan" horses so favourably known in the New England States. The breed has been crossed with trotting stock and it is now difficult to get the type of horse and the weight so useful half a century ago.

Recently a stud book has been begun in Quebec and an attempt made to improve the breed by judicious selection. It is to be hoped that the old type may be restored by this method. In Quebec the French coach horse has been tried with good results, but the bulk of the horses of the Province are light, handy horses. In Ontario specially, and in some of the other Provinces also, the English Hackney is being used to produce a high class of harness horses. This is one of the most popular crosses at present and on a good foundation of half-bred or other high-class mares seems to do very well. In heavy horses, Percherons have been tried both in Ontario and Quebec with only partial success. Many years ago numbers of that useful horse, the Suffolk Punch, were imported and used but they are now rarely seen. Shires have been tried, and have still a few admirers, and three or four exhibitors, but are not gaining in popularity or numbers. The Clydesdale is the draught horse most popular in Canada and the one most widely distributed. The first importation of which there is any record in Ontario is that of "Grey Clyde" imported in 1841 by the late Archibald Ward, of Markham. Since then there have been

many importations and many very high-class animals have come to Canada. These sometimes found their way to the United States and many of the best horses in America were handled first on this side of the ocean by the Canadian importer.

In 1885 the Clydesdale Horse Association was formed with headquarters in Toronto and already nine volumes of the *Clydesdale Stud Book* of Canada have been published. This Association was also instrumental in establishing a Spring Stallion Show in Toronto, which has been a success since its start and has recently been extended to include all the popular breeds of horses in Canada, and now the Canadian Horse Show is one of the popular events of the season. The best classes of Clyde horses in Canada are found in the Townships of Markham and Pickering, the adjoining townships lying east of Toronto, and about Guelph in the County of Wellington and Seaforth in the County of Huron. The Eastern Townships in Quebec Province have also a lot of well-bred Clydes, and they are found in all the Provinces of the Dominion. The Clyde is therefore peculiarly the draught horse of Canada, and is the most profitable animal to raise for the export trade. When of good type and over 1,600 lbs. in weight they are eagerly bought by exporters at paying prices to the breeder. Horse

ranches have been tried to a limited extent near Calgary in Alberta both for the breeding of light and heavy horses. The farmer who keeps a mare or two and breeds carefully is the one that raises the best horses. The colts are easily handled, are accustomed to light work, well cared for and make useful and very tractable horses.

*Cattle.* As has been said the cow and the ox were the first animals used on a Canadian backwoods farm. The cow supplied milk for the household and the yoke of steers, or oxen, did the heavy labour—the logging of the land and the work of the widening acres as the inroads were yearly made into the forest. These cattle were fed on the forest plants in the summer and on meadow hay and browse in the winter. Browse was composed of the small twigs of the forest trees felled by the settler in clearing the land. For years the farmer of the early days had no other stock. Horses were not adapted for work amongst the stumps and needed better winter food than was available. The wolves took the sheep and the bears the pigs when an ambitious farmer brought these in from “the front” as the older settlements were called. Cattle were the first helpers on the farm and still lead in the quantity and value of their products. The Dominion Census gives the following figures regarding cattle in Canada:

	Oxen.		Milch Cows.		Total Cattle.		Increase or Decrease.
	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.	
Ontario.....	23,263	12,424	782,243	876,167	1,702,167	1,940,673	+ 238,506
Quebec.....	49,237	45,676	490,997	549,454	949,333	969,312	+ 19,979
Nova Scotia.....	33,275	28,424	137,639	141,684	325,603	324,772	— 831
New Brunswick.....	8,812	7,510	103,965	106,649	212,560	204,692	— 7,868
Manitoba.....	12,269	19,199	20,355	82,712	60,281	230,696	+ 170,415
British Columbia.....	2,319	2,631	10,878	17,504	80,451	126,919	+ 46,468
P. E. Island.....	84	116	45,895	45,849	90,722	91,659	+ 937
The Territories.....	3,334	7,583	3,848	37,003	12,872	231,827	+ 218,955
	132,593	123,563	1,595,820	1,857,022	3,433,989	4,120,550	+ 686,561

Another census will probably show an increase in all the Provinces, notably in the Maritime Provinces, where the last census showed a decrease of 7,726. There has in recent years been a marked increase in dairying, which has largely increased the number of milch cows. Manitoba is also steadily growing in the number of cattle kept, farmers finding that mixed farming has surer

profits than exclusive wheat growing. In Quebec there is also an increase in dairying, and therefore in cows kept. Ontario has now close on a million milking cows—a steady increase since 1892—and her cattle number, in 1898, 2,215,943, an increase over the figures of 1891, of 275,270. This is a larger percentage of increase than was made during the previous decade. The exports



of live cattle from Canada have been as follows, taking periods of four years :

Years.	To Great Britain.		To United States.	
	No.	Value.	No.	Value.
1875-78....	12,533	\$1,118,651	86,968	\$1,675,320
1879-82....	144,195	9,726,432	60,597	1,268,514
1883-86....	221,851	18,591,518	146,969	3,455,080
1887-90....	244,835	21,025,724	131,012	2,128,823
1891-94....	389,550	29,625,590	3,972	63,105
1895-98....	428,073	27,552,133	116,431	1,776,672

From 1892 till 1896 there were quarantine regulations which prevented any large trade with the United States. These were removed in 1896, and the export trade in stockers the next year increased by over 34,000 head. The trade with Great Britain is altogether in fat cattle; that with the United States is in pure-bred animals for breeding purposes and cheap stockers, young, thin, and of such a quality as can be bought at a low price. Many thousands are thus bought.

Ontario has long been celebrated for the excellence of her beef cattle, and Guelph, with the section of country about that city, has long been the centre of beef trade. The Guelph Fat Stock Show has been called the "Smithfield" of Canada, and it is the only place in Canada where year after year a first-class fat stock show has been held. Guelph's start came in this wise. In 1831 there came to the town, then but four years founded, a young English emigrant named Rowland Wingfield. He purchased a farm a few miles from Guelph in the neighbouring Township of Puslinch, cleared a few acres, built a log shanty and went back again to England to buy stock. In 1833 he came with some of the best Shorthorns he could buy in England, splendid representatives of the red, white and roan. Their route was up the St. Lawrence to Montreal, where they were disembarked and driven on foot to Lachine, thence by boat to Bytown, now Ottawa, down the Rideau Canal to Kingston and thence up Lake Ontario to Hamilton, from which place they had to walk through the woods 30 miles to the Puslinch Farm. There were two bulls and six heifers in this lot. One of the bulls was bred by the Rev. H. T. Berry, one of the best Shorthorn judges in England. Mr. Wingfield did not keep them long but sold out farm and stock to John Howitt, of Guelph.

The descendants of these cattle are scattered far and wide over the continent of America. They established Guelph as the best stock centre in Canada, a position which it still retains.

The Shorthorns are the beef breed of Canada, and are known and appreciated in every Province. New Brunswick made one of the first importations, bringing out four bulls in 1825, but no cows, and the results were therefore not permanent. At the present time there are a few good Shorthorns in the Maritime Provinces, but the trend there at present is towards dairy cattle. Manitoba has recently shown as good Shorthorns as can be got in Canada. All through the North-West there is more or less of this blood, and it is also being tried on the western ranches. Of the other beef breeds, Aberdeen-Angus, Herefords and Galloways, there is a fair number. The Northern Polls have not obtained general recognition and are, perhaps, fewer than the white-faced Herefords. There are some fine herds of both breeds. Galloways are somewhat numerous in Ontario and are doing well on the North-West ranches, where there are some excellent herds. In Ontario they are popular with some, and are very hardy, but they have not become so numerous there as upon the foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains. Ontario is the breeding ground of young bulls of all the beef breeds, not only for the other Provinces but more especially for the United States, where large sales are made at good prices. Canadian breeders are noted for the excellence of their stock and their care in selection, and are well situated to do an increasing trade in high-class animals.

There are many dairy breeds in Canada, but no outstanding one taking the place and holding the vantage ground occupied by the Shorthorns among the beef breeds. Ayrshires are the most numerous and are increasing most rapidly, and we may therefore conclude they are the most popular. Montreal has been for many years the centre for the Ayrshires. They are an old breed there. It is many years since the first importation came from Scotland and they have been well cared for and have done well for their owners. The Eastern Townships are also well supplied with Ayrshires, and now all through the cheese-making districts of Ontario Ayrshires are known and

valued. It is hard to say whether the next place should be given to the butter-making Jerseys or to the big milking Holsteins. Both breeds are quite numerous and of good quality. Guernseys have not been as popular as their smaller cousins, the Jerseys, but are doing well. There are good herds in the Eastern Townships, in Ontario and in Prince Edward Island. The native breed of Lower Canada, one descended from the early importations from Brittany, is a popular one in that Province. They are a small dark breed, a good deal like the Jersey in figure, and are hardy cows and good butter-makers. As dairy farming has spread in Canada, stimulated by Government assistance, the dairy breeds have increased rapidly. Whole sections that formerly had good grade Shorthorns and fat steers have now dairy cattle, and feed only a few half fat for local butchers. As the trade changes so does the live stock of a district, and where a few years ago beef was the staple product it is now butter, cheese and pork.

Since the days of bush runs and browse for cattle, which still have to be resorted to in new parts where forest land is being cleared, the treatment of cattle has undergone a great change. In the spring in Ontario the cattle are fed in the byres till grass is far enough advanced to give a full bite. This varies in different seasons, but in central Ontario will be about the 10th of May. Soiling all the year round is rarely tried, but many farmers have some winter rye sown near the barn for supplemental food and to give an early green bite to bulls or other animals kept in the buildings. After this comes the first early sown soiling crop, usually a mixture of oats, peas and vetches—cut and fed in the buildings to the cows brought in for milking. This is followed by a patch of early corn or sorghum, which lasts till the roots are ready in the autumn. These extra feed crops are helpful always, and indispensable when a dry summer comes, if the flow of milk is to be maintained by the herd. Indian corn or maize is coming into favour as a forage crop for cattle and is now very largely grown in Ontario and fed either dry or as silage. Cattle are housed early in November and during the winter months are fed cut straw, chaff, clover hay, or cut corn as bulky food, with roots or

silage. The best farmers feed their grain crops, exchanging wheat for bran for the stock and flour for the home, and chopping the coarse grains, peas, barley and oats, and feeding this to the stock. If these grains are selling well and Indian corn is cheap, then an exchange is made and the corn ground and fed instead of the more valuable grains, which are then marketed.

Ranching in Alberta and other sections of the great North-West is a profitable occupation. There the cattle graze all the year. In the summer hay is cut on the marshes and put up for severe winter weather. The ranch grass is very nutritious, and the Chinook winds keep the pastures bare of snow and allow the cattle to feed most of the winter on the wild herbage. When storms of snow and ice come, the hay from the marshes is used. Calgary is the centre of the ranching trade, which is increasing, and has been very remunerative in good years.

Canada has a bright future in the cattle trade. Her farmers are the best stock-men on the continent, and have a climate specially suited for stock raising. Ontario excels in the growing of roots, because of greater skill in their cultivation more than from any other advantage. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the Provinces by the sea, are well suited for the growth of roots and hay, and might be made great nurseries for the best breeds of live stock. There is very little loss from disease among cattle in any part of Canada. So far as statistics are obtainable from herds tested with tuberculosis, only from five to seven per cent. of animals have re-acted. This shows a small percentage of tuberculosis when it is considered that the herds thus tested were suspected ones. Pleuro-pneumonia, rinder-pest, Texas fever, and such like diseases, are quite unknown in any part of Canada. There have been cases of anthrax and black quarter, but these are rare, isolated cases. Altogether, Canada is specially well adapted for raising healthy cattle of the best quality.

*Sheep.* This stock is valuable on any farm, and yet is slowly decreasing in Canada. One reason is the low price of wool compared with former years, and another is the need of house room for the flock throughout the winter. Yet another reason is the dog nuisance, and then

again the spread of the dairy industry, which favours pigs to use the bye-products rather than sheep. The great bulk of the sheep in Canada are long-wooled. Perhaps over three-fourths of the clip will class as long wool, and the price of wool is less than one-half what it was thirty years ago. Even at this reduced price for fleece the sheep is one of the most profitable animals that can be kept on a farm. Housed all winter as sheep are in Canada, one of the problems that the flockmaster has to solve is how to give his sheep, and especially his breeding ewes, enough daily exercise. At all times of deep snow this is difficult. In very stormy weather it is almost impossible. They must have ventilation at all times, and plenty of it. They do not need any elaborate house fixings, and will not do well in a basement, but do need a tight roof over them in bad weather. All the breeds favoured in Canada are British ones.

Merinos, so much handled in the United States, have never found favour in Canada. The mountain black-faced sheep of Scotland were tried and pined all winter for lack of exercise. Cheviots also were not successful; it may have been for the same reason. The Cotswold has done well, and, with the Leicester and Lincoln, shares the honours of the long-wooled breeds. Shrops are the favourites in the short-wooled class, with Southdowns next, and Oxfords have some admirers. A few years ago the Dorset Horn was introduced and is still here and may help to fill a want for early spring lamb. The great bulk of the sheep in Canada have either Cotswold or Leicester blood. There are many pure bred flocks, carefully kept and well handled, breeding pure bred sires. The ordinary Ontario farmer breeds for mutton and sells his lambs in the autumn for the Buffalo (U.S.) market or holds them over to the spring for shipment to Britain. Our largest exports were to Great Britain in 1896, when they reached \$1,721,250—exceeding 1895 by nearly \$460,000. Only thrice in the past twenty-four years have our shipments to the United States been over a million dollars, viz.—in 1888, 1892 and 1893. The year 1894 was an off one, our total shipments being only \$832,666—the smallest of any year since 1878. In 1896 they were the largest, viz., \$2,151,283. The

local market in Ontario is very steady, averaging in value for sheep and lambs slaughtered about two and a half millions of dollars, and a wool clip slightly over one million dollars. The following are the Census statistics by Provinces:

	1881.	1891	Increase or Decrease.
Ontario.....	1,359,178	1,021,709	- 337,469
Quebec.....	889,333	730,286	- 159,047
Nova Scotia....	377,801	331,492	- 46,309
New Brunswick	221,163	182,941	- 38,222
Manitoba .....	6,073	35,838	+ 29,765
British Colum- bia.. .....	27,788	49,163	+ 21,375
Prince Edward Island.....	166,496	147,372	- 19,124
The Territories..	346	64,920	+ 64,574
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3,048,178	2,563,781	- 484,397

*Swine.* In no department of Canadian live stock has there been such a marked advance made in recent years as in the quality of the herds of swine. So great has been the advance that to-day the breeders of Canada are handling hogs that for the turning out of an excellent quality of bacon cannot be excelled anywhere in the world. The decrease in the number of sheep has been more than made up by the increase in the number of hogs. The pea-fed pork of Canada is equal in quality to that made anywhere else in the world. The trade is a growing one and likely to be very valuable to the Canadian feeder in the future. Two litters are turned off by the breeder in the year. At, or under, six months the young pigs are made weights from 170 lb. to 190 lb., rarely up to 200 lb. live weight. The long side with mixed fat and lean meat is preferred. The breeds most in favour are the red Tamworth, the white improved Yorkshire and the long-sided improved Berkshire. For quick feeding many prefer a cross-bred hog between any two of these breeds. The other breeds now coming quickly up to the type desired are the Duroc Jersey, Poland China, and the Chester White. These have all been developing animals along the lines demanded by the modern market. Even the Essex has shown specimens of excellent form and meeting in every way the demand for a long-sided quick

feeding hog. The statistics for Ontario put the value of the hogs slaughtered annually in the Province at over \$10,000,000. This has been the average for the last five years but has been increased during the past two years.

Swine.	1881.	1891.	Increase or Decrease.
Ontario ... ..	700,922	1,121,396	+ 420,474
Quebec... ..	329,199	369,608	+ 40,409
Nova Scotia.....	47,256	48,048	+ 792
New Brunswick	53,087	50,945	- 2,142
Manitoba .....	17,358	54,177	+ 36,819
British Colum- bia.... ..	16,841	30,764	+ 13,923
Prince Edward Island... ..	40,181	42,629	+ 2,448
The Territories.	2,775	16,283	+ 13,508
	<u>1,207,619</u>	<u>1,733,850</u>	<u>+ 526,231</u>

*Poultry.* This is a growing industry and one that has already assumed very large proportions. At one time our export of eggs exceeded two million dollars per annum in value, but because of restrictive duties in the United States it was last year only \$978,479, while poultry and game, dressed and undressed, amounted to \$168,620. The trade in eggs has been slowly making its

way into the British market, while in that of dressed poultry an opening has been made and with good prospects of a very large trade. The statistics for Ontario for the year 1897 were as follows:

Turkeys.....	890,228
Geese.....	409,715
Other fowl.....	7,135,398

while those sold or killed were given at 2,965,221. The turkeys are mostly of the Bronze variety. Of other fowls a few are ducks and guinea fowl, but the great bulk are comprised of the many varieties of the domestic hen. Perhaps the most widely spread and popular are the Plymouth Rocks, and following them the Wyandottes. Formerly the various varieties of Asiatics were popular, and then came a time in which the Mediterranean breeds had a great run because of their large egg production; but it was found that the first breeds named had more winter eggs to their credit when prices were high and that besides they made an excellent table fowl. In many sections of Canada poultry form a good deal of the summer food for the farmer's family, and in addition contribute a handsome amount towards the revenue of the farm.

## DOMINION EXPERIMENTAL FARMS

BY

WILLIAM SAUNDERS, LL.D., F.R.S.C., Dominion Director of Experimental Farms.

THE establishment of the Experimental Farms of the Dominion of Canada was authorized by Act of Parliament in 1886. They are five in number and contain in all about 3,200 acres of land. There is a Central Experimental Farm located at the capital, Ottawa, and there are four branch Farms in the other Provinces. The Central Farm has been established near the boundary line between Ontario and Quebec and serves the purposes of both of these important Provinces. One of the branch farms is located at Nappan, Nova Scotia, near the dividing line between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and serves for the three Maritime Provinces. Another has been established at Brandon, Manitoba, for the Province of Manitoba; a third is at Indian Head in the District of Assiniboia, as an aid to agriculture in the North-West Territories; while the fourth is located at Agassiz, British Columbia, where it serves a like purpose for that Province.

At all these Farms many experiments are in progress in all branches of agriculture, horticulture and arboriculture, and many problems of great importance to farmers have already been solved. In selecting the sites for these institutions due regard has been had to the great variations of climate in different parts of the Dominion, and they have been so placed as to render efficient help to the farmers in the more thickly settled districts, and at the same time to cover the most varied conditions which influence agriculture in Canada. The Central Farm has about 500 acres of land and an outfit of buildings suitable for carrying on experimental work, with residences for the chief officers. There are buildings for cattle, horses, swine and poultry. There is also a dairy with all modern appliances for experimental tests, a seed testing and propa-

gating house with a building attached which affords facilities for the distribution of large quantities of promising varieties of seed grain for test by farmers in different parts of the country.

The principal officers of the Farms are the Director, Agriculturist, Horticulturist, Chemist, Entomologist and Botanist. The Director, Chemist, Entomologist and Botanist are provided with assistants. There is also a poultry manager, a foreman of forestry who acts also as assistant to the Director, a Farm foreman and an accountant. A suitable office staff is provided for the conducting of the large correspondence, both in English and French, which is carried on with farmers in all parts of the Dominion, who are encouraged to write to the officers of the Farm for information and advice whenever required. The Director has his head-quarters at Ottawa, and supervises all branches of the work on all the Experimental Farms, making personal inspections of the Farms at least once a year. During these annual inspections the progress of all divisions of the work is enquired into, and in conference with the Superintendents of these Farms future courses of experimental work are planned.

During six years more than 700 new varieties of cereals have been produced at the Experimental Farms by cross-fertilizing and hybridizing, most of them at the Central Farm. Some assistance in this work has been had from experts especially employed for this purpose, and also from some of the Superintendents of the branch Farms. These new varieties are carefully watched, and those of less promise are from time to time rejected. A large number of new fruits have been similarly produced, especially of hardy varieties likely to be useful in the Canadian North-West. About 900 varieties of trees and

shrubs are being tested in the ornamental clumps and groups in different parts of the grounds. These include species and varieties from all parts of the world where similar climatic conditions prevail. They are placed in carefully arranged groups with the object of producing good effects, and, to make this part of the work more instructive to the visiting public, the specimens are plainly labelled with their common and botanical names. In this connection there are also large collections of flowering plants, as roses, irises, lilies, and beds of other attractive perennial and annual plants mixed. A new feature in this division of the work was begun in 1893 by the preparation of a number of large beds for the grouping of the most attractive wild flowers of the Dominion, one each for those of the Maritime Provinces, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, the North-West Territories and British Columbia.

About twenty acres of land are now occupied by forest belts which extend the whole length of the north and west boundaries of the Farm and contain about 20,000 trees, including the more valuable economic woods which can be grown in this country either for timber or fuel. Annual measurements are taken of the growth of the many varieties under trial, and useful data is thus being accumulated. The other objects in view in undertaking this branch of the work were to determine by experiment with a number of different species the comparative growth and development to be had by planting at different distances apart; also to ascertain the relative growth which these trees would attain when planted in blocks of single species as compared with others planted in mixed clumps where a number of different species are associated together. The value of these tree belts for shelter is being investigated, as well as the usefulness of hedge planting for the same purpose. To ascertain the most suitable trees and shrubs for hedges, 66 trial hedges have been planted in 50-foot lengths, and these now form a very attractive feature in connection with this work of tree planting.

The other branches of the work at the Central Farm in charge of the Director are the permanent test plots for determining the action of fertilizers on important crops, the seed testing

houses and conservatory, and the distribution of seed grain. Experiments were begun in 1888 with the object of gaining information as to the effects of certain fertilizers on the more important crops. During that year the experiments were confined to plots of wheat and Indian corn, but in 1889 the work was enlarged so as to include oats, barley and roots, and the experiments have been repeated every year since. The area devoted to these tests includes 105 one-tenth acre plots, and the results obtained are given each year in the Annual Report of the Experimental Farms. Special arrangements are made each year to test, for the farmers in all parts of Canada, samples of grain of all sorts held for seed, the vitality of which may be doubtful. Those varieties of grain grown on the several Farms which prove to be the best and most productive are annually distributed by mail free, in small bags containing three pounds each, to farmers in all parts of the Dominion who ask for them. These sample bags of grain, when sown and properly cared for, usually produce from one to three bushels, and at the end of the second year the crop will generally furnish the farmer with a sufficient quantity of seed to sow a considerable acreage. This distribution is carried on at all the Farms, but the larger part is sent out from the Central Farm. During five years more than 100,000 of such samples have been sent out for test to about 70,000 applicants. In many districts the new varieties which have been thus introduced are finding much favour and are rapidly replacing in general cultivation the less productive sorts formerly grown. The surplus stock of promising varieties of grain grown at all the Experimental Farms, beyond what is required for the free distribution of sample bags, is sold in larger quantities to farmers for seed.

The Agriculturist takes charge of the experiments with field crops of cereals, roots, Indian corn, hay and other fodder crops; the testing of varieties as to their relative productiveness on different soils and also regarding the effects of the application of manures on field crops, and the ploughing under of clover and other green crops as fertilizers. Much experimental work has been carried on with ensilage, with the object of determining the relative feeding value

of different fodder plants and combinations of fodder plants, and their general usefulness as food for cattle. Experiments have also been conducted for several years to ascertain how many cows can be fed throughout the year from the crops raised on forty acres of land. The Agriculturist also conducts the feeding experiments with cattle, the main object of which has been to show the most economical rations for production of milk or beef. These tests have been made chiefly with various combinations of ensilage, roots, hay and straw with, or without, certain quantities of grain in the ration. The results have shown the great economy of using ensilage of Indian corn for the winter feeding of cattle. Many experiments have also been carried on in the fattening of swine, and much information has been gained as to the relative value of the different sorts of cereals for this purpose and the best methods of preparing them for feeding, also the usefulness of skim milk, buckwheat, potatoes and roots as food for some. This officer also takes charge of the dairy department, and conducts the experiments in butter-making.

The work of the Horticultural division, which is in charge of the Horticulturist, may be classified in the following manner :

1. That carried on with plants growing on the Central Farm. (a) Testing varieties of fruits and vegetables. (b) Producing new varieties of fruits. (c) Cultural experiments with fruits and vegetables.

The above lines cover a wide field and embrace investigations conducted in the domain of original research, as well as those carried on by observing and recording results obtained by the effect and operation of natural laws, in connection with temperature, soils, and so forth.

2. That carried on with the assistance of interested fruit growers residing in different portions of the Dominion. (a) Treatment and prevention of fungous pests. (b) Effect of soil and climate upon fruit and fruit trees. (c) Adaptability of varieties to varying soils and climates.

The Horticulturist offers his experience and knowledge to fruit growers throughout Canada, who are free to make use of his services by corresponding with him, and by sending him

specimens for examination and report. He also attends, by invitation, and delivers addresses at the meetings of the Provincial Fruit Growers' Associations of Canada. Specimens of fruits, new or old, healthy or diseased, are received and examined with interest and duly acknowledged. In this way originators and introducers of new fruits may obtain an authoritative opinion of their value, before offering them to the public. The collections of hardy fruits now in the orchards and small fruit plantations at the Central Farm are large and instructive; each year brings additions and increases their value.

The Entomologist and Botanist to the Dominion Experimental Farms, with the help of one assistant, carries on careful investigations in the life-histories of injurious and beneficial insects, on the value of various native and imported grasses for hay or pasture, as well as on many other fodder plants. Particular attention has also been paid to the important subject of noxious weeds and their eradication. The Department is also made use of largely by those interested in the scientific aspect of entomology and botany, many collections of plants and insects being sent in every year for identification. In addition to the annual reports, which treat of the work done in the Department during the preceding year, several useful publications have been issued upon entomological and botanical subjects, *e.g.*, Smut in Wheat, Recommendations for the Prevention of Damage by Insect Pests, The Horn Fly, Potato Blight, Grasses and their Uses, Spraying for the Destruction of Injurious Insects, &c., &c. Successful efforts have been made to get into touch with the best practical farmers and fruit growers in all parts of the Dominion, so as to be apprised of the fact promptly whenever any outbreak of an agricultural enemy might occur, in order that the best remedy may be applied without delay. By a prompt attention to the many correspondents who write the Entomologist and Botanist, and by the publication of timely articles in the agricultural and daily press, the importance of this department has been made widely known among the farmers of Canada as a source of trustworthy information upon all subjects which come within its scope.

The Chemical division of the Dominion Ex-

perimental Farms, under the direction of the Chemist, comprises a branch of the work that is becoming recognized by the farmers of Canada as one of great importance. The intimate relationship between chemistry and agriculture, and the value of chemical knowledge as applied to the economic and profitable carrying on of farming work, are facts now generally admitted by all who are obtaining for themselves a position in the front rank of modern and progressive agriculture. Like the other divisions of the Farm work, this branch has a large correspondence, numerous enquiries being received daily from all over the Dominion from farmers wishful to obtain advice and information respecting the treatment of soils, the composition and application of fertilizers—natural and artificial—, the relative value of cattle foods, &c., &c. As far as time permits analyses are made for the farmers of matters pertaining to agriculture, when the results would be of interest and of value to a large portion of the community. In this connection it may be stated that most useful work has been done by the examination of farmers' water supplies and in calling attention to the drinking of water polluted by drainage from the barn-yard. For the health of the farmer's family, for thrifty stock and wholesome dairy products, pure water is indispensable. The naturally occurring fertilizers of Canada, peat, mucks, marsh, mud, marl, &c., have been examined in large numbers during the past few years, so that now a large amount of data has accumulated on this important question. These data go to show that in many districts of Canada materials (easily and cheaply obtainable) occur that contain notable quantities of the essential elements of plant food. The knowledge of the composition and value of these deposits will allow farmers in many parts to enrich their fields at small cost.

Original investigations have been pursued to learn the feeding value of various Canadian fodder crops. To this end a large number of native grasses have been analyzed at several stages of growth, and extensive chemical examinations of the corn fodder crop have also been made. Chief among the results are the following: That of our native grasses, *Poa pratensis*, or June Grass, stands pre-eminent as a pasture grass; that Awnless Brome Grass (*Bromus Inermis*), an

introduced perennial, has shown itself to be a very nutritious grass, as well as a heavy cropper; that red top for low lands and orchard grass for shady places are both excellent in composition and worthy of cultivation. The chemical data in this investigation go to prove that a large loss in the feeding qualities of the grass results when it is allowed to ripen before being cut for hay. Cutting should be at or shortly after the flowering period. The composition of the corn crop at several periods of growth has been ascertained, and practical deductions made which will prove of great value in the cultivation of this excellent and cheap fodder. The virgin soils, representing large areas in the Dominion, have been under examination for some years past, and the reports of this division give the analytical and physical data obtained, with deductions therefrom and suggestions as to profitable treatment of the soil. It has been shown that Canada possesses many soils of equal fertility to the most productive in the world, these remarks having special reference to the prairie soils of Manitoba and the North-West Territories and the alluvial soils of both the Pacific and Atlantic Coasts.

In the Poultry department of the Central Experimental Farm, which is in charge of the poultry manager, there are fourteen of the most serviceable standard breeds of fowls with which experimental work—with a view of finding out the best egg-layers and flesh formers—is carried on. Particular effort is made to find out the breeds which give the best egg yield in the winter season at the least cost. It is in the winter season that high prices are given for the new-laid article, and it should be the aim of the farmer to make his hens lay at that time rather than in the late spring, or early summer, when prices are low. Crosses of the different thoroughbreds are made with the same object in view. Particular care is also given to the hatching and rearing of chickens and the treatment and foods best calculated to cause vigorous and rapid growth; and record is kept of the weight development of the offspring per month, so as to show which thoroughbreds, or crosses, give the most satisfactory results as rapid flesh formers for market in the shortest time. Attention is also given to the behaviour of the different breeds during the long



winter term of artificial existence, and every effort is made to have the conditions of that period as like the natural as possible. Some valuable data have been secured which will be found in the reports issued from year to year.

When the Central Experimental Farm was acquired sixty-five acres of land were set apart for an Aboretum and Botanic Garden. During several years past the planting of this section of the Farm with trees, shrubs and perennial plants has made much progress, special attention having been given to the obtaining of as many of the trees and shrubs native to Canada as possible, and such species and varieties from other countries as were likely to prove hardy enough to endure the climate here. A large proportion of the native trees have now been secured, and many of the shrubs and perennial plants, most of which are doing well. A large number of species and varieties have also been introduced from other countries, such as the United States, the colder parts of South America, Great Britain, Russia, Germany, France, and other parts of Europe, also from Siberia, Japan, China, the mountain districts of India and from Asia Minor. Of these many have proved hardy, and the collection already formed is a source of much interest to botanists, as well as to the general public.

At all the branch Farms much of the work is so arranged as to provide for the investigation of those questions which are of the most immediate importance to the farmers residing in the several Provinces. Each Farm is furnished with suitable buildings and supplied with some of the best breeds of dairy cattle, also with some of those best suited for beef. Useful tests are made in all branches of farm and horticultural work, also with regard to the most practical methods of maintaining the fertility of the soil.

At the Experimental Farm for the Maritime Provinces at Nappan, N.S., which comprises 310 acres, a large number of instructive tests have been made during the past eight years, particularly in the growing of oats and barley, and the large crops obtained there of the most productive sorts have awakened much interest in this subject among farmers generally. Much attention has also been given to the growing

of roots and potatoes, for which the climate is very favourable. Turnips and mangels have given large crops. Where these roots succeed so well they form an important element in stock-feeding, and it is very desirable that information should be available as to the varieties which succeed best. This is now obtainable from the results of the tests made at Nappan. Very useful experiments are in progress in the draining of land, both uplands and marsh, and the results in crops are showing marked advantage as the outcome of this treatment. Many tests are also being made with promising varieties of grasses and clovers. Experiments have also been conducted in feeding cattle for the production of milk and beef, and in fattening swine. Large orchards of fruit trees have been established, and plantations made of ornamental trees and shrubs.

The Experimental Farm for Manitoba at Brandon, Man., contains about 670 acres. Part of this land lies in the valley of the Assiniboine and part is on the bluffs. Here much has been done in testing the best methods of treatment of land to prepare it for crop. The results obtained show the great advantage of summer fallowed land, and that better crops are obtained from land ploughed in the spring than in the autumn. Different methods of sowing seed grain have also been tested, and the advantages of the drill over the broad casts machine demonstrated. Grain has also been sown at different depths to determine the best practice in that climate. Experiments have been conducted for the prevention of smut in wheat, a disease which has been very prevalent in many sections, and which depreciates the value of the grain wherever it occurs. The results of these tests, which have been continued for several years, show that, when the seed is properly treated, smut may be almost entirely prevented. Experiments have been conducted in the cultivation of flax, also with Indian corn, roots, millets, and other fodder crops. In view of the large increase in stock in Manitoba, and the scarcity of native hay in some districts, crops of mixed grain have been grown and cured green for hay with much success. Instructive experiments have also been carried on in cultivating native grasses, and their usefulness in the production of hay has

been demonstrated. Good bulls are kept at this farm for the improvement of stock in that district. The breeds thus represented are Durham, Ayrshire, Holstein and Polled Angus. Tests have been made in the feeding of milch cows and steers, for the purpose of ascertaining the most economical methods of producing milk and beef from those fodder materials which are most generally available in that Province. Since this Farm was established, a large number of the hardiest varieties of fruit have been tested there. While small fruits succeed well, very little success has been had as yet with large fruits. Further experiments are being conducted all along this line. A large measure of success has attended the planting of forest trees for shelter, and of ornamental trees and shrubs. The experiments show that there is an abundance of material sufficiently hardy to make successful plantations for the ornamentation of homes in towns and cities as well as those on the prairie farms in Manitoba.

The Experimental Farm for the North-West Territories, which has been located at Indian Head, in Eastern Assiniboia, contains 680 acres. At the time of its selection this was all bare prairie land. The soil is very fertile and produces excellent crops of grain, but there is a great need of shelter from prevailing winds. Tree planting on a fairly large scale was begun as soon as possible after the Farm was occupied, and, although at first it was but partially successful, the trees first put out formed more or less shelter for each other and for those subsequently planted, and now they are nearly all doing well. In shelter belts, blocks, avenues, and hedges there are now growing on this Farm over 100,000 trees. Experiments in the treatment of the land to prepare it for crop, in methods of sowing and depth of sowing, also in the treatment of seed grain for smut have been carried on here, the results confirming the conclusions which have been reached at Brandon. Many tests have also been made with fodder crops, such as Indian corn, mixed grain crops and spring rye, grasses, etc. Experiments have been also conducted in the feeding of stock, the fattening of swine and the management of poultry. In this relatively dryer climate, where unlimited pasture is found, the

value of good grass for pasture and hay can scarcely be over-estimated, and probably among the most important of all the results gained by tests on this Farm are those which have established the value of Awnless Brome Grass (*Bromus inermis*) in the North-West. This grass is very hardy, is a strong grower, endures drought, produces a very early growth in the spring and yields fine crops of excellent hay, much relished by cattle. Large quantities of seed of this useful grass have been saved at Indian Head and hundreds of sample bags have been sent to farmers in different parts of the North-West Territories for tests, and the reports received regarding its usefulness are most satisfactory. Small fruits have been grown successfully at Indian Head, but of the larger fruits tried none have yet been found hardy enough to endure the climate. A large number of different species and varieties of economic and ornamental trees and shrubs have been tested here, and about ninety have proved hardy.

The branch Experimental Farm at Agassiz is situated in the coast climate of British Columbia, seventy miles east of Vancouver, and contains about 1,100 acres of land, 300 of which is valley land and 800 acres mountain. The climate here is admirably adapted to fruit culture, and most fruits thrive wonderfully well. Since the fruit industry promises to become one of great importance to this Province, large experimental orchards have been planted on this Farm for the purpose of testing, side by side, the products of similar climates from all parts of the world, so that information as to the most promising and useful sorts may be available to guide the settlers in that country. Already 1,600 varieties of fruits are under test, and additional sorts since planted will swell this number to over 2,200. Orchards have been established not only on the valley lands, but also upon the sides of the mountains, at different heights, varying from 150 to 1,050 feet. On the mountain sides have also been planted a large number of timber trees, especially those representing the more valuable hardwoods of the east. Many other useful and ornamental trees and shrubs are also under test. At the other Experimental

Farms useful lines of work are carried on in connection with the cultivation of many different sorts of cereals, roots and fodder crops, also with cattle and swine. At all these Farms many experiments are conducted every year with very many sorts of vegetables and flowers, and thus useful help is being given to every branch of agriculture, horticulture and arboriculture.

During five past years more than 7,000 packages of seeding forest trees and cuttings and more than five tons of tree seeds have been sent out in small bags by mail, free of charge, to farmers in different parts of the Dominion who have applied for them, and thus a general interest in tree-growing has been awakened. An annual report is published containing particulars of the most important work done at each Farm, and this report is sent to every farmer in the Dominion who asks for it. A very large number is distributed annually. Occasional bulletins on special subjects of importance are also issued from time to time, all of which are read with interest by a large proportion of the most intelligent farmers in the country. The officers of all the Farms attend most of the more important gatherings of farmers in different parts of the Dominion, where

opportunities are offered for giving further explanations regarding the work conducted and the results achieved from year to year.

The dairying service of the Department of Agriculture was begun in 1890, when a Dairy Commissioner was appointed to act in affiliation with the Central Experimental Farm. The good work of developing the agricultural resources of Canada through the dairying branch of farming has made steady and rapid progress since then. The extension of dairy farming is particularly gratifying, in view of the fact that by means of it the coarse grains and fodders are consumed largely upon the farms on which they are grown. The elements of fertility, which are necessary to the continued growth of good crops, are thus left on the farms in the form of manure. A continuous and general selling of the crude, bulky and primitive products of agriculture tends to deplete the soil of the substances which are required to enable it to carry on profitable crops. The production of fine food products of concentrated quality and value, such as butter, cheese, pork and beef, affords scope for the exercise of intelligent labour with profit, and at the same time protects the land against exhaustion.

## AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES IN THE PROVINCES

BY

C. C. JAMES, M.A., Deputy Minister of Agriculture for Ontario.

**N**OVA Scotia. In its shape and situation this Province suggests the home of a sea-faring rather than a land-working people. Its coast line is very broken, including countless deep bays and land-locked harbours, around and into which the great tides of the Atlantic sweep with extraordinary swell. Near by are extensive fisheries, the most productive in the world. These two facts have had their influence in developing a race of fishermen and sailors. The interior of the country is inclined to be hilly, mountainous in fact, over a large part. These hills have been covered with dense forest, and are filled with minerals—coal, iron, copper and gold. We look, then, to Nova Scotia as a producer mainly of fish, timber and minerals rather than of cattle and of grain. But the agriculture of this Maritime Province has not been neglected, and the growth of this industry forms an interesting chapter in the history of the hardy Nova Scotians, or “Blue Noses,” as they have been called because of their success in producing a potato of that name.

The colonization of Nova Scotia dates from 1604, when De Monts began the settlement of Port Royal, now Annapolis. This was at the entrance of a beautiful and fertile valley. Between 1633 and 1638 a small colony came from the vicinity of LaRochelle, in Old France, and settled along this valley. They did not cut into the primeval forest, but reclaimed the rich marsh lands by dykes. They also planted orchards, of which remnants are still to be found. Here they formed the Acadian settlement, with Grand Pré as one of the principal centres. In 1713, Acadia passed into the hands of the British, and soon after English-speaking settlers began to arrive and take possession. In 1749 Cornwallis brought over 2,576 English settlers, and founded the City

of Halifax. There were apparently few, if any, farmers among their number, and they were obliged to depend for a time upon the Acadians for cattle and grain. In 1755 came the much discussed “Expulsion” of the Acadians and the turning over of their farms to English occupants.

Thirty-four years after, in 1789, the English farmers of Grand Pré formed the first Agricultural Society of Nova Scotia. It should be noted here, however, that a “Fair” had been established at Windsor since about 1765. At this Fair, horse races were held and prizes were offered for various agricultural products. It is worthy of note that the King's County Society at Grand Pré has had an unbroken existence since 1789 to the present time. In the same year there was formed another Society at Windsor (Hants Co.), and a third Society at Halifax, which lived a couple of years and published at least one volume or report of proceedings. The three Societies had the patronage of Governor Parr. Windsor, Grand Pré and Halifax a century ago were the three agricultural centres of the Province. Agricultural matters moved slowly, however, until 1818, when a series of letters signed by “Agricola” began to appear in the *Acadian Recorder*; stirring the people out of their lethargy by suggesting the formation of Agricultural Societies and the entering upon a new agricultural life. The effect was marvellous. The Governor, Lord Dalhousie, took up the question and the result was that on December 15th, 1818, a Provincial Agricultural Society was formed with His Excellency the Governor as President, Chief Justice Haliburton as Vice-President, and “Agricola” as Secretary. Soon after, “Agricola” accepted, and declared himself to be Mr. John Young of Halifax. Branch Societies sprang up in all parts of the Province and the Legislature voted £1,500 to assist in the

work—£1,000 for the Central Society and £500 to be divided among the fourteen branches.

From that day the agriculture of Nova Scotia moved forward year by year. The Societies have been the means of introducing large numbers of pure-bred stock, cattle, sheep and swine, and are at present in a vigorous condition. In 1896 they numbered eighty-five with a total membership of 4,888, and received \$8,000 as grants from the Legislature. Fruit growing is the most promising part of the agriculture of this Province—the rich valleys, such as the Annapolis and Gasperaux,

known as the Nova Scotia Farmers' Association. The task of supervising the whole of the agricultural work is entrusted to an officer of the Government, known as Secretary of Agriculture, who collects the reports and statistics of the various societies and associations and publishes an annual report.

*New Brunswick.* The settlement of New Brunswick was later than that of Nova Scotia. English-speaking people began to come in about 1762. By 1784 its population was sufficient to warrant its separation from Nova Scotia, and in 1786 its first Legislature was called together. "Agricola," in one of his letters, tells us that in 1790 an Agricultural Society was formed at St. John under the patronage of Lieutenant-Governor Carleton. All record of it has disappeared, and we are at present in ignorance of its work, although at least one report was published. From time to time, however, local Societies have been established, Fairs held and live stock imported. The Legislature makes grants to these Societies. During the past two years special help has been given to dairying, a Provincial Superintendent appointed, a travelling dairy sent throughout the Province, and a short dairy course provided for at Sussex. The leading farmers' organization is known as "The Farmers' and Dairymen's Association of New Brunswick," which publishes an annual report. The supervision of the agricultural work of this Province, as in Nova Scotia, is entrusted to an official of the Provincial Government known as the Secretary of Agriculture. A late Report gives the dairy products for 1895 as follows: Nine creameries, with 548 patrons, produced 113,892 lbs. butter; fifty-three cheese factories with 2,292 patrons produced 1,263,266 lbs. cheese.

*Prince Edward Island.* This green isle, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, has an area of 1,200,000 acres and a population of 110,000, of which over eighty per cent. is rural. Over one-third of the Province is still in forest. The country is rolling and very attractive in appearance; the soil is excellent and the climate most healthful to man and beneficial to agricultural growth. For many years it has been noted for the excellence of its agricultural products, potatoes and horses especially. Of late years the Dominion Government



LORD DALHOUSIE. From print after G. Richmond.

George Ramsay, 9th Earl of Dalhousie.

producing certain varieties of apples unexcelled by any other country. There is a Provincial Fruit Growers' Association which, in addition to other work, maintains a School of Horticulture at Wolfville. Next to fruit growing comes dairying, and special attention is devoted to the encouragement of this industry. There is an Agricultural School at Truro and short courses in dairying are there given. Special provision is made for public school teachers. All classes of farmers meet in one common Association

has been giving special attention to the development of dairying on the Island, and there are now a number of cheese factories in operation. There are three counties, each of which holds an annual Fair. The Local Legislature gives an annual grant of \$3,000 to the Fair at Charlottetown, and \$1,500 to each of the two held in the other counties.

*Manitoba.* This is essentially an agricultural Province, having an area of 64,000 square miles with a population of about 200,000 at the present time, of which about three-fourths live upon farms. In the Provincial Government of Manitoba the interests of agriculture and immigration are associated under one Minister. At the present time this Minister is also Leader of the Government. The Department collects and publishes full statistical returns of the crops, livestock and dairy products of the Province. There are fifty Agricultural Societies for holding annual fairs and exhibitions, with one large central Association at Winnipeg. There are Farmers' Institutes in the various districts for the discussion of questions relating to farming. The Central Farmers' Institute, with headquarters at Brandon, is made up of delegates from all the local Institutes. There are three other Provincial Associations interested in poultry, dairying, and stock breeding. The Government has a Superintendent of Dairying under whose direction a Dairy School is operated. Special efforts are being made to increase the number of cheese and butter factories. Other matters under the direction of the Department are the suppression of noxious weeds, and the inspection of live animals with a view to checking and preventing disease. A beginning has been made by the Educational Department in teaching agriculture in the public schools. The Legislative appropriations for the year 1896 were as follows:

Agricultural Societies, rural.....	\$14,000
Winnipeg Industrial Exhibition.....	3,500
Farmers' Institutes.....	1,000
Central Institute.....	1,000
Poultry Association.....	300
Breeders' Association.....	300
Dairy Association.....	400
Dairy School and Instruction.....	6,500
Noxious weed inspection.....	2,000

Diseases of animals, inspection.....	\$ 3,500
Loans to Creameries and Cheese Factories	2,000
Agricultural statistics.....	1,000

Total..... \$35,500

*North-West Territories.* This almost boundless region of the great North-West country is but little occupied. Here and there are to be found settlements of farmers grouped about such centres as Regina, Calgary, Edmonton, McLeod, Prince Albert. Large tracts are given over to immense cattle ranches. But settlement is increasing, and irrigation works are adding large areas of valuable farming lands to the hitherto available millions of acres of virgin prairie soil. The revenue of the Government of the North-West Territories is derived almost entirely from the subsidy of the Dominion Government and in specifying the purposes for which that grant is made, agriculture is not included. Appropriations for aiding this industry, therefore, came largely from the Dominion. Along this line may be mentioned the maintenance of an Experimental Farm at Indian Head; the subsidizing of creameries (\$20,000); the providing of cold storage transportation, and the granting of assistance to Agricultural Societies (\$7,000). The Local Government, however, makes some appropriations, as may be seen from the following statement of 1896:

Grants to Agricultural Societies.....	\$3,500
Destruction of wolves and coyotes.....	2,400
Destruction of gophers.....	1,700
Destruction of noxious weeds.....	460
Grants to Creameries and Cheese Fact's.	2,850

Total.....\$10,910

*British Columbia.* The enormous resources of this Province in lumber, minerals and fish have so completely overshadowed the agricultural resources that but comparatively little has been thought of the latter. The climate of the Pacific Province is, however, so salubrious, and the valleys and the lowlands, "the gift of the hills," are so fertile, that we may look for a rapid development of agricultural wealth. There is a Department of Agriculture at Victoria, presided over by a Minister of Agriculture, who is a member of the Government. Beginning with 1891, an annual Report has been issued. This contains reports

of crops and live stock from all parts of the Province. Some statistics of the industry are collected and published. The Legislature makes annual grants to Associations and Societies in the various districts. Dairying, fruit growing and stock raising receive special attention. There is a Provincial Fruit Growers' Association, and the Department employs a Provincial Inspector of Fruit Trees. The scope of the agricultural work may be seen from the following appropriations of the Provincial Legislature for the year 1896:

Salaries of Government Officials.....	\$3,864
Grants to Agricultural Societies.....	3,000
Fruit Growers' Association.....	1,000
Flockmasters' Association.....	250
Dairymen's Association.....	250
Destruction of wild animals.....	3,000
Royal Agricultural Association.....	1,000
B.C. Agricultural Association.....	1,000
Board of Agriculture.....	1,200
Poultry Shows.....	300
Total.....	\$14,864

*Quebec.* In 1888-89, under the patronage of Lord Dorchester, two Agricultural Societies were formed in the Province of Quebec, one at Montreal and the other at the City of Quebec. Long before that, however, during the French *régime*, the farmers of Quebec were engaged in methods of agriculture that were economical and self-sustaining. These characteristics are still peculiar to the industry in the Province. The work is directed by the Commissioner of Agriculture and Immigration, who is a member of the Government, assisted by a Council of Agriculture. There is an Agricultural Society in every county. The Act under which they are organized requires them to hold exhibitions and competitions for farms or standing crops in alternate years. The annual grant to these Societies is \$50,000. Then there are what are known as Farmers' Clubs for the discussion of agricultural subjects, one for each parish. There are 550 Farmers' Clubs, and the annual grant to them is \$50,000. There is issued by the Council of Agriculture the "Illustrated Journal of Agriculture" which appears twice a month, once in English and once in French. It

is distributed to members of the Societies and Clubs, and its circulation is at present 10,000 in English and 45,500 in French. The Department sends out lecturers to attend the meetings of the Clubs, each Club being entitled to at least two lectures a year. \$6,000 is appropriated for this purpose. General agricultural instruction is given at five schools located at Oka, L'Assomption, Compton, Ste. Anne de la Pocatière and Roberval—the last being to instruct farmers' daughters in house-keeping. The annual grant to the schools is \$25,000.



The Hon. Charles Drury.

Two veterinary schools are assisted by an annual grant of \$5,000, both located in Montreal—the French School attached to Laval University, and the English School to McGill University. Two Societies for the improvement of Horticulture are encouraged, viz.: the Pomological and Fruit Growing Society of the Province of Quebec (\$500 grant) and the Horticultural Society of Quebec (\$250 grant). In addition to this \$500 is voted to encourage the culture of fruit trees. Dairying is especially encouraged in Quebec,

which is noted for its high-class butter. The Dairy School at St. Hyacinthe receives an annual grant of \$15,000 and \$10,000 additional is voted to the Dairy Association of the Province, and for the inspection of butter and cheese syndicates. Three hundred pupils attended the School in 1896. There were, in 1896, 400 creameries and 1,400 cheese factories. The Dairy Association, with headquarters at St. Hyacinthe, publishes annually an interesting and valuable report. Other grants of the Legislature that may be mentioned are the following: \$200 for the Poultry Association at Montreal; \$1,000 for the Official Agricultural Laboratory at Quebec; \$5,000 for the Three Rivers' Exhibition; \$4,000 for the improvement of rural roads; and \$2,500 for "agricultural merit," this last being awarded in prize competition for farm management.

*Ontario.* When the final separation took place between the American Colonies and the Mother Land in 1783, after seven years of disputing and struggle, the problem was presented as to what would become of, or be done with, the thousands upon thousands of Loyalists who preferred British rule to the uncertain possibilities of the new Republic. Some re-crossed the Atlantic. But very many turned their faces northward to the Colonies still remaining loyal. The wilds of New Brunswick and of Nova Scotia became the home of some and Quebec received others, but the great exodus was north-westward beyond the frontiers of New York State. Their journey was difficult and perilous, for their course was through an unknown wilderness, and, in addition to the uncertainty of safety ahead, they had to urge them from behind all the discomforts and annoyances that unsympathizing and even bitter foes could devise. It was a mixed crowd which turned their backs upon the United States, rich and poor, master and servant, old and young, but they were all moving towards new homes. The British Government promised them new lands beyond the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, and they settled down mainly in the three sections of Ontario; along the St. Lawrence above Montreal, around the Bay of Quinte, and in the Niagara District. They necessarily took up the cultivation of the soil, as soon as they had hewed out clearings in the woods and constructed simple

but sufficient log homes. These were the first farmers of Ontario, and to the expulsion of the U.E. Loyalists is due the beginning of agriculture in the Province.

By 1792 the population of Upper Canada had become large enough to warrant the formation of a separate Province and Colonel John Graves Simcoe was sent out to govern it. He called the first Legislature together at Newark in the autumn of 1792, and it is worthy of mention here that either in that same year or in 1793 there was formed an Agricultural Society, with headquarters at the capital (Newark, now Niagara). The agriculture of that day was, of course, crude and in many respects labourious. But the settlements thrived, and year by year were increased by arrivals from the neighbouring States. For many years these farmers were compelled to produce everything necessary for their own sustenance. Gradually, as roads were improved and boat communication was established, their condition brightened and life became enlarged. At first timber and potashes were the principal exports, followed later by wheat, as the forest gave place to increasing fields. The War of 1812-14 was a set-back to the industry, but it was only temporary. Soon settlers from England, Scotland and Ireland began to find their way into the country in large numbers and the Province grew at a very rapid pace.

In 1830 the Legislature recognized the great benefits of Agricultural Societies and passed a law for their encouragement—giving liberal money grants. In 1846 the first Provincial Fair was held in Toronto, then the capital city of the Province, with a population of 20,565. As yet not a mile of railway had been built in Ontario. Progress was made year by year until in 1867 the Confederation of the Provinces was brought about and the Dominion of Canada started on its career. At this time the Legislative grants of Upper Canada were limited as follows:

Agricultural Societies .....	\$54,074
Fruit Growers' Association.....	350
Agriculture and Arts Association .....	10,000

The Agriculture and Arts Association was the organization which conducted the Provincial Fair and which for many years thereafter did the work of a Department of Agriculture for the Province.



It grew out of the Upper Canada Board of Agriculture of 1846, and passed out of existence in 1896, thus rounding out a half century of very useful work. In 1874 the Agricultural College and Experimental Farm was established at Guelph, and to-day, after nearly a quarter of a century, this has developed into what is undoubtedly the best all-round and most successful purely agricultural teaching institution in America. Its attendance in 1896 was as follows: 168 in the general course and 69 in the dairy course—total 237—of whom 202 were from Ontario, 13 from the other Canadian Provinces, 18 from British countries outside of Canada, two from the United States, and one from France.

Meanwhile the number of Agricultural Societies had been gradually increasing. The Farmers' Institutes, begun in 1885, had been developing even beyond expectation. Various associations had applied for recognition. The Dairy, Live Stock and Fruit interests of the Province were demanding greater attention. In 1882 the new statistical branch, the Bureau of Industries, was established and was convincing the people of the great extent and importance of the various agricultural interests. As a consequence of all this, the Ontario Government felt that a forward step should be taken, and in 1888 there was established the office of Minister of Agriculture, with the Hon. Charles Drury as the first Head of the Department. He was succeeded by the Hon. John Dryden as Minister in 1888. Mr. Dryden has administered the Department since that time. A Deputy Minister of Agriculture, together with the Secretary and the additional staff of the Bureau of Industries (created six years before) had also been appointed. The work of the Department is to supervise the many Societies of the Province, devise necessary legislation, oversee the Agricultural College, collect and publish statistics, and print and publish the reports, nearly twenty in all, of the various Societies, together with bulletins which from time to time may appear necessary or timely for improving the industry. As to the general Agricultural and Horticultural Societies the following statement will be interesting. It is for the year 1895, when there were ninety-six district Societies and 361 branch Societies (Township and Horticultural):

Total Legislative Grants.....	\$74,871
Municipal Grants.....	19,723
Members' fees and donations.....	89,440
Admission fees, etc.....	118,337
Money paid in prizes.....	189,421
Erection of buildings, etc.....	38,363
Working expenses.....	79,890
Value of lands and buildings owned.....	379,068
	<hr/>
	\$989,113

Then there are the Farmers' Institutes which are conducted for the purpose of instructing the



The Hon. John Dryden.

farmers by addresses and discussions at meetings held specially for that purpose. The statement for the year ending June 30th, 1896, was as follows: Total number of members, 12,384 in 94 Institutes; 666 meetings held with a total attendance of 102,461 persons; 2,637 addresses given or papers read. The Legislative grant is \$25 to each Institute, conditional upon 50 members at least and a municipal grant of \$25. The total cost of this work to the Government in 1896 was \$10,522. In addition to these there are

Societies concerned in the various sub-divisions of agriculture as follows:

Society.	Year recognized.	Legislative grant.
Ontario Fruit Growers' Association.....	1867	\$1,800
Ontario Entomological Society.....	1871	1,000
Cheese and Butter Association, East.....	1877	3,250
Cheese and Butter Association, West.....	1877	3,250
Ontario Poultry Association.....	1879	900
East Ontario Poultry Association.....		500
Canadian Horse Breeders' Association....	1895	2,000
Dominion Sheep Breeders' Association....	1890	1,500
Dominion Swine Breeders' Association....	1890	1,200
Dominion Cattle Breeders' Association....	1895	1,500
Ontario Experimental Union.....	1885	1,200
Ontario Bee Keepers' Association.....	1886	1,100

In addition to the old established Horticultural Societies and the Fruit Growers' Society with its membership of 3,000, the fruit-growing industry is assisted by twelve branch fruit experiment stations (grant \$2,800) and by practical instruction in the spraying of fruit trees given at 30 orchards of the Province (grant \$1,800). Road improvement is looked after by an official known as the "Provincial Instructor in Road-making." A Pioneer Farm is established in Western Algoma to prove the adaptability of that section to farming. The Agricultural College has been referred to. Full courses are given leading up to a diploma at the end of a two years' course and a degree (Bachelor in the Science of Agriculture) at the end of a three years' course. Connected with it is a Dairy School. Both courses are now attended to their fullest capacity. The Government also maintains a well-equipped Dairy School at Kingston, and a third one, with short courses, has lately been started at Strathroy.

For several years past there has also been sent out one or more travelling dairies to give instruction in butter-making. The extent of the dairy production will be understood when it is stated that the Province produces annually over 100,000,000 lbs. of factory cheese (cheddar), 5,000,000 lbs. creamery butter, and over 50,000,000 lbs. of dairy butter, and the total value of all the dairy products amounts to over \$25,000,000.

The Reports of all the Associations and movements here enumerated are printed and distributed by the Department. The same Department collects and publishes statistics including those relating to the farm and dairy, municipal finances, labour matters, etc. The appropriation for printing is \$20,500. The total grant in 1897 for the expenses of the Department, the grants to the various Associations, the maintenance of the Agricultural College and Dairy Schools and the various work coming under the general head of agriculture, amounted to \$230,897. The steady and gradual development of work in agriculture, done under the direction of the Provincial Government, may be seen from the following statement of the total expenditures for all agricultural purposes:

1868.....	\$65,224	1892.....	\$221,083
1872.....	70,577	1893.....	212,660
1877.....	117,598	1894.....	218,842
1882.....	163,941	1895.....	243,771
1887.....	149,679	1896.....	245,752

The total expenditure in Ontario for the thirty years from Confederation in 1867 to the end of 1896 amounted to over four million dollars.

## AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN ONTARIO

BY

JAMES MILLS, M.A., LL.D., President of the Ontario Agricultural College.

**A**GRICULTURAL education in the Dominion of Canada, as elsewhere, has been a plant of slow growth. General education had from the first, and still has, the chief claim on the attention and resources of the body politic. The people of Canada long ago decided that it was in their interest to open and maintain, within a convenient distance of every family in the country, a school to teach the elements of a general education, without charge, to all who might wish to avail themselves of it. Hence the excellent public school system in nearly every Province of the Dominion. In due time, schools were established to teach medicine, law, dentistry, pharmacy, engineering, and one or two technical courses of study; and those who were specially interested in these schools secured for them a fair attendance of students by inducing the Legislature to make it illegal for anyone to practise law, medicine, dentistry, or pharmacy until he had taken a course in and obtained a degree or certificate from the school or college which barred the entrance to that profession. And, because of legal enactments, many inferior technical schools have been well patronized in spite of the most obvious defects in teaching and equipments, till at length they have developed into strong and useful institutions.

With regard to agricultural education, the case was different. No educational bar was ever placed at the entrance to the profession of agriculture. All who wished became farmers; and, with a fine virgin soil and favourable climatic conditions, the farmers of Canada were so successful, without preparation for their work, that they were slow to admit that any sort of study or apprenticeship was necessary, or even beneficial, to those who intended to engage in agricultural pursuits. Hence there was no public or properly

organized school for teaching agriculture in the Dominion of Canada till the year 1874. In 1869, the Hon. (now Sir) John Carling, then Commissioner of Agriculture for the Province of Ontario, appointed a special Commissioner to collect information and make suggestions or recommendations for the founding of a School of Agriculture in Ontario. The outcome of this appointment was the establishment of the Ontario Agricultural College and Experimental Farm at Guelph, Ontario. At a much earlier date a number of agencies, apart from Schools and Colleges, contributed indirectly, and still contribute, towards the work of agricultural education—agricultural papers and periodicals, Agricultural Societies, Live Stock and Dairy Associations, Horticultural Societies, Farmers' Institutes, and similar organizations.

In the Province of Ontario, the county and township Agricultural Societies, 432 in number, and fifty-one district Horticultural Societies, hold annual Shows, which exhibit very clearly the results of the best practice of each locality in grain growing, root cultivation, stock raising and fruit culture; a Provincial Fat Stock Show, held annually in December, furnishes striking illustrations of what can be done by skill in the breeding, selection and feeding of animals; the Live Stock and Dairy Associations have meetings from year to year for the discussion of questions relating to farm animals and their products; the latter also send specialists throughout the Province to instruct the makers of butter and cheese while at work in the factories; and the travelling dairy, under the control of the Agricultural College, goes from neighbourhood to neighbourhood, lecturing and giving practical demonstrations in milk-testing and butter-making. The Fruit Growers' Association publishes a monthly jour-

nal and holds annual meetings at different points in the Province for the delivery of addresses and the reading and discussion of papers on fruits and fruit culture; the Fruit Experiment Stations Board, representing the Agricultural College and the Fruit Growers' Association, conducts experiments in fruit growing on an extensive scale at ten or twelve different places in the Province, exhibits samples from the different stations and publishes an annual report giving the results of these experiments; and two or three men, sent out by the Minister of Agriculture for a short time



The Hon. Sir John Carling.

in the spring, go from county to county, lecturing and giving object lessons in spraying fruit trees for the destruction of insects and fungus diseases.

The Poultry Associations (east and west), the Bee-Keepers' Association and the Entomological Society prepare papers and issue annual reports for distribution among the farmers; and the Bureau of Industries, in connection with the Department of Agriculture in Toronto, collects and publishes from year to year much valuable information about crops, live stock, wages, im-

ports, exports, etc., all contributing more or less to the education of the people in the theory and practice of agriculture. Farmers' Institutes are a more important factor than any of the foregoing in the education of the farmers, old and young, in matters pertaining to their occupation. The organization consists of deputations of two or three each, sent from place to place to read papers and deliver addresses on topics relating directly to the work and life of the farming community—the cultivation of the soil, the growing of crops, the feeding and management of live stock, poultry raising, bee-keeping, agricultural chemistry, geology, botany, entomology, farm accounts, practical economics and many other subjects. The most important Institute meetings in Ontario are held during the winter vacation of the Guelph College; and the deputations sent out at that time are usually composed of members of the College staff and a few of the most prominent and successful farmers, stock raisers, fruit growers, etc. Twenty-one deputations were sent out in 1896, and the number of meetings held, from one to one and a-half days each, was 666.

In this way, every part of the Province is visited at least once a year by the leaders in agricultural thought and practice—the men who teach the principles of agriculture and the sciences related thereto, and those who are most successful in the application of these principles on the farms of the Province. Thus, much valuable information is imparted, and farmers are stirred up to observe, read, and think for themselves. The work is a great benefit to the country and may not inappropriately be compared with that done by University extension lecturers in Europe and America. It is generally admitted, however, that the most direct and valuable work in the line of agricultural education in the Province of Ontario is done by the Ontario Agricultural College at Guelph. This institution was founded in 1874, but, on account of political opposition and some mistakes in the management, its progress for the first few years of its history was slower than might have been expected. Gradually, however, it overcame all obstacles, and of late it has gone ahead very rapidly. The equipment of the institution at the present time is ample in all departments—lecture-rooms and laboratories (chemical,

physical, biological, horticultural, and bacteriological); a farm and dairy supplied with suitable buildings, implements, and appliances, and well stocked with cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry; a large garden and a complete set of greenhouses, with flowers, shrubs, orchards, and arboretum; and a carpenter shop with benches and tools for plain work and general repairs.

The course of study is liberal and very practical, specially adapted to the wants of young men who intend to be farmers. It embraces general agriculture, arboriculture, live stock, dairying, poultry, bee-keeping, chemistry, geology, botany, zoology, entomology, bacteriology, horticulture, veterinary science, English literature and composition, arithmetic, mensuration, drawing, mechanics, electric-

the early part of 1888 the College was admitted to affiliation with the Provincial University; and since that time all third year work and the final examinations for the degree of Bachelor of the Science of Agriculture (B.S.A.) have been controlled by the Senate of the University.

A large amount of experimental work, of more or less educational value, is now done at the College. A field of fifty acres, divided into about 1,800 small plots, is used for testing varieties of cereals, roots, corn and potatoes, the selection of seed, dates of seeding, kinds of manure, methods of cultivation, etc.; and experiments in horticulture, butter-making, cheese-making, and the feeding of stock are constantly in progress. A distinctive feature of the institution is the fact that all



The Ontario Agricultural College at Guelph.

ity, book-keeping, political economy, and German. The ordinary short course, which is intended as a preparation for life on the farm, extends over two years. Those who complete this course receive diplomas admitting them to the status of associates of the College. Nothing further was attempted for the first thirteen years in the history of the institution; but, in 1887, a third year was added for those who should reach a certain standard at the end of the second year, and might wish to prepare themselves, not only for life on the farm, but for original work and teaching in agriculture, horticulture, live stock, dairying, and those branches of science which have a more or less direct bearing on agricultural pursuits. In

students are required to do a certain amount of manual labour while they are getting their education. They are at lectures from 8.30 to 12 a.m.; and for work in the outside departments, they are divided into two divisions which work alternately in the afternoon, taking their turn at field work, looking after the live stock, and all other kinds of work which may be required in the different departments of the institution. For this work they are paid a certain amount, not exceeding nine cents per hour, which is credited on their bills for board and washing. The object of this practical work is twofold: first, to assist students in meeting their expenses at the College; secondly, and chiefly, to keep them in touch with the farm

and prevent them during the progress of their education, from acquiring a distaste to farm work and farm life—such a distaste as the great majority of students acquire in the high schools and universities of the country. It may be added that the College has grown steadily in public estimation, till at length it has won the confidence of the farming community. Very large numbers of farmers visit it from year to year (over 19,000 last June), and those who do so, generally speak in the warmest praise of the institution and the work done by it. The number of students in attendance in 1896 was 168 in the general course and 69 in the dairy course, or a total of 237.

The Dairy Schools of Ontario are also doing good work on the line of agricultural education. At the present time (October, 1897), there are three of these schools in the Province—one in connec-

tion with the College at Guelph and the other two under the control of the President of the College, one at Kingston in the east and the other at Strathroy in the west. The School at Guelph gives a twelve weeks' course, commencing on the 4th of January, and the other two, a succession of shorter courses throughout the autumn and winter. These schools, being maintained by the Provincial Government, are well-equipped and well-manned, and furnish very thorough courses in the theory and practice of cheese-making, butter-making, milk-testing, the running of cream separators, and the pasteurization of milk and cream. In these courses, farmers' sons and daughters, factorymen and others, get in a short time and at small cost such instruction and practice as they desire in any branch of dairy husbandry.



Dr. William Saunders.

# THE GRANGE IN CANADA

BY

HENRY GLENDINNING, of Manilla, Ont.

AT the close of the civil war in the United States the slaves had been freed and the whites of the South did not take kindly to work in the fields, hence much land was untilled and agriculture in general was in a state of collapse. Early in January, 1866, Mr. O. H. Kelley was appointed by President Johnson as agent of the Department of Agriculture in the South to collect statistical and other information for publication. Mr. Kelley says of his mission, "The general aim of my visit was to get a good knowledge of the agricultural and mineral resources of the South." When on this mission he conceived the idea of an Association among the gatherers of the fruits of the soil, and for their benefit, extending alike through all sections of the country and uniting all in one great brotherhood. And he says it was in his mind at this time that such an Association might be a power to restore unity and good feeling between the people of the North and South.

When Mr. Kelley returned to Washington in the autumn of 1866 he introduced the subject to a few of his friends and it was discussed by them and they decided to organize a secret society on Masonic lines. For nearly two years these men laboured with great energy and a faith amounting almost to inspiration until they completed a well-devised scheme of organization, based upon a ritual of four degrees for men and four for women in subordinate Granges. On the 15th of November, 1867, a meeting was held in the office of Mr. William Saunders, of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The names "Patrons of Husbandry" and "Grange" were adopted, the former as the name of the Order, and the latter as the name of the constituent bodies. There was another meeting held at the same place on De-

ember 4th, 1867, officers were then elected and the National Grange formally organized with eight officers. The order was to be non-political and non-sectarian. The qualification for membership was good character and engagement in agricultural pursuits. At first the growth of the Order was very slow. Before the fifth session of the National Grange only about 200 subordinate Granges had been organized, but, by 1872, 1074 Granges had been organized, scattered over half the States of the American Union, and from that time onward the growth was phenomenal.

In the year 1872 the Grange was planted in Canada by Mr. Eben Thompson, a Deputy from the United States. It was first formed in the Province of Quebec. On June 2nd, 1874, representatives of a number of Granges met in the City of London, Ontario, and organized the Dominion Grange. Mr. S. W. Hill, of Ridgeville, was elected Master and Mr. Thomas Dyas, of London, Secretary. The following preamble to the Declaration of Principles was adopted and is here given with the Declaration itself:

"Human happiness is the acme of earthly ambition. Individual happiness depends upon general prosperity and the adoption of right principles. The prosperity of a nation is in proportion to the value of its productions. The soil is the source from whence we derive all that constitutes wealth; without it we would have no agriculture, no manufactures, no commerce. Of all the material gifts of the Creator the various productions of the vegetable world are of the first importance. The art of agriculture is the parent and precursor of all arts, and its products the foundation of all wealth. The productions of the earth are subject to the influence of natural laws, invariable and indisputable; the amount produced will consequently be in proportion to the intelligence of the producer, and success will depend upon his knowledge of the action of these laws,

and the proper application of their principles. Hence knowledge is the foundation of happiness.

The ultimate object of this organization is for mutual instruction and protection, to lighten labour by diffusing a knowledge of its aims and purposes, expand the mind by tracing the beautiful laws the Great Creator has established in the Universe and to enlarge our views of creative wisdom and power. To those who read aright, history proves that in all ages society is fragmentary, and successful results of general welfare can be secured only by general effort. Unity of action cannot be acquired without discipline and discipline cannot be enforced without significant organization; hence we have a ceremony of initiation which binds us in mutual fraternity as with a band of iron; but, although its influence is so powerful, its application is as gentle as that of the silken threads that bind a wreath of flowers.

#### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

I. *Motto.* We heartily endorse the motto: 'In essentials, Unity; in non-essentials, Liberty; in all things, Charity.'

II. *Objects.* We shall endeavour to advance our cause by labouring to accomplish the following objects:

To develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood among ourselves.

To enhance the comforts and attractions of our homes; and strengthen our attachment to our pursuits.

To foster mutual understanding and co-operation.

To reduce our expenses both individual and corporate.

To buy less and produce more, in order to make our farms self-sustaining.

To diversify our crops, and crop no more than we can properly cultivate,

To condense the weight of our exports, selling less in the bushel, and more on hoof and in fleece.

To systematize our work, and calculate intelligently on probabilities.

To discountenance the credit system, the mortgage system, the fashion system and every other system tending to prodigality and bankruptcy.

We propose meeting together, talking together, working together, buying together, selling together, and, in general, acting together for our

mutual protection and advancement, as occasion may require.

We shall avoid litigation as much as possible by arbitration in the Grange.

We shall earnestly endeavour to suppress personal, local, sectional and national prejudices, all unhealthy rivalry, all selfish ambition.

We shall constantly strive to secure entire harmony, good will, vital brotherhood among ourselves, and to make our Order perpetual.

III. *Business Relations.* For our business interests we desire to bring producers and consumers, farmers and manufacturers, into the most direct and friendly relations possible. Hence we must dispense with a surplus of middlemen; not that we are unfriendly to them, but we do not need them. Their surplus and their exactions diminish our profits.

We wage no aggressive warfare against any other interest whatever. On the contrary, all our acts and all our efforts, as far as business is concerned, are not only for the benefit of the producer and consumer, but also for all other interests that tend to bring these two parties into speedy and economical contact. Hence we hold that transportation companies of every kind are necessary to our success; that their interests are intimately connected with our interest, and harmonious action is mutually advantageous, upon the principle that individual happiness depends upon general prosperity.

We are opposed to such spirit and management of any corporation or enterprise as tend to oppress the people and rob them of their just profit.

We are not enemies to capital; but we oppose the tyranny of monopolies.

We long to see the antagonism between capital and labour removed by common consent and by enlightened statesmanship.

We are opposed to excessive salaries, high rates of interest, and exorbitant per cent. profits in trade. They greatly increase our burdens and do not bear a proper proportion to the profit of producers.

We desire only self-protection and the protection of every true interest of our land by legitimate transactions, legitimate trade and legitimate profits.



IV. *Education.* We shall advance the cause of education among ourselves, and for our children, by all just means within our power. We especially advocate for our agricultural and industrial colleges and public schools that practical agriculture, domestic science, and all the arts which adorn the home, be taught in their courses of study.

V. *Political Relations.* We emphatically and sincerely assert the oft-repeated truth taught in our organic law, that the Grange is not a political or party organization. No Grange, if true to its obligations, can discuss partizan or sectarian questions, nor call political conventions, nor nominate candidates, nor even discuss their merits in its meetings, nor permit any discussion upon questions on which we stand divided by party lines. Yet the principles we teach underlie all true politics, all true statesmanship, and if properly carried out will tend to purify the whole political atmosphere of our country. For we seek the greatest good to the greatest number. But we must always bear in mind that no one, by becoming a Patron, gives up that inalienable right and duty which belongs to every citizen to take a proper interest in the politics of his country. On the contrary, it is the right of every member to do all in his power, legitimately, to influence for good the action of any political party to which he belongs.

It is his duty to do all that he can to put down bribery, corruption and trickery; and to see that none but competent, faithful and honest men, who will unflinchingly stand by our industrial interests, are nominated for all positions of trust; and to have carried out the principle which should always characterize every Patron, that the office should seek the man, and not the man the office. We acknowledge the broad principle that difference of opinion is no crime, and hold that progress towards truth is made by difference of opinion, while the fault lies in the bitterness of controversy. We desire proper equality, equity and fairness, protection for the weak, restraint upon the strong, in short, justly distributed burdens and justly distributed power. It is reserved by every Patron, as his right as a freeman, to affiliate with any party that

will best carry out his principles. Ours being peculiarly a farmers' institution, we cannot admit all to our ranks. Many are excluded by the nature of our organization, not because they are professional men, or labourers, or artisans, but because they have not a sufficient direct interest in tilling the soil, or may have some interest in conflict with our purposes. But we appeal to all good citizens for their cordial co-operation to assist in our efforts towards reform.

VI. *Conclusion.* It shall be an abiding principle with us to relieve any of our oppressed and suffering brotherhood by any means at our command. Last, but not least, we proclaim it among our purposes to inculcate a proper appreciation of the abilities and sphere of woman, as is indicated by admitting her to membership and position in our Order."

For a number of years after the introduction of the Order into Canada the increase was very rapid, and in 1879 there were 31,000 members scattered over the Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In the year 1877 "The Grange in Canada" was incorporated by Act of Parliament. There have been about 1,000 Granges organized in the Dominion. The organization consists of Subordinate Granges, Division or County Granges, Provincial Granges and the Dominion Grange, with full ritual and degree work pertaining to each body. Many of the Granges that were organized are now inactive, but at the present time (1898) about seventy Subordinate Granges are in good working order in Ontario. The Order has been a great educator, and has done much to break up the isolation of the farming class by bringing them together for social and intellectual improvement. Several institutions have been put in operation by the Grange in Canada whose management is separate and distinct from the Grange itself. The Grange Wholesale Supply Company of Toronto and the People's Salt Company of Kincardine, both managed on the joint stock plan by capital subscribed by the members, are two of the most successful institutions under the wing of the Grange. Perhaps, however, the greatest good done by the Order has been its influence upon legislation in the interest of the farming class.

# THE PATRONS OF INDUSTRY ORDER

BY

C. A. MALLORY, GRAND PRESIDENT.

**T**HE Patrons of Industry, like "The Grange," is an organization of farmers, and others whose interests are identical with those of farmers. Its objects are to advance the moral, intellectual, social, political and financial condition of the producing classes in the country, and to generally develop a higher character in those who perform a most important part in providing for the subsistence, and advancing the prosperity of every nation. Though completely unsectarian and non-partizan as regards existing parties, it, unlike the Grange, seeks to accomplish these results by independent political action.

Patrons are taught that prosperity is not so much to be attributed to soil and climate as to the untiring industry of the toiling masses, and the elevating influence of Christian education upon youthful minds and society in general. They are taught to exalt, not titled station, but general humanity; to dignify not idle repose, but arduous industry; to elevate, not the few, but the many.

The introduction of the organization into Canada was intended as a protest against what was considered class legislation and monopoly. Being opposed to class legislation, it asks no special privileges for farmers, and wages war against protection as giving special favours to others. Being pledged to British connection and loyal to British institutions, it strongly favours the fiscal policy of the Motherland as far as conditions will permit its application to Canada. It has hitherto been composed principally of farmers, they having felt more than others the pinch of adversity, resulting, as they believe, to a very considerable extent, from the rule of corporations and monopolies consequent upon the class legislation which has sometimes been enacted by our Parliaments.

Having a platform of political principles consistent with its object, it aims to become a balance between existing parties and by that means to force Governments to recognize the authority of the people. Its representatives offer no factious opposition to Governments and support measures in the interest of economy and honest administration from whatever source they spring. It was formerly confined principally to farmers and employees but has now opened its doors to all who sympathize with its objects and are willing to subscribe to its platform.

The Order of Patrons of Industry was first introduced into the Dominion of Canada, by organizers who came from the State of Michigan to the county of Lambton, Ontario. It spread very rapidly, so rapidly indeed, that in a few months over two hundred subordinate Associations had been formed in that county. At a meeting of delegates, held at Sarnia, a county Association was formed and arrangements were made to obtain incorporation under the general Ontario Act for the incorporation of benevolent and other societies. Organizers were commissioned to introduce the order into several other counties in the Province. Portions of these counties were soon organized and county Associations formed. On the fourth Tuesday in February 1890, delegates from the ten county Associations then organized assembled in the town of Sarnia for the purpose of forming a Grand Association for the Province of Ontario.

The first Grand Officers elected were Fergus Kennedy, Grand President; C. A. Mallory, Grand Vice-President; L. A. Welch, Secretary and Treasurer; and a board of three trustees who were to have the financial management of the order. Up to this time the Patrons of Ontario had been in affiliation with those of the United States, but one of the first acts of the newly

formed Grand Association was to sever its connection completely with the parent body, and thenceforward the Order became a Canadian institution. A committee was formed to draft propositions to be submitted to the subordinate Associations for their approval, which propositions, or as many of them as were approved, were to form the political platform of the Patron Order. The committee met shortly afterwards in the town of Chatham and prepared a number of propositions which were immediately sent out to all Patron lodges throughout the Province.



C. A. Mallory.

These were considered and voted upon separately by the subordinate lodges and the results reported to the Grand Secretary.

A special session of the Grand Association was held at London on September 22nd, 1891, for the purpose of considering the reports from subordinate Associations upon the proposed political platform, and to make such changes in the constitution as had become necessary in the interest of the order. A committee was appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws, with instruc-

tions to report at the next annual convention. It was found that the following propositions had received the approval of over ninety per cent. of the Patrons then organized, and they were therefore finally adopted as the Platform of the Patrons of Industry for the Province of Ontario:

- 1st.—Maintenance of British connection.
- 2nd.—The reservation of the Public Lands for the actual settler.
- 3rd.—Purity of administration and the absolute Independence of Parliament.
- 4th.—Rigid economy in every department of the public service.
- 5th.—Simplification of the laws and a general reduction in the machinery of Government.
- 6th.—The abolition of the Canadian Senate.
- 7th.—A system of Civil Service Reform that will give each County power to appoint or elect all County officials paid by them except County judges.
- 8th.—Tariff for revenue only, and so adjusted as to fall as far as possible upon the luxuries and not upon the necessaries of life.
- 9th.—Reciprocal trade on fair and equitable terms between Canada and the world.
- 10th.—Effectual legislation that will protect labour, and the results of labour, from those combinations and monopolies which unduly enhance the price of the articles produced by such combinations or monopolies.
- 11th.—Prohibition of the bonusing of Railways by Government grants as contrary to the public interest.
- 12th.—Preparation of the Dominion and Provincial Voters' Lists by the municipal officers.
- 13th.—Conformity of electoral districts to County boundaries, as constituted for Municipal purposes, as far as the principle of representation by population will allow.

The organization now began to spread very rapidly, not only in the Province of Ontario, but in Manitoba and the English speaking portion of Quebec. During the latter portion of this year petitions were circulated among the Patrons of Ontario asking that salt, binder-twine and iron should be placed upon the free list. These

petitions secured over 25,000 signatures, and were forwarded to Ottawa for the consideration of the Dominion Government. As a result, at the succeeding session, the duties upon salt and binder-twine were materially reduced, though no change was made in the tax upon iron.

A Grand Association was formed in Manitoba during the latter part of the year, Charles Braithwaite having been elected President, and Mr. Graham, Secretary-Treasurer. The adoption of a platform, however, was postponed until the time for the annual meeting.

The annual meeting of 1892, of the Patrons of Ontario, was held at the regular time in February, in the city of Toronto, which thereafter became the chief centre for the organization. The new constitution and ritual were now finally adopted. The propriety of making Prohibition a plank of the Patron Platform was discussed, the question having been submitted during the preceding year. It was found, however, that very few counties had reported upon the question, and as a consequence it was not thought wise to take action upon it. The officers elected were C. A. Mallory, Grand President; John Miller, Grand Vice-President; L. A. Welch, Secretary-Treasurer; A. Gifford, T. O. Currie and A. Foster, Grand Trustees. During the year which followed great progress was made in organizing the farmers and labourers of the Provinces—600 lodges being formed in Ontario alone.

The *Canada Farmer's Sun*, published by Geo. Wrigley, at London, was made the official organ, and did much to educate the people to independence of thought. Negotiations were entered into with the Ontario Peoples' Salt Company, whereby the Patrons agreed to take from that company 800 car loads of salt per year for three years, on condition that they should withdraw from the Canada Salt Association, and furnish salt at a fixed price agreed upon. The matter of breaking the monopoly in the manufacture and sale of binder-twine also engaged the attention of the Grand Board. The proposition of Messrs. Stratford, Hope, and others, of Brantford and vicinity, was adopted as most likely to afford immediate relief. The Farmers' Binder-Twine and Agricultural Implement Manufacturing Company, of Brantford, Ont. (Ltd.), with a capital of \$100,000

was formed. Stock books were opened, and in a few months \$70,000 of stock was subscribed among the farmers of Ontario. Buildings were immediately erected and machinery obtained, and thus the cost of binder-twine was reduced to about one-half its former price, while a reasonable profit accrued upon the investment made. Petitions were circulated for the removal of the duty upon agricultural implements, coal oil, wire fencing, and corn. These, with 40,000 signatures, were presented to the government at Ottawa. Petitions also secured an equal number of signatures asking the Government of Ontario for the decentralization of the Superior courts, for the extension of the jurisdiction of Division courts, for the assessment at actual value of corporation stocks, debentures, and mortgages, and for the election of county officers, except judges, by the people, in accordance with the seventh plank of the Patron platform. During the sessions of the Parliaments the grand officers interviewed the Governments, Dominion and Provincial, in furtherance of the prayers of the several petitions.

The Grand Association meeting of Manitoba was held in December, 1893. The officers of the previous year were re-elected. A platform similar to that of the Ontario Patrons was adopted, with the addition of planks favouring the principles of female suffrage and prohibition.

The third annual convention of Ontario Patrons was held in Toronto, on February 27th, 1894. The officers elected were: C. A. Mallory, President; T. O. Currie, Vice-President; L. A. Welch, Secretary-Treasurer; and F. Kennedy, A. Gifford, and J. Lockie Wilson, Trustees. It was then resolved that since the petitions had not received the attention at the hands of the several governments which their importance demanded, preparation should be made for placing candidates in the field on the Patron platform in the several rural constituencies. The several planks of the platform were defined and arrangements made by which nominating conventions were to be held when thought wise during the year. Patronism was now acknowledged to be an important factor in Canadian politics, its membership being not less than 150,000 in all the provinces. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed, and requests were constantly being received by members of the Grand

Board, to speak at meetings in various parts of the Province. To meet these demands at least expense, Ontario, with the organized portions of Quebec, was divided into three districts. The Eastern was supplied by Trustee J. Lockie Wilson and Lecturer Miller; the centre by Vice-President Currie and Trustee Kennedy; and the Western by President Mallory and Trustee Gifford. By this arrangement, two meetings were allotted to each county. In many places these meetings assumed the form of immense picnic demonstrations, and in some cases many thousands were in attendance. The Provincial elections being imminent, conventions were held in many constituencies for the selection of candidates in the Patron interest. Two bye-elections had already occurred. In North Bruce, where Patronism was strong, its candidate, David McNaughton, was elected in a three-cornered contest. For South Lanark, with but one township organized, the Patrons were unsuccessful, the Liberal candidate having been elected.

The Grand President now, by instructions, issued a manifesto outlining the special principles on which Patron candidates entered the Provincial contest. These consisted of, 1st, the election by popular vote of all county officers, except judges—such officers to be elected for a period consistent with proficiency and good behaviour, and subject to clearly defined governmental inspection; 2nd, the abolition of Government House, Toronto; 3rd, the abolition of the system of the people's representatives receiving special favours from railway corporations in the form of free passes, or other favours; 4th, the taxing of mortgages, stocks, and bonds at their actual value; and 5th, the repeal of all provincial statutes giving special class privileges. Thirty candidates were placed in the field, and about twenty-five speakers were engaged to assist in the campaign, among whom were numbers of the Rate-payers' Association of the city of Toronto, and members of the labour organizations throughout the province. As a result, sixteen Patron representatives were elected to the Legislature of Ontario.

Very soon after the election, a meeting of the Patron members was held in Toronto, at which the new party was organized. Mr. J.

L. Haycock, of Frontenac County, was chosen as leader, and John Senn, of Haldimand County, as Secretary. The issues upon which they were elected were again approved by the Patron representatives, and a determination expressed to urge by all means their adoption by the Legislature. Protests were afterwards entered against the election of Mr. Senn and Mr. Tucker, Patron member for Centre Wellington. Mr. Senn, having failed to resign his position of issuer of marriage licenses before the election, now resigned his seat. Mr. Tucker was declared disqualified for having "treated" electors during the campaign. In the bye-elections which followed, Mr. Senn was defeated by Dr. Baxter, Liberal, and Mr. Tucker, Patron, a brother of the former candidate, was elected by a substantial majority. In the meantime the organization was extending in Manitoba, the North West, and Quebec. It was thought better, owing to the difference of language and Provincial institutions, that a separate Provincial Association should be formed for the Province of Quebec, which had hitherto been affiliated with Ontario. Accordingly, on December 11th, President Mallory met with delegates from the several organized counties of Quebec, in the city of Montreal, for the purpose of forming a Grand Association for that Province. J. M. Varville, of St. Philippe, was elected President, and Albert Douth, of Coteau du Lac, Secretary-Treasurer. The Constitution and Platform of the Patrons of Ontario were adopted by the Grand Association of Quebec, and the new Provincial organization started out with a determination to succeed.

A call was also received from the Maritime Provinces for the introduction of Patronism, and Duncan Marshall, a young man of energy and ability, was commissioned to organize those Provinces, and establish one or more Grand Associations as might be found necessary. It was now thought that the Dominion elections would be shortly held, and many candidates were placed in the field in Ontario, Manitoba and Quebec. Delegates from the several organized Provinces met in the city of Toronto for the purpose of forming a central Dominion executive. C. A. Mallory was chosen President, and L. A. Welch, Secretary. Federal issues were discussed, and

the following propositions were agreed upon, as the principles upon which Patron candidates should enter the Federal contest:

No director or stockholder of any railroad or other corporation asking for or obtaining any emolument or aid from the Government shall be eligible for election to the House of Commons; and if such conditions shall occur in the case of a member already elected, his seat has to be declared vacant.

It shall be declared a breach of the Independence of Parliament Act for any member of the House of Commons to accept fees or emoluments other than his yearly salary or sessional indemnity for any services performed for, or on behalf of, the Government.

No member of the House of Commons shall receive a free pass from any railroad or steamship company; and the seat of any member so receiving a free pass shall, on proof thereof, be immediately declared vacant, and the person so offending shall be disqualified for membership in the House of Commons or for any position in the gift of the Government for a space of five years.

The Government House at Ottawa shall be abolished, and the bar-room in connection with the House of Commons and Senate Chamber shall also be abolished.

The system of superannuation, gratuities and pensions, except for military service, shall be abolished.

The Mounted Police of the North-West Territories shall be abolished, except in unorganized districts, in which case the expenditure shall be reduced fifty per cent.

The Military College at Kingston shall be abolished, and the expenditure on the militia force in the Dominion in times of peace shall be limited to \$300,000.

The granting of subsidies and bonuses to railroad and steamship companies and other corporations shall be abolished. (Adopted with the interpretation that when, however, it is found necessary to extend settlement, or to accommodate settlements already established, the Government shall in lieu of land grants capitalize said land at \$1.00 per acre and assist the said railway or railways to that extent, and said land shall be open for settlement with the \$1.00 per acre as a first charge thereon).

The number of civil servants at Ottawa and their salaries shall be reduced. The High Commissioner in Great Britain shall receive a stated salary without any additions for assistance or perquisites.

The number of Cabinet Ministers shall be reduced, and the Canadian Senate shall be abolished.

Luxuries shall be taxed to the fullest revenue-producing extent, and the following shall be admitted free into Canada, viz.:—cotton, tweeds, woollens, workmen's tools, farm implements, fence wire, binder twine, coal oil, iron and corn.

The annual conventions were held in the several Provinces during the winter, and the retiring officers were all re-elected. The declaration of principles as agreed upon by the Dominion executive was submitted to and approved by each, and preparation was made for the Federal contest. Prince Edward Island had now been well organized, but concluded not to enter the Federal contest. Portions of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia had also been organized, and Duncan Marshall proceeded to form a Grand Association in Prince Edward Island, and was himself chosen president for that province.

A new issue was raised in the Federal elections by the introduction of the Remedial Bill into the House of Commons, for the purpose of dealing with the question of separate or Catholic schools in the Province of Manitoba. The Government having failed to secure the passage of the bill in the special session of January, 1896, it became the all-absorbing issue in the contest which occurred in June. In consequence of this, Patron candidates were compelled to declare themselves upon this question, though entirely foreign to the principles of Patronism. The Grand Secretary also lent himself to the service of one of the political parties, and for this purpose allowed to be published the private correspondence of the Grand Office. The funds of the organization, being locked up in his hands, were not available for the conduct of the campaign. The consequence was that Patrons were greatly disheartened in their attempt to secure representation in the House of Commons. Many candidates retired at or before the nomination. Mr. David Rogers, in the county of Frontenac, was elected by acclamation. After the election it was found that five Patron representatives were returned, three from Ontario and two from Manitoba. There is no doubt that, under the circumstances, it would have been better had nearly all the candidates retired from the contest and awaited a more suitable time for the defence of their principles. In the bye-elections which followed, but one Patron contested a constituency—Mr. Duncan Graham

being elected in a contest with Mr. McLeod, Conservative, in North Ontario.

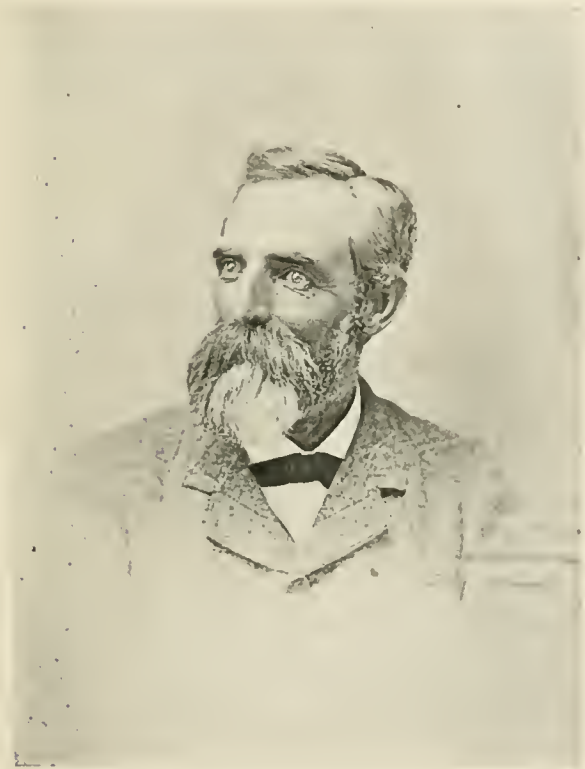
For several months following the election, little was done. Patrons for the most part were completely discouraged. A settled determination seemed to have possessed them to know no party and wait developments. In the meantime a separate Grand Association had been formed for the North-West Territories, with Mr. McInnes as Grand President.

The Liberals having obtained a majority in the Federal elections, a new Government had been

invariably pressed upon the Government the necessity of taxing luxuries to the fullest revenue-producing extent, and placing upon the free list necessities enumerated in their demands.

The Grand Association meetings for the several Provinces were held at the usual time. In Ontario, W. L. Smith was elected secretary, in room of L. A. Welch, and Duncan Anderson was elected trustee in place of Mr. Kennedy, resigned. In Quebec, Mr. Walter Smith was made president, otherwise few changes were made in the executives for the several Provinces. The attendance was good, and a determination was evinced to continue the agitation until the reforms advocated were incorporated in the statutes of the land. It was found that many of the subordinate lodges had ceased to meet regularly, though the spirit and principles of the order were stronger than at any previous time. An attempt had been made at the previous session to open the doors to all who were in sympathy with the Patron platform. At this Convention the attempt was renewed with success. This action, it was hoped, would remove the prejudices existing against the organization among the inhabitants of the towns and cities.

The Patron representatives in the Ontario Legislature, under the leadership of Mr. Haycock, have consistently advocated the reforms to which they were pledged, and, although not a balance between the parties, have been the means of reducing expenditures. Government House, though not abolished, is costing much less than formerly. Efforts are being made to compromise with the railway corporations, so as to avoid what Patrons consider a stigma in representatives receiving personal favours from them. Class legislation is closely watched, and the rights of the people jealously guarded. The Local government has been constrained to discourage the active partizanship of civil servants. The future of Patronism depends largely upon the action of the Governments, Dominion and Provincial. If they accede to the demands of the masses (which we believe to be represented by the Patrons) for legislation in the interests of the many, with economy in administration, the agitation may possibly cease. Otherwise a third party will be developed, the influence of which cannot now be estimated.



Joseph L. Haycock.

formed at Ottawa. A committee of the Government was appointed to take evidence preparatory to a revision of the tariff. A circular was therefore sent out by the President for Ontario and Chairman of the Dominion Executive, urging upon Patrons throughout the Dominion to place their views before the Tariff Commission. This circular was well responded to by Patrons throughout the country by resolutions, petitions, or interviews with the Tariff Commission. They

## AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT—EDITOR'S NOTES.

**Dominion and Provincial Ministers of Agriculture.** From 1849 to Confederation in 1867 there was a Bureau of Agriculture and Statistics in connection with the United Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. W. C. Crofton was Secretary until March 31st, 1853, when he was succeeded by W. Hutton. J. C. Taché assumed charge as Deputy Minister of Agriculture on August 11th, 1864, and was succeeded by John Lowe in 1888, as Deputy Minister for the Dominion. Mr. W. B. Scarth became Deputy Minister in 1895. Messrs. John Lowe, H. B. Small and A. L. Jarvis were successive Secretaries of the Department after 1871. From 1852 until 1862 the Presidents of the Executive Council were *ex officio* Ministers of Agriculture. After the later date up to Confederation they were as follows:

	Appointment.	Retirement.
The Hon. Sir N. F. Belleau.....	20 March, 1862	23 May, 1862
" F. Evztarel.....	24 May, 1862	15 May, 1863
" L. Letellier de St. Just.....	16 May, 1863	29 March, 1864
" T. D'Arcy McGee.....	30 March, 1864	1 July, 1867

Since the formation of the Dominion the following have administered this Department:

	Appointment.	Retirement.
*The Hon. Alexander Chapais.....	1 July, 1867	15 Nov., 1869
" C. Dunkin.....	16 Nov., 1869	24 Oct., 1871
" John H. Pope.....	25 Oct., 1871	6 Nov., 1873
" L. Letellier de St. Just.....	7 Nov., 1873	14 Dec., 1876
" Sir C. A. P. Pelletier.....	26 Jan., 1877	16 Oct., 1878
" J. H. Pope.....	17 Oct., 1878	24 Sept., 1885
" Sir John Carling.....	25 Sept., 1885	24 Nov., 1892
" A. R. Angers.....	5 Dec., 1885	11 July, 1895
" W. H. Montague.....	15 Jan., 1896	8 July, 1896
" S. A. Fisher.....	13 July, 1896	.....

In Manitoba, where agriculture is so all-important an interest, the Ministers have been as follows:

The Hon. Thomas Howard.....	Jan., 1871
" Alfred Boyd.....	Jan.—Dec., 1871
" John Norquay.....	1871—74
" Charles Nolin.....	March—Nov., 1875
" James McKay.....	1875—78
" P. De Lorme.....	Jan.—June, 1879
" M. A. Girard.....	1881—83
" M. Goulet.....	1880—81
" A. A. C. La Riviere.....	1883—86
" D. H. Harrison.....	1886—88
" Thomas Greenway.....	1888—98

In Ontario the Ministers of Agriculture, after Confederation, united that post with some other

department until 1888. Up till that year the following were the administrators:

- Hon. (Sir) John Carling, 1867-71.
- Hon. Archibald McKellar, 1871-75.
- Hon. S. C. Wood, 1875-83.
- Hon. James Young, June-November, 1883.
- Hon. A. M. Ross, 1883-88.

The Ministers of Agriculture have been the Hon. Charles Drury, 1888-90, and the Hon. John Dryden, 1890-99.

At Confederation in Quebec the Ministry of Agriculture was combined with that of Public Works with the following heads:

- The Hon. L. Archambault, 1867-74.
- The Hon. L. R. Church, 1874-76.
- The Hon. C. B. de Boucherville, 1876-78.
- The Hon. (Sir) H. G. Joly de Lotbinière, 1878-79.

The Hon. (Sir) J. A. Chapleau, 1879-82.

The Hon. E. Dionne, 1882-84.

The Hon. J. J. Ross, 1884-87.

Since 1888 the Department has been governed by Commissioners of Agriculture—William Rhodes, 1888-90; Hon. H. Mercier, 1890-91; Hon. L. Beaubien, 1891-97; Hon. F. G. M. Dechene, 1897-99.

**Farmers and Farming in Canada.** Information concerning Canadian agriculture of a very scattered and somewhat technical, though useful nature may be obtained by reference to the Annual Reports of the Dominion Minister of Agriculture and of the various Provincial Departments. Similar Reports have been issued for years by the Ontario Agricultural College, the Dairymen's Associations, the Experimental Farms and the old Agricultural and Arts Association of Ontario. In the fiftieth and final Report of the last named body (1895) there is a valuable history of the Association and of agricultural progress in Ontario during the preceding fifty years. The following tables compiled from the Census returns of 1881 and 1891 give some useful information regarding the number of farmers, etc., in Canada:



## OCCUPATION OF THE PEOPLE IN 1891.

Class.	Number.
1. Agriculture, mining and fishing.....	790,210
2. Trade and transportation .....	186,695
3. Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.....	320,001
4. Domestic and personal services.....	246,183
5. Professional vocations.....	63,280
6. Non-productive class .....	52,986
Total .....	1,659,355

## SUB-DIVISIONS OF CLASS I.

(a) Agricultural.....	735,207
(b) Fishing .....	27,079
(c) Lumbering .....	12,756
(d) Mining .....	15,168
Total .....	790,210

## SUB-DIVISION OF THE AGRICULTURAL CLASS.

Farmers, and farmers' sons.....	649,506
Farm Labourers.....	76,839
Apiarists, gardeners, florists, etc.....	6,120
Dairymen, stock-raisers, stock-breeders, etc.....	2,742
Total .....	735,207

In 1881 there were 656,713 farmers and farmers' sons in the Dominion, as against 649,506 in 1891. The decrease was distinct in four Provinces, the increase equally so in three out of the other four. Manitoba had an increase of 15,517, British Columbia of 3,493, and the Territories of 9,826. This makes an increase of nearly 29,090 in the West.

**Impressions of the North-West.** It is of importance to note here the opinions expressed by two or three out of many prominent visitors to the Canadian North-West, who have been in a position from previous study, travel or experience to judge of its resources. The first extract which may be given is from a letter by Colonel Sir C. E. Howard, Vincent, C. B., M. P., which appeared in the *Sheffield Telegraph*, of September 19th, 1891:

"From Ontario we set out for the great West—that vast region as yet comparatively unknown and practically inaccessible until within the past few

years the Canadian Pacific Railway has opened to the Empire its infinite resources. Twenty years ago Winnipeg, the metropolis of the West, was but a trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company—a receiving house for the fur of the bear, the beaver and the silver fox. Now it is a great town of over 20,000 inhabitants, with every corner lighted by electricity, tramways, telephones, a main street 135 feet wide, with fine shops on either side.\* But it is from Winnipeg westwards that one commences to appreciate the capabilities of the great Western Continent of Britain. Englishmen do not realize them. On either side for miles and miles are—not fields, but 'seas' of golden grain. For fifty miles to the south, for twenty miles to the north they stretch. The full-grown ears wave gently in the sunlight. On every side, so early as man can see, so late as he can keep his eyes open, works the reaper. Not the old sickle assuredly—not the patient wife following after slowly binding up the sheaves. They could never do the work. Vast though as are the cornfields—although a million acres will have this year twenty million bushels of Manitoba 'No. 1 hard' for England—it is but a tithe of what might be produced if British men and British money were to come here instead of going to the United States. There are millions of acres of virgin prairie to be had close to the railway for from five to ten dollars an acre. Plough in the autumn, sow in the spring, and bear the harrow against the ice, and, without fertiliser or manure, you ought to harvest from 30 to 35 bushels an acre. Manitoba is within a fraction the size of Great Britain and Ireland, but it is as nothing compared to the North-West Territories. There you have 150,000 square miles of ascertained wheat-land capable of producing, at the low average of twenty bushels to the acre, over two hundred million quarters of wheat for the mother country. Here, indeed, under the flag are the golden granaries of England, if only she will foster them, and not suffer their wide expanse to fall into the disuetude of so large a proportion of the arable land at home."

The following expression of opinion was written by the late Sir George Baden-Powell,

\*EDITOR'S NOTE. Winnipeg in 1898 has an estimated population of 40,000.

K.C.M.G., M.P., in a letter to Mr. A. J. McMillan, the Agent of the Manitoba Government in Liverpool, and was dated December 20th, 1891:

"You ask my opinion of Manitoba as a field for the surplus population of the United Kingdom. My opinion may have some value, because not only am I an unprejudiced observer who has recently had exceptional opportunities of seeing and hearing much of Manitoba, but also I am personally familiar with what has been done in similar wilds in South Africa, Australia and the United States. If we look to Manitoba itself we shall find that in fertility of soil and healthiness of climate it is far superior to the great areas immediately to the south, in all of which, nevertheless, great prosperity and progress have been secured by thousands upon thousands of settlers. Everyone knows that the soil and climate of Manitoba produce grain crops in greater abundance than any other equal area of the world's surface. Without doubt it is a country which can easily rival and surpass the very best portions of Northern Europe, where, with colder summers but not less rigorous winters, the human race has prospered so well, both physically and commercially.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The Crofter settlements in both Northern and Southern Manitoba have achieved startling success, and prove conclusively how pre-eminently suitable is Manitoba to provide new homes and well-being even for the least hopeful class of settlers from the Old Country. This last autumn I was in Manitoba, and was fairly astounded at the enormous wheat crop of the year, bringing great profit to the settlers already there and providing cheap bread for the hard-worked millions in our great cities. The people of the United Kingdom, enjoying on the average a higher prosperity than those of any other country, inhabit a limited area, and the natural increase of population must and does seek new employment in all the countries of the globe. I venture to say in no country will they find better opportunities for profitable work, investment and settlement than in Manitoba.

This Province of Canada has already taken its place as one of the chief granaries of the world, and this means that for every other kind of civi-

lized employment there is a rapidly growing demand. Manitoba is also situated in the centre of the great Canadian Dominion, equally available to supply the great commercial and shipping centres on the St. Lawrence and the rapidly developing mining and ranching centres away to the west in the prairies and in the mountains. The happy, if terse, advice of the American Senator to the young man of the Eastern States, 'Go West,' may well be repeated in the Old Country to all our surplus people who wish to immigrate, for they will find work and energy meet with their due reward under the old flag in the west of Canada in general, and in Manitoba in particular."

Writing in the *Nineteenth Century* for April, 1892, Mr. Michael Davitt, M.P., made some interesting references to the emigration question and to the North-West:

"Though the 'Great Lone Land' is no longer a *terra incognita* to the reading public at home, there is not enough known about Manitoba, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia by the people of the United Kingdom. This is a pity; as I am persuaded, after a pretty extensive tour through those regions during last autumn, that if anything like full and true information of the real extent, fruitfulness of soil, and unequalled advantages of this immense and interesting portion of the Empire were in possession of the public of Great Britain and Ireland, the North-West would not long remain so thinly populated. Want of fuller information is not the only obstacle to the creation of a deeper interest in the subject of these countries. There is a good deal which must be unlearned about Manitoba and its adjacent Provinces before a true estimate of their worth and attractiveness can be formed. The means and methods employed to colonize them have not been the happiest in plans or most fruitful in results. A generally wrong impression is conveyed in the pictorial representations of Canada, in which she is invariably represented to Europeans as a female, attractive-looking, of course, but always clad in furs and living in a land of snowshoes and ice palaces. The climate of North-Western Canada is little, if any, colder than that of North Minnesota, North Dakota, and other portions of

the United States; but we never find the practical Americans giving a figurative representation of their country suggestive of perpetual winter in any part of their great Republic.

Manitoba, which has been given a very bad climatic reputation, has not an average of more than a few degrees more cold than Western Nebraska. Frosts are earlier, it is true, and the injury with which they menace the wheat harvest is the one real drawback and danger to the farming industry of an otherwise exceptionally favoured land. But this is a danger which is certain to decrease in proportion to the growth of the population and the singular but sure influence which the tillage of the soil, the erection of dwellings, and the other necessary labours of an inhabited country exercise upon its climate. If, as the farmers of Ontario say, the clapping of the rooster's wings prevents freezing within the barn; the smoke of villages, the making of roads, erection of fences, and the application of the plough to the prairie sod will necessarily modify the climate, as has been the case in Northern Minnesota, and produce other variations of temperature which will make the Manitoban and Assiniboian autumn frosts less injurious to the cultivation of wheat and other cereal products, and the winters less preventive of active open-air work.

I sought for the opinion of the Crofters at Glenboro and Pelican Lake on this subject of the Manitoban winter, and in no instance was it complained that the cold was injurious to health, or, except in brief intervals, prohibitive of such out-door work as has to be done round a farm house in that season. I also canvassed the views of some of my own countrymen at Calgary and other places upon this point, and received a similar account. Thirty degrees below zero all but freezes one's imagination where, as in Ireland and Great Britain, the glass at thirty above it sends those who can afford it off to sunnier climes, and makes those who cannot sigh for the return of summer. The cold in northern regions like Manitoba is, however, dry and exhilarating in its effects, and produces none of the chills and kindred consequences to health associated with a winter in a damp climate like that of the United Kingdom. People affected

with asthma, or suffering from other chest diseases, fare well in the North-West. That it is intensely cold in mid-winter in Manitoba goes without saying. But, I am convinced, the climate of that Province is no more severe upon the human body than that of Nebraska, Wyoming, North Minnesota or North Dakota in the United States; the only difference being that arising from the more populous and more developed condition of these localities, as compared with Manitoba, Assiniboia and Alberta. The climate of British Columbia, notwithstanding its latitude, is as mild in winter as that of the United Kingdom, but far more enjoyable in summer than ours."

#### Some Provincial Agricultural Statistics.

The imports of agricultural products into British Columbia amounted in 1895 to \$1,465,860 in value. The exports in 1872 were \$214,842 and in 1898 \$363,984—showing a very small increase as yet. There is, however, a steadily growing home market for local farm products. A most important matter to the farmers of the whole North-West is that of elevator capacity for the storage of wheat. The following figures from the *Railway and Shipping World* of April, 1898, will show the growth of grain elevators and warehouses on, or adjacent to, lines of railway, including Port Arthur, Fort William, Keewatin and points in Manitoba and the North-West Territories:

1891.....	7,628,000 bushels
1892.....	10,366,800 "
1893.....	11,467,100 "
1894.....	11,817,100 "
1895.....	12,000,000 "
1896.....	13,873,600 "
1897.....	14,999,300 "
1898.....	18,378,000 "

The largest elevators are the Canadian Pacific Company's at Fort William, with the following capacities in bushels: A and B, 1,250,000 each; C and D, 1,500,000 each. The others having a capacity of over 100,000 bushels are: Keewatin, Lake of the Woods Milling Co., 750,000; Winnipeg, Ogilvie Milling Co., 320,000; Port Arthur, C.P.R., 315,000; Winnipeg, Northern Elevator Co., 140,000; Brandon, Alexander, Kelly & Co.,

125,000; Portage la Prairie, Farmers' Elevator Co., 110,000; Edmonton, Brackman & Kerr, 104,000. In Manitoba and the Territories there are also 59 flour mills with a daily capacity of 11,825 barrels.

According to the Ontario Bureau of Statistics for 1898 the following are the particulars of farm lands in that Province in 1883 and 1897:

Farm Lands.	1897. Acres.	1883. Acres.
Staple field crops .....	8,701,705	7,542,623
Pasture .....	2,658,245	.....
Orchard and Garden ....	337,441	.....
Fallowland, small crops, lanes, building sites, etc.	1,155,690	.....
Total cleared land.....	12,853,081	10,539,557
Swamp, marsh or waste land .....	3,213,321	2,093,173
Woodland .....	7,294,026	8,825,337
Total land assessed .....	23,360,428	21,458,067

The cleared land had increased by 2,313,524 acres during the fourteen years. The yearly value of farm property in Ontario during this period was as follows:

Year.	Total Farm				
	Farm Land.	Buildings.	Implements.	Live Stock.	Property.
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
1897.....	551,054,552	206,090,159	51,299,093	93,649,801	905,093,613
1896.....	557,168,270	205,235,429	50,730,358	96,857,566	910,291,623
1895.....	572,938,472	204,148,670	50,944,385	103,958,047	931,989,574
1894.....	587,216,117	204,071,506	51,539,172	111,547,652	954,395,507
1893.....	602,664,361	200,189,888	51,435,919	116,070,902	970,361,070
1892.....	615,828,471	195,644,258	51,003,020	117,501,495	979,977,244
1891.....	621,245,223	191,268,327	50,651,442	108,721,076	971,886,068
1890.....	622,886,000	193,438,826	50,515,583	104,085,626	970,927,035
1889.....	632,329,433	192,464,239	51,685,706	105,731,288	982,210,664
1888.....	640,480,801	188,293,226	49,754,832	102,839,235	981,368,094
1887.....	631,883,755	181,753,507	49,248,297	104,406,655	975,292,214
1886.....	648,002,828	183,748,212	50,530,936	107,208,935	989,497,911
1885.....	626,122,024	182,477,905	48,559,725	100,600,086	958,159,740
1884.....	625,478,706	173,386,925	47,830,710	103,105,829	949,803,170
1883.....	654,793,025	163,030,675	43,522,530	100,082,365	961,428,595

The following rates of wages to farm labourers were made up of averages derived from returns made by farmers to the Ontario Bureau of Statistics:

	1897.	1893.	1882-97.
Per year (yearly engagements) with board ....	\$144 00	\$144 00	\$158 00
Without board .....	236 00	243 00	251 00
Per month (for working season) with board....	14 29	14 27	16 92
Without board.....	24 47	24 11	26 29

Domestic servants averaged \$5.97 per month in 1897, as compared with \$6.11 in 1896; \$6.07 in 1895; \$6.23 in 1894; and \$6.47 in 1893.

**The Mackenzie River Basin.** Little is known by Canadians or by other people about this vast

region—belonging to the Dominion yet constituting a veritable “great lone land.” In 1888 the late Sir John Schultz, then a member of the Senate and afterwards Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba, was appointed Chairman of a Select Committee to enquire into the resources and value of this great territory. The following is a summary by that Committee of their bulky Report and is duly signed by the Chairman:

“1st. The extent of the scope of the enquiry covers one million two hundred and sixty thousand square statutory miles, which area includes none of the islands of the Arctic Archipelago.

2nd. Its coast line on the Arctic Ocean and Hudson's Bay measures about 5,000 miles, which estimate does not include the coast lines of inlets or deeply indented bays.

3rd. That over one-half of this coast line is easily accessible to whaling and sealing crafts.

4th. The navigable coast lines of the larger lakes of the region in question amount to about 4,000 miles, while its total lacustrine area probably exceeds that of the eastern Canadian-American chain of great lakes.

5th. That there is a river navigation of about 2,750 miles, of which 1,390 miles is suitable for stern-wheel steamers, which with their barges may carry three hundred tons; the remaining 1,360 miles being deep enough for light draught sea-going steamers.

6th. That there is a total of about 6,500 miles of continuous lake, coast and river navigation, broken only in two places.

7th. That the two breaks in question are upon the Great Slave and Athabasca Rivers, the first being now overcome by a twenty-mile waggon road from Fort Smith southwards on the Great Slave River, and the latter being a stretch of 70 miles on the Athabasca, of questionable navigation above Fort McMurray, down which flat boats or scows descend, but cannot ascend, and which about fifty miles of waggon-road would overcome; while some improvement of the rapids might render the whole river navigable.

8th. That with suitable steam crafts this river and lake navigation may be connected with Victoria and Vancouver by way of the mouth of the Mackenzie, the Arctic ocean and Behring Straits and Sea, and it is now connected on the south by

ninety miles of waggon road, between Athabasca Landing and Edmonton, with navigable water in the Saskatchewan River.

9th. That within the scope of the Committee's enquiry there is a possible area of 656,000 square miles fitted for the growth of potatoes, 407,000 square miles suitable for barley, and 316,000 square miles suitable for wheat.

10th. That there is a pastoral area of 860,000 square miles, 26,000 miles of which is open prairie with occasional groves, the remainder being more or less wooded; 274,000 square miles, including the prairie, may be considered as arable land.

11th. That about 400,000 square miles of the total area is useless for the pasturage of domestic animals or for cultivation—this area comprising the Barren Grounds and a portion of the lightly wooded region to their south and west.

12th. That throughout this arable and pastoral area, latitude bears no direct relation to summer isotherms, the spring flowers and the buds of deciduous trees appearing as early north of Great Slave Lake as at Winnipeg, St. Paul and Minneapolis, Kingston or Ottawa, and earlier along the Peace, Liard and some minor western affluents of the Great Mackenzie River, where the climate resembles that of Western Ontario.

13th. That the native grasses and vetches are equal and in some districts superior to those of Eastern Canada.

14th. That the prevailing southwest summer winds of the country in question bring the warmth and moisture which render possible the far northern cereal growth, and sensibly affect the climate of the region under consideration as far north as the Arctic circle and as far east as the eastern rim of the Mackenzie Basin.

15th. The immense lacustrine area of the eastern and northern portions of the area under consideration implies, from the evidence given regarding quantity and quality of fresh water food fishes, the future supply of a great portion of the North American continent; while, though, there has been obtained less evidence regarding sea fish, yet the following have been found on the northern and eastern coast within the scope of the present enquiry, viz., salmon, on four of the rivers emptying into Hudson's Bay on its western shore, and

in all the rivers flowing into the Arctic ocean, except the Mackenzie, where an entirely different but also valuable species, the *Salmo Mackenziei*, having the local name of the inconnu, exists in great numbers. The capeling is found on the coast of the Arctic ocean and Hudson's Bay, thus implying the presence of cod upon the banks near by, and the rock cod has been frequently taken. The Greenland, or harp seal, and the grey square flipper seal are common to the eastern coasts, while the present favourite whaling grounds of the New England whalers are Hudson's Bay, Fox Channel and Boothia Bay. These animals are all found with the walrus and porpoise off the mouths and in the estuary of the Mackenzie as well.

16th. The forest area has upon it a growth of trees well suited for all purposes of house and ship-building, for mining, railway and bridging purposes, far in excess of its own needs, and of great prospective value to the treeless regions of Canada and the United States to the south, the growth on the Laurentian formation being scant, but the alluvial portion has upon it (on the river of its name and elsewhere) the "Liard," a balsam poplar, sometimes called Ba'm of Gilead or rough bark poplar, 120 feet high, with a stump diameter of five to six feet; the white spruce, 150 feet high, with a stump diameter of four to five feet; the larch, of about the same size, and the banksian pine, whose straight stem is often 100 feet long, with only two feet of diameter at the stump.

17th. Of the mines of this vast region little is known of that part east of the Mackenzie River and north of the Great Slave Lake. Of the western affluents of the Mackenzie enough is known to show that on the head waters of the Peace, Liard and Peel Rivers there are from 150,000 to 200,000 square miles which may be considered auriferous, while Canada possesses west of the Rocky Mountains a metalliferous area, principally of gold-yielding rocks, thirteen hundred miles in length, with an average breadth of four to five hundred miles, giving an area far greater than that of the similar mining districts of the neighbouring Republic.

18th. In addition to these auriferous deposits, gold has been found on the west shore of Hud-

son's Bay, and has been said to exist in certain portions of the Barren Grounds. Silver on the Upper Liard and Peace Rivers, copper upon the Coppermine River, which may be connected with an eastern arm of Great Bear Lake by a tramway of forty miles; iron, graphite, ochre, brick and pottery clay, mica, gypsum, lime and sandstone-sand for glass and moulding, and asphaltum, are all known to exist, while the petroleum area is so extensive as to justify the belief that eventually it will supply the larger part of this continent and be shipped from Churchill or some more northern Hudson's Bay port to England.

19th. Salt and sulphur deposits are less extensive, but the former is found in crystals equal in purity to the best rock salt and in highly saline springs, while the latter is found in the form of pyrites; and the fact that these petroleum and salt deposits occur mainly near the line of division between deep water navigation and that fitted for lighter craft, give them a possible great commercial value. The extensive coal and lignite deposits of the Lower Mackenzie and elsewhere will be found to be of great value when the question of reducing its iron ores, and the transportation of the products of this vast region have to be solved by steam sea-going, or lighter river, craft.

20th. The chief present commercial product of the country is its furs, which, as the region in question is the last great fur preserve in the world, are of very great present and prospective value, all the finer furs of commerce being there found, and the sales in London yearly amounting to several millions of dollars.

21st. The Indian population is sparse, and the Indians, never having lived in large communities, are peaceable, and their general character and habits as given by witnesses justify a hope that the development of the country, as in the case of the Indians of British Columbia, may be aided by them without great danger of their demoralization and with a reasonable hope that, as in the case of the Indians mentioned, their condition may be improved.

A good deal of difficulty has been experienced by the Committee in endeavouring to obtain the exact catch of furs in the region

under consideration, and no definite or direct information has been obtained; they have, however, obtained lists of furs offered for sale in 1887, in London, by the Hudson's Bay Company and C. M. Lampson & Co., the consignee of many of the furs of British North America, and from these lists they find the following to be a summary of one year's catch:

Otter.....	14,439	Musquash.....	2,485,368
Fisher.....	7,192	Extra Black Musquash....	13,914
Fox (Silver).....	1,967	Wolf.....	7,156
Fox (Cross).....	6,785	Wolverine.....	1,681
Fox (Red).....	85,022	Bear (all kinds).....	15,942
Fox (White).....	10,257	Musk Ox.....	198
Fox (Blue).....	1,110	Badger.....	3,739
Fox (Kitt).....	290	Ermine.....	4,116
Lynx.....	14,520	Swan.....	57
Skunk.....	682,794	Rabbit.....	114,834
Marten.....	98,312	Hair Seal (Dry).....	13,478
Mink.....	376,223	Sable.....	3,517
Beaver.....	104,279	Fox (Grey).....	31,597

Of the fresh water food fishes of the region, Back's "grayling", an excellent species not prevalent elsewhere, seems to be found everywhere in its rivers, and even west of the Rocky Mountains, but the staple product of its lakes and large rivers seems to be whitefish of great weight and excellent flavour, and trout often reaching forty pounds in weight; and evidence goes to show that the farther north the greater the yield of fish till the quantity becomes enormous. As an illustration the following is given from the evidence of Professor Macoun, who quotes Sir John Richardson, to the effect that one of the early overland Franklin expeditions took fifty thousand whitefish on a north-eastern arm of Great Bear Lake, and Sir John Richardson also states that the great lake trout swarm in all the northern great lakes. In regard to the salmon fisheries, it would appear from the evidence that salmon are abundant in the rivers and along the coast of the north-west side of Hudson's Bay as well as in the rivers of the northern shores of the continent. Your Committee consider it advisable that means should be adopted to ascertain more accurately the extent and value of the salmon fisheries of these regions, with a view to utilizing them for the purpose of commerce and for the revenue which they may afford.

The seas adjoining the great territory which your Committee has had under investigation are frequented by whales of different species, wal-

ruses, narwhals and a variety of seals. All these animals are valuable for their oil, but the large species of whales have heretofore been most sought for. Only a few years ago these animals had a much more extensive range than at the present time. Owing to improvements in navigation and methods of capture they have, of late years, fallen an easier prey to their pursuers and have taken shelter in the less frequented seas of the northern coasts of Canada. Now they are being pursued to their last retreat by foreign whalers, and some species are threatened with complete extinction in a few years if this condition continues. It is to be borne in mind that whales are long lived and slow breeding animals. The American whalers attack them with harpoons, explosive bombs and lances, fired from large swivel-guns carried on steam launches, instead of the old-fashioned weapons thrown by hand from row-boats. These methods not only destroy the whales with greater facility, but inspire the survivors with such terror that they seek the most distant and inaccessible parts of the northern seas and have entirely disappeared from the waters in which they lived only a few years ago.

The evidence submitted to your Committee points to the existence in the Athabasca and Mackenzie Valleys of the most extensive petroleum field in America, if not in the world. The uses of petroleum and consequently the demand for it by all nations are increasing at such a rapid ratio that it is probable this great petroleum field will assume an enormous value in the near future and will rank among the chief assets comprised in the Crown domain of the Dominion. For this reason your Committee would suggest that a tract of about 40,000 square miles be for the present reserved from sale, and that as soon as possible its value may be more accurately ascertained by exploration and practical tests."

**Dominion Agricultural Statistics.** The Census returns of 1881 and 1891 give the following information regarding agricultural matters in the Dominion :

	1881. Acres.	1891. Acres.
Total acres occupied .....	45,358,141	60,287,730
Acres of improved lands .....	21,899,181	28,537,242
" under crop .....	15,112,284	19,904,826

" in gardens and orchards.....	401,335	464,462
" in pasture .....	6,385,562	15,284,788
Production.	1881.	1891.
Wheat .....	32,350,269	42,144,779
Barley .....	16,844,868	17,148,198
Oats .....	70,493,131	82,515,413
Rye .....	2,097,180	1,328,322
Peas and Beans .....	13,749,662	15,514,836
Buckwheat .....	4,901,147	4,886,122
Corn .....	9,025,142	10,675,886
Potatoes.....	55,268,227	52,653,704
Turnips and other roots .....	48,251,414	49,555,902
Grass and Clover .....	324,317	340,650
Fruit, Grapes, etc.....	45,957,458	68,864,181
Tobacco.....	2,527,962	4,277,936
Hops .....	905,207	1,126,230
Flax Seed .....	108,694	137,015

The exports and imports of agricultural products in the first year after Confederation and in 1897 were as follows :

	EXPORTS.		IMPORTS.	
	1868.	1897.	1868.	1897.
Wheat.....	2,281,702	13,111,338	2,731,809	5,845,139 bush.
Flour .....	383,314	481,764	272,875	84,825 bbls.
Total Wheat and Flour...	4,201,422	15,309,276	4,099,184	6,226,851 bush.
Barley.....	4,055,872	1,831,091	.....	12,885 bush.
Maize .....	10,057	7,229,897	715,424	9,190,310 bush.
All other grain.....	3,545,598	12,597,277	1,669,929	1,651,035 bush.
Other Breadstuffs .....	14,577,964	61,891,700	6,662,828	28,213,239 lbs.

In 1874 the Dominion exported horses to the value of \$570,544; cattle \$951,269; and sheep \$702,564. In 1897 the export was: horses \$1,710,922; cattle \$7,159,338; sheep 1,002,011. The total export of these animals during the twenty-four years was \$180,514,261 in value. The following table illustrates the disposition and development of our external trade in agricultural products—the yearly average to all countries outside of the United Kingdom and the United States being only about \$2,000,000 :

Year Ended 30th June.	Value of Animal and Agricultural Products, Domestic, Exported.	Value Exported to Great Britain.	Value Exported to United States.
1867	22,452,473	4,546,356	14,800,374
1868	19,341,387	6,414,695	11,875,313
1869	20,584,452	6,674,121	12,846,097
1870	25,504,703	9,482,402	14,856,161
1871	22,146,808	7,859,503	13,135,840
1872	25,494,393	10,169,091	13,897,594
1873	28,302,384	14,175,228	12,593,879
1874	32,635,810	17,214,535	13,968,246
1875	28,634,859	14,798,365	12,435,307
1876	32,878,281	15,395,200	15,177,128
1877	27,587,236	13,729,351	12,346,281
1878	30,802,010	18,234,943	11,071,799
1879	32,537,712	18,461,798	12,690,989

1880	38,866,280	23,121,376	13,702,189
1881	40,645,450	23,180,276	15,839,865
1882	50,212,131	23,540,041	24,612,216
1883	42,015,339	21,813,166	18,342,970
1884	34,224,195	19,241,281	13,616,683
1885	38,228,571	22,050,086	14,993,328
1886	38,062,008	21,218,627	15,189,488
1887	41,357,870	24,410,193	14,916,178
1888	38,187,456	19,088,112	17,615,437
1889	35,472,541	18,507,162	15,828,746
1890	35,443,629	21,086,121	13,073,717
1891	38,205,370	25,129,206	11,309,204
1892	49,153,010	37,977,057	8,176,968
1893	52,302,906	41,405,537	7,698,267
1894	47,802,859	40,181,644	4,599,211
1895	48,531,344	39,282,481	7,011,256
1896	48,791,344	40,694,222	6,173,875
1897	55,533,592	45,827,619	7,090,629

**Dr. Parkin on North-West Production.** In a chapter of his book—*Our Great Dominion*—published in 1895, Dr. George R. Parkin, C.M.G., describes his impressions of the North-West, in part as follows :

“From Winnipeg I went over the Southern Manitoba Road to Estevan, the point to which it was at that time completed, and thence back to rejoin the main line at Brandon, in all a distance of nearly 500 miles. At intervals of ten or twelve miles over nearly all this distance prosperous little towns are springing up, each equipped with two, or three, or four elevators to deal with the grain raised in the surrounding districts. Wheat was being shipped rapidly at the time, and these elevators were usually surrounded by teams waiting to deliver their loads. Huge stacks of straw, soon to be burned for want of any better use, showed where the grain had been threshed in the fields where it was grown. In the latter part of October the deliveries of wheat at Fort William alone amounted to a thousand car-loads per week, and the railways were finding it difficult to deal with all that was offered. For 1891 the whole north-western production was estimated at between twenty-two and twenty-three million bushels. A good deal was then injured or lost through the difficulty of dealing

with an exceptionally heavy crop in the absence of a sufficient supply of labour. For 1892 the output was between fifteen and sixteen million bushels, but the average quality was much higher than in 1891, and the crop was generally saved in good condition. For 1893 and 1894 the aggregate production showed a large increase over 1892. As the yield per acre has not in either year been more than an average one, the advance is due to increasing population and a wider acreage. It is from considering these figures and then remembering how short is the time since no wheat for exportation was produced that we get an idea of the rapid change which is passing over the country. The peculiar conditions of cultivation on the prairies make it possible to effect changes in five years which in most countries would require the work of a whole generation.

It must not be thought that the rapid increase of wheat production in the North-West has hitherto meant a correspondingly large surplus for export from Canada as a whole. As the output of the newly opened western areas has increased, that of the eastern Provinces, where cereals are not produced without careful culture, has diminished. Quebec and all the Maritime Provinces make a heavy demand, for their own consumption, upon the surplus product of the West. Ontario, as the result of the drop in wheat prices, is gradually changing from a wheat-producing to a dairying country. Thus, though Manitoba and the Territories show a large increase of production, Canada's export as a whole does not enlarge with corresponding rapidity. Only a large addition to population in the West can make it do this. But, given this inflow of population, and such a rise in price as makes wheat growing profitable, and there is scarcely any limit to the possibility of production in the Dominion. The area of Manitoba and the Territories of Assiniboia, Alberta and Saskatchewan is 360,000 square miles, or 230,000,000 acres. It has been estimated and, I think, not unfairly, that one-half of this is either good or workable wheat land. Yet of all this vast area little more than a million acres are now under actual cultivation for wheat.”



## SECTION II.

CANADIAN LITERATURE AND JOURNALISM.



## A REVIEW OF CANADIAN LITERATURE

BY

THE EDITOR.

THE literature of a country should be the expression of its heart and mind, the embodiment of its history and development. It is not necessary in order to achieve this purpose that it should include a Milton or a Shakespeare, a Homer or a Dante. A world genius may come in time and in coming add glory to what has gone before, but he will not in himself constitute the literature of his land. That will have evolved with the growth of the country—crude at first in its expression but gradually developing strength with the increase of education, the material progress of the people, and the spread of that culture which comes so largely from the accumulation of wealth, the possession of leisure and the maturity of national thought.

This is in a word the record of Canadian literature. Definitions of a different nature abound, it is true, just as criticism of the most curious and contradictory kind has appeared at passing intervals upon the surface of Canadian life and thought and then sunk out of sight, unheeded or soon forgotten. And, though such criticism may serve a useful purpose in these later days of abundant, thoughtless and careless writing, it is none the less to be regretted that, where there has been so much really good work done, yet, with admitted room for higher ideals and a broader culture, there should be such superficiality or indifference amongst the critics of our time. I have before me now the assertion of a Canadian writer that "there is no Canadian literature" and the statement of a Professor in one of the Toronto Colleges that historical and scientific works are not "pure literature" because they lack "the necessary quality of imagination." Such a definition would exclude from the literature of England the names of Darwin, Macaulay, Green and

Lecky and a myriad of more or less eminent names. The fact is that historical writing in the best sense of the word has to embrace imagination and that the more a writer is able to eliminate present conditions and prejudices from his point of view and transport himself by the power of thought and study into environments distant, perhaps, in both time and space, the more truly is he able to produce a picture of the past which is not only history but one of the highest types of literature.

Canada possesses, in fact, a literature of which it may reasonably be proud. It has grown with the growth of the country and reaches its highest point at the present time when the Dominion also attains its greatest stature in external influence and internal unity. The beginnings of this literature lie far back in the old French annals of discovery, travel and adventure. The chief of these works, reaching down to the bed-rock of our history as a people, are the chronicles of Cartier's voyages; the similar narrative concerning Champlain; the histories by Marc L'Escarbot and Gabriel Sagard of De Monts' settlements and of the Hurons respectively; Father Louis Hennepin's *Canadian Discoveries and Voyages*; the famous *Relations des Jésuites*; the semi-religious annals of Father Le Clerq; La Hontan's somewhat unreliable work of Travels; and the foremost and best of all these early chronicles, the *Histoire et description Générale de la Nouvelle France*, by Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix. Of course, the most abundant materials for the history of this period are to be found in the "Jesuit Relations"—especially in the magnificent publication now being edited by R. G. Thwaites, of Cleveland, U.S.—but the six volumes by Charlevoix, first brought out in France in 1744, are the production of a clear, able and practised

writer, and as such are of the highest value.

These volumes taken together constitute the basis of all historical literature in Canada and are therefore of great importance, although not written by Canadians—in the modern sense of that word. Equally important is the splendid series of volumes written by Francis Parkman\* and forming a veritable mine of brilliantly comprehensive history of early Canadian events and personages. His picture of the Indian is drawn a little too luridly, perhaps, but apart from that there is little criticism that one may venture to offer. And, although the author was an American by birth and residence his works can hardly be eliminated from any record of Canadian historical literature, into which they throw the searching light of a strong mind and eloquent pen.

With the fascinating fur trade period—the days of exploration and adventure in the far North-West—came a further succession of works by outside pens. Sir Alexander Mackenzie's *Voyages*, published in 1802, La France's *Exploration of the Country adjoining Hudson's Bay* (1744), Samuel Hearne's *Journey* in the same regions (1795), and Alexander Henry's *Narrative* (1809) are vivid reminders of the lives and labours of pioneers in a new country. So with *The Red River Settlement* by Alexander Ross (1856), Lord Selkirk's volumes and pamphlets upon the same subject, and Sir George Simpson's *Overland Journey*. Following the earlier descriptive works of French and English writers came a series of volumes dealing with current events or conditions by men living for a time in British America, or travelling through its apparently boundless regions of lake and forest and wilderness. The most important of these from an historical as well as descriptive standpoint were Francis Masères' constitutional and controversial publications; Major John Richardson's *War of 1812* and *Eight Years in Canada* (1847); Mrs. Jameson's *Sketches in Canada* (1838); Colonel Talbot's *Five*

*Years in the Canadas* (1824); George Heriot's *Travels* (1807) and those of Isaac Weld (1799) and John Lambert (1810); John Howison's *Sketches of Upper Canada* (1821); Basil Hall's *Travels* (1829); Sir R. H. Bonnycastle's *Excursions* (1841) and *Canada and the Canadians* (1846); Major G. D. Warburton's *Conquest of Canada* (1849); Galt's Autobiography and his descriptive work upon *The Canadas*; Sir George Head's *Forest Scenes in North America*; Captain W. Moorson's *Letters from Nova Scotia* (1830) and Lieut.-Colonel Strickland's *Twenty Seven Years in Canada West*. The following list gives the names of a number of writers of less important volumes upon Canada which were nevertheless useful in their day and are now valuable from an historical point of view:

Name of Author.	Date.
Joseph Robson.....	1752
Thomas Anbury .....	1789
P. Campbell .....	1793
Captain George Cartwright .....	1892
J. C. Ogden .....	1797
Captain George Vancouver .....	1798
Sir D. W. Smyth, Bart. ....	1799
Duc de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt.....	1800
Hugh Gray .....	1809
John Mills Jackson .....	1809
J. Melish .....	1812
David Anderson .....	1814
M. Smith .....	1814
Joseph Sansom .....	1817
Lieut. Edward Chappell.....	1817
Francis Hall.....	1818
John Palmer.....	1818
E. Mackenzie .....	1819
Benjamin Silliman .....	1820
Gabriel Franchère .....	1820
C. Stuart .....	1820
Daniel W. Harmon.....	1820
J. M. Duncan .....	1823
Walter Johnstone .....	1823
John MacTaggart.....	1829
Alfred Hawkins .....	1834
John Galt .....	1836
T. R. Preston .....	1840
J. S. Buckingham .....	1843
Rev. William Haw .....	1850
Sir John Richardson .....	1851

\*NOTE. They were published as follows:

The Oregon Trail.....	1847
The Conspiracy of Pontiac.....	1851
Pioneers of France in the New World.....	1865
The Jesuits in North America.....	1867
La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West.....	1869
The Old Régime in Canada .....	1874
Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV. ....	1877
Montcalm and Wolfe .....	1884
A Half Century of Conflict.....	1892

W. H. G. Kingston.....	1855
Captain Palliser .....	1863
Hon. A. H. Gordon (Lord Stanmore).....	1864
Commander R. C. Mayne .....	1863
Hugh Murray .....	1829
Ross Cox .....	1831
John McGregor .....	1832
Sir James E. Alexander.....	1833
Edward Gibbon Wakefield .....	1837

Succeeding volumes of great interest to Canadians are those in which Sir W. H. Russell, Charles Mackay, Anthony Trollope, Captain Marryatt, Sir Charles Lyell, Sir Charles Dilke and Lady Vincent refer largely to the Dominion in describing their experiences and impressions of American travel, etc. R. Montgomery Martin in his work upon the British Empire (1843) and Sir Charles Dilke in his well-known *Problems of Greater Britain* have written authoritatively upon Canada. J. W. Kaye's *Life of Lord Metcalfe*, Scrope's *Life of Lord Sydenham*, Walrond's *Life and Letters of Lord Elgin* and Wright's *Life of Major-General Wolfe* are connected with our literature in much the same way as the names mentioned are connected with our national annals. And, while these varied volumes cannot be technically claimed as a part of Canadian literature—if by that term we understand works written by Canadians—yet many of them were written in Canada, some were published here, and taken together they constitute a basis of information and description which any Canadian who desires to study or write of the early history of his country must be more or less familiar with.

For three decades following the period of war with the United States Canadian distinctive literary ambitions (apart from the contributions of French or English writers) slumbered amid surroundings of pioneer activity in field and forest, on lake and river. The axe of the settler, the river rafts of the lumberman, the canoe of the *voyageur*, the musket of the hunter, embodied the practical and necessary aim of the people. With the progress of settlement, the growth of the press, and the development of an easier life in cities or towns came, however, the gradual production of a strictly native literature. One of the earliest native works and perhaps the most important of all French-Canadian historical volumes was the

*Histoire du Canada* by Francois-Xavier Garneau. Published in the years 1845-8, translated in 1866, and re-published in 1882, this work is the accepted national history of the French-Canadian section of our population. It holds the place in their minds and hearts which Kingsford's greater and more elaborate work will take amongst English-speaking Canadians. Subsidiary to this in importance, but of much value, were Michel Bibaud's *Histoire du Canada* under the French régime (1843); *Cours d' Histoire du Canada* by Abbé J. B. A. Ferland (1861-5); *Histoire de la*



Michel Bibaud.

*Colonie Francaise* by l'Abbé Etienne M. Faillon (1865-6); *Histoire des Canadiens-Francais* by Benjamin Sulte; *Le Canada Sous l' Union* by Louis P. Turcotte; *Histoire de la Rebellion de 1837-8* by L. O. David and various works by l'Abbé R. H. Casgrain and F. M. U. M. Bibaud.

Meanwhile literary progress in English-speaking Canada had been much slower and less productive. The competition of other interests and pursuits was keener and the characteristic physical activity of the race greater. The natu-

ral result was comparative indifference to anything except political controversy, through the medium of popular journals, or the ever present charm of English standard works. Hence, the *History of Lower Canada*, by Robert Christie, published in Quebec in six volumes in 1849-55, is one of the few works of importance written by English-Canadians during all these years. It is valuable for its statistical and documentary data as well as for the personal experience in the political struggles of the time which the author brought to bear upon his subject. Another notable production was Gilbert Auchinleck's *History of the War of 1812*, published in 1855. Works upon the same subject were also written by David Thompson, of Niagara, and Lieut.-Colonel W. F. Coffin, of Montreal. Dr. Henry H. Miles' *History of Lower Canada* must also be mentioned with appreciation. Bouchette's *British Dominions in North America* (1831) was a most valuable topographical and statistical work, as were similar volumes published twenty years later by W. H. Smith. William Smith's *History of Canada up to 1791* was a useful but somewhat one-sided work. D'Arcy Boulton, Q.C., published in 1805 a *Sketch of Upper Canada*, which is now of historical interest, while Bishop Strachan's *Visit to Upper Canada* (1820), Robert Fleming Gourlay's *Statistical Account of Upper Canada* (1822), and William Lyon Mackenzie's *Sketches*, published in 1833, possess similar value and interest. Mrs. Catherine Parr Traill commenced her prolonged Canadian career of literary activity by a volume published in 1835, entitled *The Backwoods of Canada*, and since then has written much upon the natural history and characteristics of the country. Her sister, Mrs. Susanna Moodie, is equally well known by *Roughing it in the Bush* and similar works. The Rev. Dr. Adam Lillie published in 1846 a valuable work entitled "Canada: Physical, Economical and Social."

With the coming of Confederation commenced a most distinct development of literary activity in Upper Canada and the Maritime Provinces—almost the creation of a new literature. The Hon. Joseph Howe's "Speeches and Public Letters" and D'Arcy McGee's "Speeches and Addresses" were natural and early products of this period and illustrate that eloquence which in

all countries takes its place in the permanent literature of the land. The chief historical work done in the ensuing decade was certainly that of John Charles Dent. In his *Last Forty Years* (1841-81) and his *Rebellion of 1837* he produced most carefully written volumes of great value. They are marred by the inability of nearly all our Canadian writers to do historical justice to the Tories of earlier days, but, aside from that fault deserve to take a high place in Canadian literature. Following or immediately preceding these works came John Mercier MacMullen's *History of Canada* (Editions 1855, 1867, 1892); Dr. W. H. Withrow's *History of the Dominion of Canada* (1878), and Dr. George Bryce's *Short History of the Canadian People* (1887). Beannish Murdoch, Duncan Campbell, Abraham Gesner, Andrew Archer, Alexander Munro and James Hannay meanwhile surrounded Haliburton's brilliant pen by historical productions of standard value concerning New Brunswick or Nova Scotia. Dr. William Canniff issued his work upon *Settlement of Upper Canada*, in 1869, and Dr. Egerton Ryerson published *The Loyalists of America*, in 1881.

Meanwhile the great North-West had been coming into prominence, and with its union to Canada in 1871 there grew up a mass of descriptive and historical literature. Not exactly native of the soil, but still instinct with the life and progress of the prairies were a number of works published by travellers—some a short time prior to the above date. Chief of these latter was *The North-West Passage by Land*, written by Lord Milton and Mr. Cheadle. Others of an after-time were Captain (now General Sir) W. F. Butler's *Great Lone Land*; Stuart Cumberland's *Highway from Ocean to Ocean*; W. Fraser Rae's *Columbia and Canada*; Captain Huyshe's *Red River Rebellion* and Charles Marshall's *The Canadian Dominion*. But the promising field was soon occupied by Canadians. Paul Kane wrote his *Wanderings of an Artist* in 1859. Archbishop Taché, in 1870, published a volume entitled *A Sketch of the North-West of America*, and Principal Grant soon after issued his fascinating little book, *From Ocean to Ocean. The Prairie Province*, by J. C. Hamilton; *The Creation of Manitoba*, by Alexander Begg; *England and Canada*, a volume of travels across the continent, by Mr. (now Sir) Sandford

Fleming; *Canada on the Pacific*, by Charles Horatzky, C.E.; the Hon Alexander Morris's work upon Indian Treaties; *From Ontario to the Pacific*, by Mrs. Spragge, and *Mountain and Prairie*, by the Rev. Dr. D. M. Gordon; *Our North Land*, by C. R. Tuttle; *The History of Manitoba*, by Messrs. Gunn and Tuttle; and—most important of all to the seeker after general information—Professor Macoun's *Manitoba and the North-West* (1882) followed. Four narratives of the second North-West Rebellion have also been written by G. Mercer Adam, the Rev. C. P. Mulvaney, M.A., Colonel the Hon. C. A. Boulton and the Rev. R. G. MacBeth respectively. In 1894-5 appeared an elaborate and valuable, though not well arranged work in three volumes by Alexander Begg, F.S.S, of Winnipeg, upon the History of the North-West. At the same time there was published the *History of British Columbia*, by Alexander Begg of Victoria, B.C.—the pioneer work upon this general subject. *The Selkirk Settlement*, by the Rev. R. G. MacBeth of Winnipeg, a work upon the Indians of the North-West by Dr. John MacLean, and narratives of pioneer missionary life by the Rev. E. R. Young and the Rev. George Young, must also be mentioned as of sterling interest and value. To return to Ontario, W. J. Rattray's *Scot in British North America* showed great ability, and Nicholas Flood Davin's *Irishmen in Canada* was a work of unusual brilliancy and interest. J. Edmund Collins wrote a history of the Administration of Lord Lorne which was marred by the constant intrusion of views peculiar to himself and fatal in their expression to any impartial presentation of current annals, while Dr. George Stewart published in 1878 a well-written and standard work upon Lord Dufferin's Administration. William Leggo, of Winnipeg, was also author of a volume, full of valuable documents, upon the same subject.

From this time on new life was infused into Canadian literature by the gradual growth of a Canadian market, and of readers from the Atlantic to the Pacific into whose minds had filtered the slow but certain consciousness of a Canadian national sentiment and an appreciation of Canadian history, scenery, achievements and leaders. Within the last few years several histories of Canada have appeared. First and fore-

most is the great work of Dr. William Kingsford, a monument of research, honest effort and patriotic principle. Inspired by the desire to give a broad view of Canadian historic life, unmarred by race or religious prejudice, he commenced the work in 1887, at the age of sixty-eight, and issued a volume a year until the ten volumes were completed in 1898. The author gave a distinctly new view of early struggles in Canada, based upon deep study of its documentary annals. The work is not an eloquent one nor can the writer be compared in this respect with Macaulay,



Chas. G. D. Roberts.

Green or other great authors. But with his limitations in this direction and his undoubted faults of style and arrangement admitted, the work remains, and must continue to be for an indefinite period to come, the standard history of the country up to the Union of 1841. Two single volume histories of great interest and value are those of Charles G. D. Roberts and Sir John George Bourinot. The latter was written for the "Story of the Nations" series. The Rev. W. P. Greswell, M.A., of Cambridge, England, pub-

lished a History of Canada some years ago which affords a useful summary. School histories of Canada were written in the early sixties by Dr. J. George Hodgins, and Mr. (now Chancellor) J. A. Boyd. Later, Messrs. W. J. Robertson and G. Mercer Adam published a small volume, and very recently those written by W. H. P. Clement, B.A., of Toronto, and J. B. Calkin, M.A., of Truro, N.S., have been issued. D. B. Read, Q.C., besides some serious biographical work, published in 1897 a history of that fruitful theme—the Rebellion of 1837. Of great value in an historical sense and of importance also as indicating the growth of a strong and permanent interest in Canadian annals are the local histories which have been issued within the last few years. The following are the most important :

Title.	Author.
Toronto of Old .....	Rev. Dr. H. Scadding.
Landmarks of Toronto.....	J. Ross Robertson.
The Roman Catholic Church in the Niagara Peninsula	Very Rev. Dean Harris.
Pioneer Sketches of Long Point Settlement.....	E. A. Owen.
Sketches of Upper Canada.	Thomas Conant.
The Eastern Townships....	Mrs. C. M. Day.
Counties of Leeds and Gren- ville .....	T. W. H. Leavitt.
History of Compton County	L. S. Channell.
History of Scarborough .....	David Boyle.
Lake St. Louis, Old and New .....	Hon. D. Girouard.
History of Pictou, N.S.....	Rev. Dr. G. Patterson
History of Annapolis County	W. A. Calnek and Judge Savary.
History of Glengarry County.	J. A. Macdonell, Q.C.
History of Huntingdon County.....	Robert Sellar.
Historical Sketch of Dundas	James Croil.
History of Galt and Dum- fries.....	Hon. James Young.
Quebec, Past and Present...	Sir J. M. LeMoine.
Picturesque Quebec .....	“ “
La Seigneurie de Lauzon...	J. Edmond Roy.
Historical Account of Cape Breton .....	Sir J. G. Bourinot.
The Parish of Sault au Re- collet.....	Rev. C. P. Beaubien.

History of Halifax City.....	T. B. Akins, D.C.L.
The County of Lunenburg, New Brunswick.....	M. D. DesBrisay.
The Saguenay and Lake St. John.....	Arthur Buies.
Montreal, Past and Present	Alfred Sandham.
History of Argenteuil and Prescott .....	C. Thomas.
Peterborough and Victoria	Hon. Thos. White.
Annals of Niagara.....	W. Kirby.
L'Île d'Orleans. ....	Abbé L. E. Bois.
History of Northern New Brunswick .....	R. Cooney.
Louisbourg in 1745 .....	(Edited) Prof. G. M. Wrong.
Ten Years in Winnipeg.....	Alexander Begg and W. R. Nursey.
Handbook of Montreal.....	Dr. S. E. Dawson.
Toronto Called Back.....	C. C. Taylor.
Toronto, Past and Present..	G. Mercer Adam.
History of the County of Brant.....	C. P. Mulvaney, M.A.
Ottawa, Past and Present..	C. Roger.
History of the Iroquois High School.....	Adam Harkness.
History of the Ontario Par- liament Buildings .....	Frank Yeigh.
Chronique du Rimouski.....	L. Abbé C. Guay.

Easily first of Canadian writers upon specific localities is the veteran author, Sir James Macpherson Le Moine, whose busy pen has made his name a household word in the Province of Quebec and who so well merited his recent honour of knighthood. M. Fancher de St. Maurice in his day contributed some fascinating pages to the local annals of the same Province. *Picturesque Canada*, edited by Principal Grant, was a notable work in this connection. Minor books of interest upon descriptive subjects were L'Abbe V. A. Huard's work on *Labrador et Anticosti*; the Hon. Thomas White's *Chronicles by the Way in Manitoba and the North-West* (1879); Alexander Munro's volume on the resources, etc., of the Dominion, published in 1879; the Rev. Dr. A. Sutherland's *A Summer in Prairie Land* (1881); and Miss Mary Fitzgibbon's *Trip to Manitoba*. Turning to recent volumes upon special periods or events in Canadian history reference must be made to Lady Edgar's *Ten Years of Upper*



Canada, 1805-15; M. Edouard Richard's *History of the Acadians*; and especially to the numerous valuable pamphlets written by Major Ernest Cruikshank, of Niagara. Alexander MacArthur's volume on the *Causes of the Manitoba Rising in 1869-70*; C. R. Tuttle's *Illustrated History of Canada* (1879); the two works by Robina and Kathleen Lizars, entitled *Humors of '37* and *In the Days of the Canada Company*; *Stories from Canadian History*, by T. G. Marquis, and a similar volume in collaboration with Miss Agnes Maule Machar entitled *Stories of New France*; and the Rev. R. G. MacBeth's *Farm Life in the Selkirk Colony*, must also be mentioned with appreciation.

For many years past Dr. Douglas Brymner, the Keeper of the Canadian Archives, has been doing quiet work of a value almost beyond estimate to future Canadian historians, authors and statesmen. His annually published volume, or Report, contains a mass of documentary data upon our early history of unique interest. George Johnson, as Dominion Statistician and Editor of the Government Year Book, and by such valuable little publications as *First Things in Canada* has done as much to extend knowledge of the Canada of to-day as Dr. Brymner has of the Canada of long ago. In this connection another writer deserves attention, though he would be the last to claim any particular brilliancy of style or beauty of language—Henry J. Morgan. In days when Canadian literature was popularly supposed to be non-existent; when Canadian books were looked upon with indifference and often with suspicion or contempt; when Canadian sentiment was a somewhat intangible quantity and was certainly not applied to the purchase of the product of Canadian pens—Mr. Morgan wrote and published a continuous succession of books, calculated to preserve important historical and biographical details and promote public knowledge of matters Canadian. The following list of his works may be given here:

Tour of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.....	1860
Sketches of Celebrated Canadians .....	1862
Buchanan on Industrial Politics (Edited)	1864
Speeches of Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee.....	
(Edited) .....	1865
The Place of British Americans in His-	
tory .....	1865

The Bibliotheca Canadensis....	1867
The Canadian Legal Directory .....	1878
Canadian Men and Women of the Time..	1898
Canadian Parliamentary Companion .....	1862-76
Dominion Annual Register (Edited) .....	1878-86

Another author who has written much about Canada which deserves appreciation is Mr. G. Mercer Adam. His editorial work in connection with the *Canadian Monthly* and the *Canadian Educational Monthly*; his history of the Canadian North-West and the Canadian novel written in conjunction with Miss Wetherald; his *Outline of Canadian Literature* and many hand-books of Canadian cities or districts; his continuous contributions in papers, periodicals and works of local history did good service to the country. His unfortunate connection with the Commercial Union, however, injured his popularity in later years. Of great and permanent value in Canadian historical work is Dr. J. George Hodgins' *Documentary History of Education* in Upper Canada, and a volume made up of various authoritative contributions and entitled "Eighty Years' Progress of British North America," which was published in 1864. Special reference must also be made here to a most exhaustive work upon British Columbia by Mr. R. E. Gosnell—*Year Book for 1897*. Of a different nature but still none the less valuable is the work upon "Political Appointments and Elections in United Canada from 1841 to 1865," published by the late J. O. Côté and continued for the whole Dominion up to 1895 by his son, N. Omer Côté. Mention may also be made of Mr. A. T. McCord's *Canadian Dictionary of Dates*; Mr. James Kirby's *B.N.A. Almanac* (1864); and Mr. Arthur Harvey's *Year Book*, which he edited from 1867 to 1870.

In this connection a word must be said of the valuable literature of specified and special subjects which is contained in the publications or annual *Proceedings* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, the Manitoba Historical Society, the Quebec Historical and Literary Society, the Royal Society of Canada, the Canadian Institute, the Niagara Historical Society, the New Brunswick Historical Society, the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal, and other similar organiza-

tions. Within the last year the *New Brunswick Magazine* has been founded and in the hands of such contributors as Dr. W. F. Ganong and W. K. Reynolds is doing a splendid work for local history. The same thing must be said for the Canadian History *Supplements* to the *Educational Review* of St. John, N.B., which are being issued by Mr. G. U. Hay. It is also interesting to note the copious historical literature evoked by the Cabot controversy and the accepted Canadian belief that Cabot, and not Columbus, first discovered the American continent. Outside writers such as Lord Dufferin, Sir Clements Markham, H. Harrisse, G. E. Weare, Bishop Howley, of Newfoundland, Judge Prowse and Dr. Moses Harvey, of the same Island, have dealt with it, as have Archbishop O'Brien, Sir J. G. Bourinot and Dr. S. E. Dawson, of Canada. The Monograph written by the last-named is probably the most thorough and valuable contribution to the whole discussion.

Biography is an important adjunct of history, and in many cases furnishes the most faithful and interesting form of historic writing. It is only in recent years that Canadian development has reached the stage of appreciating this particular phase of literary labour, and it now seems to have taken a strong hold upon popular opinion. Condensed and short biographies comprise the earlier form of this branch of our literature, and Dent's *Canadian Portrait Gallery*; Fennings Taylor's *British Americans*; Morgan's *Celebrated Canadians* and Rose's *Cyclopædia of Canadian Biography* are standard works along the lines and up to the periods treated. *The Canadian Biographical Dictionary*, Dr. Cochrane's *Men of Canada*, and Louis H. Taché's *Men of To-Day* are useful volumes for purposes of biographical reference, though the first two works are marred by the intrusion of names which should never have been given space. A. J. Magurn's recently published *Parliamentary Guide*; F. R. E. Campeau's "Illustrated Guide to the Senate and Commons" (1879), and C. H. Mackintosh's *Parliamentary Companion*, continued to date by J. A. Gemmill, must also be mentioned. D. B. Read's *Lives of the Judges*, Dr. Mockridge's work upon the Bishops of the Church of England in Canada, Fennings Taylor's *Last Three Bishops* appointed

by the Crown in Canada, are of importance. In Quebec, the valuable work upon its Roman Catholic Bishops—*Les Evêques de Quebec*—by Mgr. Henri Têtu and the historical supplement in six volumes entitled *Les Mandements des Evêques* must be mentioned. L. O. David has published a couple of volumes of miscellaneous French-Canadian biography. *Les Canadiens de L'Ouest*, by the Hon. Joseph Tasse, and *La Genealogie les Familles Canadiennes*, by Mgr. Cyprian Tanguay, are both of standard value. The earliest biographical works of an individual character, and of any note, included Hon. W. Annaud's *Letters and Speeches of Joseph Howe* (1858), and Edward Ermatinger's *Life of Colonel Talbot* (1859).<sup>\*</sup> Other works are as follows:

Memoir of Sir Brenton Halliburton.....	Rev. George W. Hill.
Life of Sir William Logan.	Prof. B. J. Harrington.
Life of Bishop Richardson.	Rev. Dr. Thomas Webster.
Life of Egerton Ryerson.	Dr. J. George Hodgins.
Life of Hon. George Brown.	Hon. A. Mackenzie.
Life of Archbishop Lynch.	H. C. McKeown.
Life of Bishop Strachan....	Right Rev. Dr. A. N. Bethune.
Life of the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie .....	{ Hon. G. W. Ross. William Buckingham.
Life of Hon. W. H. Merritt.	J. P. Merritt.
Life of Letellier de St. Just.	P. B. Casgrain.
Life of Hon. Joseph Howe.	George E. Fenety.
Vie de P. C. de Maissonneuve .....	Rev. P. Rousseau.
Life of the Rev. Dr. Fyfe...	Dr. J. E. Wells.
Vie de M. Faillon.....	L'Abbé Desmazures.
Life of Bishop Medley.....	Rev. W. F. Ketchum.
Memoir of Bishop G. J. Mountain.....	Rev. A. W. Mountain.
Memoir of Rev. Dr. J. McGregor.....	Rev. G. Patterson.
Memoir of Rev. Dr. J. Bayne.	Rev. G. Smellie.

<sup>\*</sup>NOTE. Though not written by Canadians reference must be made here to W. L. Stone's *Biographies of Thayendanagea* and Sir William Johnson as well as to F. B. Tupper's *Life of Sir Isaac Brock*.

- Biography of the Hon. H. Mercier ..... J. O. Pelland.  
 Vie de C. F. Painchaud ..... N. E. Dionne.  
 Life of Mgr. Provencher.... L'Abbé G. Dugas.  
 Life of F. X. Garneau ..... Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau.  
 Life of Sir John Macdonald. J. Edmund Collins.  
 Life of Sir John Macdonald. J. P. McPherson.  
 Life of Sir John Macdonald. Joseph Pope.  
 Life of Sir Isaac Brock.... . D. B. Read, q.c.  
 Life of Lieut.-Governor J. Graves Simcoe ..... do.  
 Life of Sir Leonard Tilley. James Hannay.  
 Life of Sir John Thompson. J. Castell Hopkins.  
 Memoirs of Bishop Burke. Archbishop O'Brien.  
 Life of Rev. Robert Burns. Rev. Dr. R. F. Burns.  
 Life of Colonel FitzGibbon. M. A. FitzGibbon.  
 Life of Hon. R. Cartwright. Rev. E. C. Cartwright.  
 Vie de Mgr. de Laval..... L'Abbé A. H. Gosselin.  
 Life of Senator Macdonald. Rev. Dr. H. Johnston.  
 Life of Rev. D. J. Macdonnell ..... Prof. J. H. McCurdy.  
 Life of Rev. Dr. Mathieson. Rev. Dr. Jenkins.  
 Memoir of Rev. Dr. Wilkes. Rev. John Wood.  
 Life of Samuel de Champlain ..... N. E. Dionne.

The most important of these works, from an historical standpoint, is Mr. Pope's Biography of Sir John Macdonald. Taken in connection with the same writer's volume of Confederation Documents it throws much valuable light upon the growth of the Canadian constitution and the political records of the last half century. In Lower Canada a number of historical volumes of importance have been produced in the form of what may be termed religious biographies. Amongst these works—anonymous in their nature or compiled by the combined labours of the inmates of some religious establishment—are the *Lives* of Mdlle Mance, La Soeur Bourgeois, Mde. D'Youville, Mère Marie Rose, and Bishop de St. Vallier. There has not been much of autobiography in Canadian literature. The strain of private and public labours upon the prominent men of the country has been too great to permit of it. Sir Francis Hincks' *Reminiscences*, Dr. Egerton Ryerson's *Story of my Life*, the *Memoirs* of P. A. de Gaspé

and Samuel Thompson's *Reminiscences of a Canadian Pioneer* are the chief exceptions. In constitutional literature Canada holds a distinctive place. The names of Todd and Bourinot rank with the best of English writers upon this great subject. Two works by Dr. Alpheus Todd, c.m.g., entitled, respectively, *Parliamentary Government in England* and *Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies*, are standard volumes of reference in all English-speaking communities. Some of Sir John George Bourinot's constitutional works are of a similarly high character. Others are more intended for popular use. Amongst them are the following: *Parliamentary Procedure and Practice* ..... 1884  
*A Manual of the Constitutional History of*

Canada ..... 1888  
*Local Government in Canada* ..... 1888  
*Federal Government in Canada* ..... 1889  
*Canadian Studies in Comparative Politics* ... 1890  
*How Canada is Governed* ..... 1897

Other works upon the Constitution of Canada in different phases of its development have been written by Chief Justice Sewell, of Quebec (1814), Fennings Taylor, the Hon. T. J. J. Loranger, the Hon. J. S. C. Wurtele, the Hon. C. C. Colby, Samuel J. Watson, Dr. D. A. O'Sullivan, q.c.; Joseph Doutre, q.c.; Edmond Lareau, J. R. Cartwright, q.c.; W. H. P. Clement and A. H. F. Lefroy. Before leaving this serious, solid and sometimes dull branch of our general literature a word must be said regarding the influence and work of Dr. Goldwin Smith. His books have always been brilliant and nearly always controversial. During three decades they have been mainly written in Canada, often published here, and always widely read in other countries. Yet it is difficult to term them a part of Canadian literature, while it is equally impossible to eliminate the reputation of the writer from its historic record. Unlike Parkman, who was yet an alien in birth and residence and death, Dr. Goldwin Smith has not in his works or in his countless contributions to the press and contemporary magazines embodied in any sense the spirit of Canadian history. Nor has he ever grasped the springs which move the minds and direct the policy of the Canadian people. Since coming to Canada in 1871 he has published the following volumes:

Life of William Cowper.....	1880
Lectures and Essays .....	1881
Conduct of England to Ireland.....	1882
False Hopes .....	1883
Canada and the Canadian Question.....	1891
A Trip to England .....	1892
History of the United States.....	1893
Oxford and her Colleges.....	1894
Essays on Questions of the Day .....	1896
Guesses at the Riddle of Existence.....	1896

Turning to a lighter and brighter side of the general subject it will be found that romance has not held the place in our literature which it should have done. Instinct as Canadian history is with a myriad themes of romantic interest, it has yet remained to the last few years for Canadian novels and novelists to find their way into the hearts of the reading public. The French-Canadians were the first to realize the brilliant possibilities of fiction lying in the gloomy aisles of our primeval forests; amid the sun-lit expanses of our rolling prairies or towering mountains; in the stirring and vivid pages of our national annals. Eugene L'Ecuyer, Patrice Lacombe, Joseph Marmette, P. A. de Gaspé, Gérin-Lajoie, P. J. O. Chauveau, Napoleon Bourassa, John Talon-Lespérance, Real Angers, each in turn contributed to the evolution of a romantic literature. But the public was limited, the appreciation not as pronounced as might have been desired. Perhaps the best of these volumes was *The Bastonnais* (1877), by Talon-Lespérance, and *Jean Rivard*, by Gérin-Lajoie. In Upper Canada amongst the earliest efforts in this direction was Mrs. Moodie's *Flora Lindsay*. In 1886 appeared the Canadian story, *An Algonquin Maiden*, by G. Mercer Adam and Ethelwyn Wetherald. In Nova Scotia Professor James De Mille published a number of stories which had a wide popularity in their day\*.

*Professor Conant* by the Hon. L. S. Huntingdon and *For King and Country* by Miss Machar, of Kingston, followed, together with sundry novels and tales of Canadian life by Mrs. Leprohon,

\*NOTE. Mrs. Brooke's *Emily Montague* was the first. Major John Richardson, a British officer of Canadian birth, had also written a couple of Canadian stories. Julia Catharine Hart, of Fredericton, N. B., published *St. Ursula's Convent* in 1824. The Rev. Joseph Abbott published a very popular Canadian tale in 1843 called *Philip Musgrave*.

Miss Louisa Murray, Mrs. J. V. Noel, Mrs. Annie Rothwell Christie, Watson Griffin, Mrs. S. Frances Harrison, W. D. Lighthall and others, which were usually published in the magazines or journals of the time. In more recent years clever short stories have been written by the Rev. Arthur Wentworth Eaton, Marjory MacMurchy, Maud Ogilvy, C. L. Betts, the Rev. F. G. Scott, Stuart Livingston, Mrs. John E. Logan, Grace Dean McLeod Rogers, the Rev. Dr. W. H. Withrow, Miss F. G. Gwilt and F. Blake Crofton. W. A. Fraser has very lately



William Kirby.

won considerable reputation in this direction, while E. W. Thompson has made a distinct mark by his *Old Man Savarin* and similar stories. But the central work of Canadian romance up to a very few years ago and one which will hold a permanent place, despite admitted faults of style, was William Kirby's *Le Chien D'Or* (1877). This novel brings before the reader much of the early stirring life of French Canada and has made Mr. Kirby the founder of a school of which Gilbert Parker is the most famous exponent. Of the

story indeed the latter has spoken as being "a veritable mine of information and research, a powerful and admirable piece of romance."

It was Sara Jeannette Duncan (Mrs. Everard Cotes), however, who in 1890 first came really before the reading world as a Canadian novelist, with her charming volume entitled *A Social Departure*. Other more or less popular works from her pen have since been steadily issued. Her example was followed in 1891 by Miss Lily Dougall, of Montreal, with *Beggars All*. A number of well-received volumes have since been written by Miss Dougall and been widely read far from the shores of her native land. Edmund E. Sheppard had meanwhile written three novels—notable for their clever character and dialect sketches—*Dolly*; *Widower Jones*; and *A Bad Man's Sweetheart*. Grant Allen, a Canadian by birth, has made himself generally popular by a number of novels, but as they in no sense touch Canada or Canadian life and history and were neither written nor published here they can hardly be included in Canadian literature. So in a great measure with the works of Robert Barr—"Luke Sharpe"; and those of Margaret M. Robinson, authoress of *Christie Redfern's Troubles* and other popular stories. Very different has it been with Gilbert Parker. Intensely proud of his country and inspired to the point of enthusiasm by its picturesque and peculiar annals he has produced a series of novels which have not only made him famous in English-speaking countries but have illustrated Canadian history and adorned our native literature. The following is a complete list of his works to the end of 1898:

A Lover's Diary (Poetry).

Around the Compass in Australia.

The Wedding Day (A Drama).

Pierre and His People.

An Adventurer of the North.

The Translation of a Savage.

The Chief Factor.

A Trespasser. Mrs. Falchion.

The Trail of the Sword.

When Valmond came to Pontiac.

The Seats of the Mighty.

The Pomp of the Lavillettes.

The Battle of the Strong.

It is safe to say that the Canadian novel has now

come to stay, and that one of the most brilliant pages in our national literature has opened up to view. Charles G. D. Roberts' *Forge in the Forest* is a striking illustration of this fact. J. Macdonald Oxley has won a high and deserved reputation as the "Henty" of Canada. Miss Joanna E. Wood, in her *Judith Moore* and *The Untempered Wind*, has written a pair of very creditable Canadian stories. Mrs. S. Frances Harrison, in *The Forest of Bowg Marie*, has produced a work which shows dramatic power and much descriptive skill, while W. D. Lighthall in his recently published novel, *The False Chevalier*, William McLennan in *Spanish John*, Edgar Maurice Smith in *Anerastes the Gaul*, Miss Blanche Lucille Macdonell in *Diane of Ville Marie*, and Ralph Connor (Rev. Charles Gordon, of Winnipeg) in *Black Rock*, have written stories which are a credit to the literature of our country. Mrs. Henshaw—"Julian Durham"—of Victoria, B.C., and Miss Marshall Saunders, of Halifax, N.S., have also, from the ends of the Dominion, and three thousand miles apart, lately produced novels of considerable merit.

In poetry Canada has always deserved, though it has not always received, a high place. I must pass over the brilliant French school, which is elsewhere dealt with, and which has conferred such honour upon Canadian literature. One word must, however, be said of Louis Honore Fréchette, who has received the laureated approval of the French Academy; who has been honoured by the Queen with a C.M.G.; and was lately described by Professor Leigh Gregor, of McGill University, Montreal, as the acknowledged chief of French-Canadian *litterateurs*. A passionate admirer of Victor Hugo, a champion of sentimental relations with France, an adherent of the modern school of liberal thought, an assailant of the British historical record in this country, yet a believer in the stability and advantages of British rule, and a most eloquent poet of his people, he has certainly reached a high and secure place in the hearts of his fellow-countrymen. Charles Heavysege, Charles Sangster, Alexander McLachlan, William Kirby, John Reade and Isabella Valancey Crawford hold the highest place amongst the earlier poets of English-speaking Canada. Others of the middle of the century who must be mentioned are J. J. Procter, Isidore

G. Ascher, Helen M. Johnson, Jennie E. Haight Harriet Annie Wilkins, Pamela S. Vining, William Wye Smith, Annie L. Walker, Rev. Edward Hartley Dewart, Prof. E. J. Chapman, Evan McColl, George Martin, Mrs. Susanna Moodie, John F. McDonnell, Rhoda Ann Page (Mrs. Faulkner), William Pittman Lett. New Brunswick poets of an earlier day were the Hon. Jonathan O'Dell and William Murdoch. Magnus Sabiston, of St. John, also wrote some clever verse, and James De Mille found time amidst his novel writing for the publishing of some excellent poetry. So in Nova Scotia, with Ollver Goldsmith, James Hogg, John McPherson, Thomas Knight and C. M. DesBrisay. I cannot resist quoting here the following tribute to Sangster and McLachlan, written in 1864 by the Rev. Dr. E. H. Dewart as a Preface to his volume of *Selections*—a work in which he rendered a truly pioneer service to Canadian literature:

“Among those who have most courageously appealed to the reading public, and most largely enriched the poetic literature of Canada, the first place is due to Charles Sangster. The richness and extent of his contributions, the originality and descriptive power he displays, the variety of Canadian themes on which he has written with force and elegance, his passionate sympathy with the beautiful in nature, and the chivalrous and manly patriotism which finds an utterance in his poems, fully vindicate his claim to a higher place in the regard of his countrymen than he has yet obtained. Alexander McLachlan has also evinced that he possesses in a high degree the gift of song. In the opinion of many, he is the sweetest and most intensely human of all our Canadian bards. As Sangster and McLachlan are quite unlike, and each possesses a strongly marked individuality of his own, any comparison between them is inappropriate, and might be unfair to both. In elaborate elegance and wealth of descriptive power, in the success with which he has treated Canadian themes, and in something of Miltonic stateliness and originality of style, Sangster has certainly no equal in this country. But in strong human sympathy, in subtle appreciation of character, in deep, natural pathos, and in those gushes of noble and manly feeling which awaken the responsive echoes of every true heart, McLachlan is equally peerless.”

Of Heavysage's *Saul* the North British Review of August, 1858, declared that it was “Indubitably one of the most remarkable English poems ever written outside of Great Britain.” Amongst

English-speaking poets of the present day in Canada, Roberts, Campbell and Lampman are easily first in popular esteem.\* It would be a difficult task to anywhere find more eloquently patriotic verse than some of Roberts' productions; more beautiful descriptive poetry than in Campbell's *Lake Lyrics*; or a more delicate witchery than there is in many of Lampman's fugitive pieces. Take, for instance, this from the *Lake Lyrics*:



Charles Sangster.

“Domed with the azure of heaven,  
Floored with a pavement of pearl,  
Clothed all about with a brightness,  
Soft as the eyes of a girl.

Girt with a magical girdle,  
Rimmed with a vapour of rest,—  
These are the inland waters,  
These are the Lakes of the West.”

\* NOTE. See article by Mr. A. B. De Mille elsewhere in this Section.

A word may be said here regarding the dramatic work of William Wilfrid Campbell. The public knows little of them, but his two tragedies, "Mordred" and "Hildebrand", show marked power. Of his treatment, Thomas Wentworth Higginson has spoken as being "grim and unflinching but very strong." To return to the general subject of poetry, the following little verse of Lampman's upon "Autumn" illustrates his beautiful touch :\*

"The wizard has woven his ancient scheme,  
A day and a star-lit night ;  
And the world is a shadowy pencilled dream,  
Of colour, haze and light."

Apart from these poets in the sense of popularity, but ranking with them in the power and brilliancy of his verse, is Charles Mair. The day will surely come when his drama of *Tecumseh* will rank among the great literary productions of our country, not only in the library of the student or the opinion of isolated critics, but in the minds of the people as well. The other Canadian poets of the last thirty years are very numerous and their poetry of most unequal merit. John Reade, of Montreal, must be placed amongst the highest and best. The special qualities of his verse have been described as sweetness and culture. For popularity and grasp of poetic dialect Dr. W. H. Drummond also holds a high place. Amongst those not referred to by Mr. De Mille or Dr. O'Hagan elsewhere in this volume, Dr. Theodore H. Rand, W. D. Lighthall, A. H. Chandler and the Rev. C. P. Mulvaney, Kate Seymour Maclean, Arthur G. Doughty, Thomas O'Hagan, Rev. A. W. H. Eaton, John Henry Brown, J. A. Logan (Barry Dane), Mrs. Blewett, Bernard McEvoy, Hereward K. Cockin and Mrs. S. A. Curzon, have published volumes of verse which deserve high commendation. Bliss Carman, a most charming and brilliant poet, has long since made his home in the States and his verse has lost the Canadian colour which it once possessed in *Low Tide on Grand Pré* (1893).

Among politicians the late Hon. Joseph Howe, Sir J. D. Edgar, the Hon. David Mills, Nicholas Flood Davin and, especially, the late T. D'Arcy McGee have written some excellent poetry.

Facts of this nature afford a pleasant indication of growing national culture. R. F. Kernighan is well known by his *nom de plume* of "The Khan" and some of his poems are so redolent of the farm and country life of the people and so instinct with the spirit of the soil as to have not only met a wide popularity but merited a permanent place in Canadian literature. Arthur J. Stringer is another Canadian who, in isolated poems of great merit, has shown the possession of distinct power. Others who must be mentioned are T. Arnold Haultain, J. W. Bengough, Walter A. Ratcliffe, John Stuart Thomson, Helen M. Merrill, Arthur Weir, Phillips Stewart, J. A. Richey, J. E. G. Roberts, Mary Barry Smith, H. L. Spencer, Robert Reed, John Imrie, T. G. Marquis, A. M. Taylor, Francis Rye, John Lowry Stuart, H. R. A. Pocock, Mary Morgan (Gowan Lea), Annie Campbell Huestis, A. R. Garvie, George T. Lanigan, Barry Stratton, W. A. Sherwood, C. L. Barnes, C. D. Shanly, C. E. Jukeway, K. L. Jones, T. R. Ramsay, J. R. Newell, George Gerrard, E. W. Thomson, Mrs. J. C. Yule, Mrs. W. H. Clarke, J. E. Pollock, Stuart Livingston and Clara Mountcastle.

It is a far call from poetry to science and kindred subjects but in the latter department of literature Canada has excelled even many older countries. Sir William Dawson, Sir Daniel Wilson, Dr. A. R. C. Selwyn, Dr. George M. Dawson, Sir William Logan, Dr. H. Youle Hind and Dr. T. Sterry Hunt rank high in the scientific world. Elkanah Billings, Prof. Henry How, Henry Poole, Prof. J. B. Cherriman, William Cowper, Prof. Henry H. Croft, George and James Barnston, the Rev. William Hincks and Prof. Charles Smallwood were voluminous writers in their day on subjects ranging from geology to meteorology. Professors John Watson and J. Clark Murray in philosophy; Mrs. Catherine Parr Traill, Professor John Macoun and Dr. Alexander Milton Ross in natural history; the late Professor George Lawson, James Fletcher and G. U. Hay, in botany, &c., have won a distinct place. Horatio Hale, Dr. G. F. Mathew, Dr. R. M. Bucke, Prof. E. J. Chapman, Prof. B. J. Harrington, Prof. R. W. Ellis, Prof. R. Ramsay Wright, Dr. Robert Bell, G. C. Hoffman, Dr. William Saunders, F. D. Adams, Prof. D. P.

\*NOTE. The death of Archibald Lampman, as these pages are going through the press, is a distinct loss to the best elements in Canadian literary life.

Penhallow, Dr. E. Gilpin, Jr., Prof. W. H. Pike, Rev. Dr. C. J. S. Bethune, R. G. McConnell, Principal Loudon, of Toronto University; Prof. H. T. Bovey, Prof. L. W. Bailey, H. M. Ami, Robert Grant Haliburton, q.c.; Edward E. Prince, Dr. Neil MacNish and Prof. John Campbell have all earned high reputations for scholarship or original research and for publications connected with some branch or other of the field of science. A most important subject in Canada which may be referred to here is Forestry and the general question of preserving the forests of the country. It has been dealt with most fully and authoritatively over a long term of years and in many publications by the late R. W. Phipps, and by A. T. Drummond, Edward Jack, J. C. Chapais, H. B. Small and Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière. In the interesting subject of numismatics Stanley Clark Bagg and R. W. McLachlan have written much.

In legal literature some good work has been done in Canada. The late Sir J. J. C. Abbott on Insolvency and Railway law; Sir J. D. Edgar and F. H. Crysler on Insolvency law; C. O. Ermatinger, q.c., and Thomas Hodgins, q.c., on Franchise law; J. A. Barron, q.c., on *Conditional Sales*; E. Douglas Armor, q.c., on *Titles*; Hon. D. Girouard and Dr. J. J. Maclaren, q.c., on Bills and Notes; W. D. McPherson and J. M. Clark on Mining laws; Hon. R. A. Harrison on Municipal law; C. M. Holt on Insurance law; Harry Abbott, q.c., on Railway law; and the Hon. H. E. Taschereau on Criminal law; have written authoritatively. Francois Joseph Cugnet, P. G. Mignault, q.c., J. R. Cartwright, John Crankshaw, L. A. Audette, E. Lareau, G. S. Holmstead, C. H. Stephens, S. Pagnuelo, q.c., S. R. Clarke, Alfred Howell, A. T. Hunter, W. Howard Hunter, G. W. Wickstead, q.c., Hon. J. R. Gowan, C.M.G., R. E. Kingsford, A. H. Marsh, q.c., Hon. Archer Martin, Hon. Michel Mathieu, Chief Justice Sir T. W. Taylor, Alexander Leith, q.c.; Joseph Doutre, q.c., Judge Maclennan, Christopher Robinson, q.c., and F. J. Joseph, R. Vashon Rogers, Jr., Henry O'Brien, q.c., Hon. T. K. Ramsay, Sir James Lukin Robinson, J. P. Foran, q.c., County Court Judges J. S. Sinclair and J. G. Stevens, have published volumes upon special branches of Canadian law or practice.

Others who have written much, though in a less definite form, are Edward Carter, q.c., and Dr. James Kirby, of Montreal; John King, q.c., C. R. W. Biggar, q.c., and D. E. Thompson, q.c., of Toronto; Benjamin Russell, q.c., M.P., of Halifax; and R. Stanley Weir, D.C.L., of Montreal.

To ecclesiastical history and literature much has been contributed by Canadians, but only a few volumes of really first rank. Principal Grant in his *Religions of the World*; L'Abbé Auguste Gosselin in his *L'Eglise Du Canada*; Prof. William Clark in his "Life of Savonarola"; Dr. William Gregg in a History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada; M. Faillon in his great work upon the annals of Canadian Roman Catholicism, *L'Histoire de la Colonie Francaise*; have occupied high ground in a distinctly able manner. The foremost Methodist writer of the past has been Dr. Egerton Ryerson, and perhaps the best known one of the present is the Rev. Dr. Albert Carman. The most valuable historical work done in that Denomination has been by the Rev. Dr. George H. Cornish, the Rev. George Playter, the Rev. Dr. John Carroll and the Rev. Dr. T. Watson Smith. The latter's History of his Church in the Maritime Provinces is of much value. The Rev. Dr. Mathew Richey wrote voluminously. The Church of England in Canada has produced many able writers, but few great literary works. Bishop Strachan and Bishop Bethune of Toronto, Bishop G. J. Mountain of Quebec, Bishop Hellmuth of London, Bishop Oxenden and Bishop Fulford of Montreal, Bishop Medley and Bishop Kingdon of Fredericton and Bishop Charles Inglis of Halifax, have in their time written upon various ecclesiastical topics—the first named being one of the strongest controversialists in Canadian annals. Volumes of some value upon Church history have appeared, from time to time, by the Rev. H. C. Stuart, Dr. T. B. Akins, the Rev. A. Wentworth Eaton, F. C. Wurtele, Archdeacon Roe, Rev. Dr. John Langtry and S. Herbert Lee. The Rev. Dr. John McCaul wrote upon religious as well as classical subjects. The Rev. J. de Soyres has written several interesting religious books. Presbyterianism has not been very productive in a literary sense, and its best known names are those of the Rev. Dr. James McGregor, Dr. Robert Burns, Dr. R. F. Burns, Dr. Alexander Mathieson, Dr.



John Jenkins, Principal Grant and Dr. Gregg. Dr. William Cochrane wrote some interesting religious works, as did Dr. William Ormiston. Dr. George Patterson and Professor John Campbell are known in connection with various historical subjects, while Dr. John Laing has written much on controversial topics of current importance. The Rev. Dr. Robert Campbell wrote a useful History of St. Gabriel St. Church in Montreal.

The literary productions of Roman Catholicism include the works of M. Faillon and L'Abbé Gosselin in particular, and much of the historical and poetic literature of French Canada in general. Its influence upon the development of Canadian culture has been upon the whole distinctly beneficial. Bishop Jean Langevin, Archbishop O'Brien, Mgr. C. Tanguay, Mgr. Têtu, Dean Harris, Mrs. Mary A. Sadlier, Rev. J. M. Coffee, J. K. Foran, Rev. Æneas McDonnell Dawson, Rev. Dr. J. R. Teefy, Rev. J. B. Dollard and Thomas O'Hagan have largely contributed to the pages of Canadian Catholic literature. Miscellaneous writers who may be mentioned in connection with religious literature in Canada are the Rev. Dr. Joseph Wild, the Rev. Dr. Chiniquy, the Rev. Dr. John Carry, the Rev. Dr. T. E. Bill—*The Baptists in Canada*—the Rev. Dr. J. M. Cramp, Dr. R. A. Fyfe, Dr. Henry Wilkes, Dr. Abraham de Sola, the Rev. Dr. J. M. King. Professor William Clark, already mentioned, in many published lectures and essays has proved himself one of the most cultured and scholarly of Canadian authors. Charles Lindsay in his *Rome in Canada* (1878), and in an earlier work upon the Clergy Reserves, assumes a strongly controversial position, but admitting this, the volumes are still of distinct interest and value.\*

In bibliography G. B. Faribault, Philéas Gagnon, William Kingsford, H. J. Morgan, and W. R. Haight have done good work. I have referred elsewhere to the volume of *Selections* from Canadian poetry made in 1864 by Dr. Dewart. This was supplemented in Quebec in 1874 by Edmund

Lareau with his *Histoire de la Littérature Canadienne*; in 1881, by Dr. L. P. Bender's *Literary Leaves*, and in 1889 by W. D. Lighthall's *Songs of the Great Dominion*. In this connection Sir J. G. Bourinot's work upon Canadian Intellectual Development; Miss J. E. Wetherell's *Later Canadian Poets*; Mrs. Frances Harrison's "Birthday Book"; L. H. Taché's *La Poesie Francaise*; William McLennan's volume of translations entitled *Songs of Old Canada*; Prof. George M. Wrong's two annual volumes reviewing Canadian historical publications; and the *Patriotic Selections* by the Hon. G. W. Ross, are of value and interest. And, turning to another line of literary work, reference must be made to a volume of great value written by Mr. J. H. Bartlett and dealing with the coal, iron and steel development of Canada. George E. Drummond and B. T. A. Bell have written largely on the same subject, while Prof. A. B. Wilmott has recently published a useful work on the *Mineral Wealth of Canada*. The late Charles F. Smithers, the late James Stevenson, George Hague, Byron E. Walker and Professor Adam Shortt, of Kingston, have written largely upon either the practice or history of banking in Canada.

In controversial or political literature the names of Bishop Strachan and Dr. Ryerson stand pre-eminent. Associated with them in the old days of pamphleteering activity were William Lyon Mackenzie, the late Chief Justice W. H. Draper, c.B., Sir John Beverley Robinson, Dr. William Dunlop, the Hon. R. B. Sullivan and the Hon. William Morris. A little later came Sir Francis Hincks, the Hon. Isaac Buchanan, Ogle R. Gowan, T. D'Arcy McGee, the Hon. William McDougall, the Hon. W. H. Merritt, Sir A. T. Galt, John Sheridan Hogan, and the Hon. Alexander Morris. In Lower Canada were L. J. Papineau, H. S. Chapman, D. B. Viger, Andrew Stuart, and later on, Joseph Royal. In the Maritime Provinces the Hon. John G. Marshall, George and G. R. Young and Pierce Stevens Hamilton wrote largely. In more recent years the late Sir John Schultz, the late Hon. Thomas White, the Hon. C. H. Mackintosh, L. G. Desjardins, the late John Maclean, the Hon. C. C. Colby, Sir David Macpherson, W. A. Foster, q.c., the Hon. James Young and J. S.

\*NOTE. For more detailed data regarding books bearing on Denominational matters in Canada see the following portions of this Work:

Anglican .....	Page 439,	Volume II.
Methodist .....	" 322	" II.
Catholic .....	" 551	" II.
Presbyterian .....	" 102	" IV.

Ewart, Q.C., have written largely upon political subjects. In medicine, Dr. Henry Howard, Dr. A. T. Holmes, Sir James Grant, M.D., Sir W. H. Hingston, M.D., Dr. James Bovell and Dr. Anthony Von Iffland have written much, while Dr. William Canniff's *History of the Medical Profession in Upper Canada* is of importance for reference.

There is a very large and increasing mass of general literature in Canada—of books which can hardly be placed under distinct heads and yet which ought to be mentioned in such a review as this. E. T. D. Chambers, by his descriptive works upon the sports and scenery of Quebec; F. Barlow Cumberland, by his *History of the Union Jack*, and J. W. Tyrrell, in his popular *Across the Sub-Arctic of Canada*, have earned a place in Canadian literature. J. Hampden Burnham has published a useful book entitled *Canadians in the Imperial Service*. The Hon. J. H. Gray wrote one interesting volume of a proposed *History of Confederation* but never completed the work. The Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee wrote upon "Federal Governments", and, like everything which he treated, the result was attractive and valuable. During this year (1898) there has appeared a most useful work upon "Steam Navigation in Canada", by James Croil. Jehu Matthews, in his *Colonist and the Colonial Question* (1872), published one of the earliest works of importance upon Imperial Federation. Oliver A. Howland, in his *New Empire*, affords a most interesting review of the growth of existing Imperial conditions. Sir Sandford Fleming and Thomas C. Keefer, C.M.G., have written much upon questions connected with the material development of the country. So with Dr. George R. Parkin, C.M.G., in his eloquent volume upon Imperial Federation. His *Life and Letters of Edward Thring*, published late in 1898, is, however, the most important of his literary works. Amongst miscellaneous Canadian authors dealing with subjects not exclusively, or mainly, Canadian, perhaps the highest place should be given to Lieut.-Colonel George T. Denison, whose *History of Cavalry* (1877), in competition with the works of officers from many countries, won a prize offered by the Emperor of Russia for the best work upon the subject. His *Modern Cavalry* (1868) had previously earned

for him a distinct reputation. Upon general military matters in Canada Lieut.-Colonel L. T. Suzor wrote much in the early sixties. A word must be said for the work of the Hon. J. W. Longley, of Halifax, in the region of *Belles Lettres*. His little volume of essays entitled *Love*, published at the end of 1898, reaches a notable level of cultured expression. The various educational works of the Hon. G. W. Ross, of Toronto, are also of a high order; while his lectures on public topics have done much to promote a better tone in political life and discussion.

Outside of Canada many Canadians have of late years distinguished themselves. Sir George Duncan Gibb, Bart., M.D., was a great medical writer; Dr. William Osler is to-day one of the chief medical authorities of the United States; Dr. Beattie Crozier has won a high place in English science and literature; Montague Chamberlain is an American authority in the realm of natural history; the late Bishop Gillis, of Edinburgh, was a voluminous writer on Roman Catholic polemics; Robert Barr, Grant Allen, May Agnes Fleming and Stinson Jarvis are well known in the world of novels; Ernest Seton Thompson has become widely popular in the United States by his work *Wild Animals I have Known*; the Hon. Charles Wentworth Upham has written some standard works on local American history; John Foster Kirk has won eminence in the United States as an historian; Dr. George McCall Theal's is the most eminent name in the historical literature of Cape Colony.

In this review of our literature it has been, of course, impossible to go into critical details. In any such summary there must also be omissions, but I think nearly all works of importance published or written in Canada, together with many written about Canada, have been referred to within this article, or in the Section of which it forms a part. There is amongst such a number of works necessarily much chaff with the corn. One volume is perhaps dull, another contains grammatical errors, another is poorly bound and printed, another is undeniably badly written. But in all of them there is something which speaks of, or for Canada, almost inarticulately in some cases, brilliantly in others. Yet in its purpose the least of the writers named and the most



GILBERT PARKER.



inferior of the works referred to have in some way helped to build a brick into the edifice of Canadian literature. And this is true in the main whether the volume be critical, or laudatory of matters Canadian, so long as the intention of the writer is honest and his effort reasonably fair.

Literature is not the product of an hour nor does its existence depend upon popularity. The personality of Homer is hard indeed to trace, yet he lives forever in his writings. So in the case of many Canadian authors, unknown by name to the masses of our people, who yet will live in history as part and parcel of the development of public thought through the perhaps imperceptible influence which their works have had upon other minds better able to express their sentiments or historical views. Let me repeat that Canadian literature is, and must be, a fact to all who look back of the ever-increasing volume of English-speaking books and ephemeral journals to the substantial sum total of Canadian works wrought out of the pioneer thoughts and lives and manners of our people—the natural products in their defects and in their virtues of the environment of the times. The literature of a country comes from within itself and must partake of the characteristics of the period. To

meet this fact a writer does not require to have lived continuously in Canada, but he must embody Canadian ideas or accurately describe Canadian conditions. And, whether we look at Canada from the days of Charlevoix to those of Garneau and Kirby, or of Fréchette and Parker, we cannot but see that there was always a growing literature, evolving gradually from an almost unnoticed condition into the final and full sun-light of national recognition. To-day the note of nationality—whether it be English-Canadian or French-Canadian in its local application and language does not matter so long as it rings true to the soil of our common country—is being struck, and with it comes a literature adequate to the whole range of Canadian progress and aspirations. For this as for every branch of our development we can truly say with Roberts:

“A deep voice stirs, vibrating in men’s ears  
As if their own hearts throbbed that thunder forth,  
A sound wherein who hearkens wisely hears  
The voice of the desire of this strong North —  
This North whose heart of fire  
Yet knows not its desire  
Clearly, but dreams, and murmurs in the dream.  
The hour of dreams is done. Lo! on the hills the  
gleam!”

## FRENCH-CANADIAN LITERATURE AND JOURNALISM

BY

BENJAMIN SULTE, F.R.S.C.

THE literature of all nations begins with poetry, or, at least, with versification, and the form of song is generally the first to appear. Such was the case amongst the French-Canadian people. Their settlement on this side of the ocean is altogether confined to the period, 1633-1680, when books were rather scarce throughout Europe, especially in country places, and it is well known that Canada received only a few families from the towns and cities of that time. Curiously enough, though, most of the women who came during those fifty years could read and write, and before thirty of them were here they had a school open for girls. The men, as a rule, were indifferent in that connection.

The literary knowledge imported by this little group of toilers of the soil was composed of the popular current songs of the northern and north-western parts of France. They all loved to sing and play some kind of musical instruments. The fur trade started about the same date as colonization, and the *habitant*, or actual settler, soon got interested in that new life. The songs of old France were carried to the Great Lakes; they passed afterwards to the Mississippi and the North-West plains; and are still to be found wherever the French-Canadians have penetrated through this continent. Their number is immense. One would think that, if he knew of all that had been printed in book form\* or in other publications, he had nothing more to learn in that direction, but every week will bring to his knowledge a fresh supplement of a seemingly inexhaustible stock.

A people given to such culture may be expected to produce many works of merit, and to stamp

them with its own peculiar mark, as, for instance, the characteristic traits belonging to a Colony. I could here mention what several high critics in modern France have said about the literary capacities of the French-Canadians, but these compliments only reflect on the present writers, and the critics referred to have never read any of our productions previous to 1850. I wish to draw attention first to the older period, that of 1764-1830, in the very infancy of the small literary world of Quebec. The germs that existed in the domain of the song-makers of the 17th and 18th centuries have only recently developed themselves into large-sized trees, notwithstanding that shrubs were observed here and there on the field soon after the conquest.

Even before the conquest there was a prepared ground for studies and literary displays. Beauharnois, Hocquart, La Galissonnière, from 1725 to 1750, kept the *élite* of the Colony well posted upon certain contemporary works. Poems were written which circulated in manuscript for want of a printing office, and most of them were, no doubt, lost for the same reason. I may mention the composition of Jean Taché relative to his trip across the Atlantic, and the one from the able pen of Abbé Etienne Marchand, both of 1736 or thereabouts. Marchand's *Troubles de l'Eglise* is well worth reading, inasmuch as it deals with a purely Canadian subject.

The first printing establishment in Lower Canada was that of *The Gazette*, Quebec, 1764, but neither the English nor the French population made use of it at first in a literary sense. Their early publications bore strictly on topics of immediate interest, such as the following: "Case of Canadians at Montreal, distressed by fire on the 18th of May, 1765"; *Catechisme du Diocèse de Sens*, Quebec, 1765; prayer-books and alphabets

\*Ernest Gagnon, Quebec, has published the best collection of these songs.

printed for Father Labrosse, Jesuit, 1766-'67; "Trial of Daniel Disney," 1767; "A Compendium of laws concerning the Religious Communities," 1768; "Observations of J. F. Cugnet on the proposed plan of F. Maséres for a new Constitution," 1771; *Lettre sur la ville de Quebec*, 1774. *L'Adoration Perpetuelle*, Montreal, by Fleury Mesplet, 1776, was the first book printed in that town. Mesplet had procured a press and some type from Philadelphia during the winter of 1775-76, and immediately issued several small volumes from Chateau Ramezay, Montreal, where he had settled for that purpose. A compilation of sacred songs, in French, 1776, is the second known work out of his press. Most of these poems are paraphrases and imitations of obsolete operatic compositions, with very pretty tunes and rather poor verses. These canticles became so generally known by heart that every individual could sing one or more of them a short time after they were introduced.

Mesplet published in 1778 the narrative of St. Luc de Lacorne concerning the wreck of L'Auguste in the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1761. In the same year (1778) he founded *The Gazette* of Montreal, half English, half French—still in existence in English. Quebec had a *Cercle Litteraire*, so called, but it must have been a reading-room. Anyway, it was a beginning of something. Mesplet started in 1779 a satirical paper styled *Tant Pis, tant Mieux*, which lived about twelve months and got into difficulty with Governor Haldimand, who put the Editor under lock and key. The name of the latter was Valentin Jotard, an advocate by profession. The almanac issued by Mesplet in 1783 was styled by him, *Curieux et interessant*. In 1784 he calls himself a printer and bookseller in a pamphlet, *L'ecu de six Francs*, printed in Montreal. Two years later there was published in Montreal a description of a certain disease prevailing at Baie Saint Paul. A volume devoted to *La Sainte Famille* came out of the press of Mesplet in 1787.

A large book printed in London in 1784, but written by a Canadian, had a special history in the events of those days. The author, Pierre Ducalvet, was just out of the hands of Governor Haldimand when he issued his *Appel a la Justice*, which is a criticism of the administration of the

Colony, rather personal, somewhat excessive also, but an invaluable record of certain facts connected with the state of Canada during the American Revolution. In 1788 Mesplet launched *La Gazette Littéraire* at the request of a certain number of Montreal gentlemen. The same year, James Tanswell started *Le Courrier de Quebec* but only issued two numbers of that publication.

A public library was opened at Quebec in 1785, and was a far more serious undertaking, as it maintained itself for a long period of years. Dramatic associations also existed in Montreal and Quebec. They played Moliere and some light comedies of the time of Louis XV. The man who seems to have principally inspired these efforts was Joseph Quesnel, a poet, a musician, and a person of good society. His comedy, *Colas et Colinctte*, became the great attraction of the day in Montreal (1790), whilst the people of Quebec boasted of a troop of amateurs who could not be surpassed in any Colony, as they believed. His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, accompanied by Lieutenant-Governors Clark and Simcoe, attended the performance of *La Comtesse de Escarbagna* and *Le Medecin malgré lui* in Quebec, on the 18th February, 1792. The Prince had arrived there during the previous summer and felt quite at home amongst the lively Quebecers. He was present at the banquet given on the 29th December, 1791, to celebrate the granting of a new political constitution to Canada, and, as a matter of course, he heard several songs composed for the occasion, including two specially prepared to welcome him, and which M. Baby and M. Amiot rendered in a most happy manner.

There was a spirit of literature in the air. Canadian pamphlets could be seen in the hands of many who had never experienced that sort of pleasure before. *Papiers sur l'Angleterre* referred to the administration of the United Kingdom, and such reading was apropos of the new constitution. A long letter from Bishop Bailly upon the necessity of a university gave rise to discussion and meditation. *L'ancienne et la nouvelle Constitution du Canada* was another commentary of political importance, and indicating also that the French-Canadians were able to express their ideas before the world. *La Nouvelle Constitution du France* followed the above, and the

whole Province roused to listen to this display of opinions. To crown the whole came *Le Magasin de Quebec*, a repertoire of literature and science. The *Quebec Gazette* also modified its old dull system and opened the door to several communications concerning the questions of the day. This coincided with the creation of the *Upper Canada Gazette* published at Newark in 1790.

Contrary to what is generally believed, books were not unknown to the French population of the Colony during the second half of the 18th century. It is stated that there were at least 60,000 volumes in the private libraries about the year 1765, and many others were received after that date; so that it may be fairly said that there was one volume for every soul of the population in the Province. Any one conversant with the habits of the best families of the period in question understand readily that these people were educated, not only in manners and outside politeness, but equally by reading and by that practice of conversation and *causerie de salon* which is so thoroughly French—so great a school for learning what you have not gathered from books. The literature of the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. (1660 to 1760) composed the main elements of a Canadian library at the end of the 18th century. Its influence is visible on every page written in those days, either for the public press or in private letters. We know, besides, nearly all the books then to be found in Canada, because a great many of them have been preserved by the descendants of the owners and handed down to our time.

At the outbreak of the French Revolution a movement was noticeable amongst the politicians in France to favour "the English system of government"; in other words, the constitutional administration, but this could not be made clear to the masses, unless some written explanation were furnished. A lawyer by the name of Delolme seems to have sounded the correct note, and his work became classical at its first edition.\*

No sooner had a copy of it been received in Canada than the members of the Legislative

\*Jean-Baptiste Delolme, born at Geneva, 1740, published *Constitution de l'Angleterre*, Amsterdam, 1771, a work which acquired for him a European reputation.

Assembly, who were forty-two French-speaking men out of a total of fifty, turned their attention to that Alcoran; but, as the session was drawing near to its end, it was thought better to arrange for a series of meetings in Quebec, Three Rivers, Sorel, Chambly and Montreal, where the members could be gathered by small detachments and examine the "book of revelations" at ease. This was done, and it produced a good effect, inasmuch as it allowed some practical information to make its way into the heads of our representative men. The spirit of the times is indicated by the insertion in the *Quebec Gazette* of several articles clipped from Parisian newspapers, and all necessarily of a "high tone," at an hour when the Convention reigned supreme in Paris. I dare say no French-Canadian publication would have been allowed to do the same thing. Such again was the spirit of the times.

The Duc de la Rochefoucauld, who visited Upper Canada in 1795, says that the people there were not so eager for news as the inhabitants of the United States. "The only paper in the Province is printed at Newark, and the Government covers three-quarters of its expenses for want of subscription from the public. It is a weekly paper containing very short extracts from the New York and Albany publications, and all the views of Governor Simcoe. In brief, its usefulness is that of an official gazette." La Rochefoucauld adds that the *Upper Canada Gazette* had no subscriber in Kingston, but that the *Quebec Gazette* had two there! From 1764 to 1795 no less than thirty works were printed in the Province, and about ten others in London, written by Canadians. For the moment these figures may be considered meagre; I wonder if it is any better in our own days, comparing the increase of the population. Sciences proper were much neglected, and continued to be so for fifty years afterwards.

William Smith, who lived at Quebec in 1785, says that a public library was established there in that year, and that the books came from London. La Rochefoucauld (1795) observes that the only library of that kind in Lower Canada was at Quebec. "It is a small gathering of books and nearly all French, sustained by subscription. We are rather puzzled at the choice



of some of them, knowing, as we do, the political dispositions of the directors of the institution, for it contains the printed papers of the National Assembly of France." As late as 1824, Vassal de Monviel speaks of interesting studies made by him in the Quebec Library, which is supposed to be either that of 1785 or the one belonging to the Legislature. By that time, 1824, schools had been opened in several localities, and the Nicolet College was in a first-class state of activity, as well as the Quebec and Montreal Colleges. The Rev. Dr. Jacob Mountain wrote some remarkable letters (1798-1801), in which he proposed a plan of public education for all classes. The agitation which followed the discovery of the Genest scheme to drag the United States into a war against Great Britain was marked by various publications, it seems, but two only are known to me: "Extracts from Minutes of Council containing Her Majesty's late regulations, etc.," Quebec, 1798; *Avis au Canada a l'occasion de la crise importante actuelle*, Quebec, 1798.

Joseph Francois Perreault was the champion of elementary schools at the end of the last century. In 1803 he published a treatise on Parliamentary practice; in 1803 a dictionary of the same nature; in 1813 a hand-book for bailiffs; in 1822 a course of elementary education; in 1824, extracts from the judgments of the Prévotal Court from 1727 to 1759; in 1830 a work on large and small agricultural pursuits; in 1831 a plan of general education; then closed his career by a history of Canada from the discovery. Francois Joseph Cugnet, the best French legist from 1760 to 1789, published five or six treatises concerning law matters; Justin McCarthy, an Irish lawyer who wrote in French, prepared an excellent dictionary of the old civil code of Canada (1809); William Vondenvelden, a French engineer, and Louis Charland, also issued a compilation, being a sequel to Cugnet, and Jean Antoine Bouthillier published an arithmetic for the schools.

The *Quebec Gazette* as a rule, refrained from attacking the French-Canadians, and this was considered a lack of patriotic energy on the part of that paper by parties who wished to keep up a lively skirmishing against that population. The *Mercury* came to light in January, 1805, ready to

open fire along the whole line. It soon found an occasion to satisfy its desire. Pierre Bédard, the leader of the French-Canadian party in the Legislative Assembly, laid a motion before the Speaker to inquire as to the author, printer, etc., of the *Montreal Gazette* who had published, April 1st, 1805, a "false, scandalous and malicious libel, highly and unjustly reflecting upon His Majesty's representatives in this Province." The Editor and the printer were accordingly ordered to be taken into the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, but, not being found by those who went to Montreal in quest of them, the matter was dropped. The *Mercury* then came to the front trying to turn upside-down the party forming the majority of the Legislative Assembly, but, the Sergeant-at-Arms being sent to the Editor, that gentleman apologized and was released. Later on the House objected to another article from the same source, and Mr. Thomas Carey could not be found, because he had concealed himself in a secret room in his own house, from whence he continued the fight in each number of the *Mercury*. M. Bédard finally saw that his action was against the liberty of the press, and abandoned his proceedings.

A new political organ was launched at Quebec in November, 1806, under the title *Le Canadien*, with a full programme of constitutional government. This paper contained a series of historical documents referring to Canada, which was a new phase in the journalism of the Province, and also numerous original literary productions. The *Mercury* attacked its neighbour and they had a long spell of cross-firing on the administration of public affairs. In literature *Le Canadien* did very well. It is clear that its contributors were men of knowledge and gifted with talent. From that time the French writers of Canada have always formed a group in regular activity, and their development has been a constant fact until the present day. Two or three of the contributors to *Le Canadien* were rather witty, "Light-headed men," said the *Mercury*:

"With goose-quill armed, instead of spear."

Epigrams flashed in all sorts of ways on both sides for many months. It was a literary exercise that must have afforded the young writers of the period a chance to test their natural resources.

Songs were put in circulation, some of them reflecting on the attitude of the Americans in regard to Canada, for there was a belief all round that the diplomatic difficulty then existing could not be settled except by war. Let me mention here a book published in Quebec at the beginning of the War of 1812, entitled: "Resources of the Canadas, or Sketches of the Physical and Moral Means which Great Britain and her Colonial Authorities will Successfully Employ in Securing These Valuable Provinces from Open Invasion and Invidious Aggression on the part of the Government of the United States of America, by A Querist."

But there was also a French-Canadian party, called by their opponents "the office seekers" (les Bureaucrates), which wished also to participate in the Government patronage. They started a paper, *Le Courrier de Quebec*, in January, 1807, with Dr. Jacques Labrie as chief Editor. Labrie had been educated in Canada; afterwards he had studied medicine in Edinburgh, Scotland, and he was greatly interested in matters concerning the history of Canada. His paper opposed *Le Canadien* firmly in politics, and also published several documents relating to the previous thirty years, in connection with our country. Labrie made his mark in the circle of those who were given to literary and historical pursuits. From the conflict of interest between the *Mercury, Canadien* and *Courrier* sprang the practice of advertising the merchants' goods which the *Quebec Gazette* had always neglected. This is another form of literature not likely to perish, although quite unknown to our forefathers. When *Le Courrier* died, in June, 1807, *Le Canadien* expressed much regret at its departure, stating, in a sarcastic manner, that the best enemy it could have had was a badly written paper. The *Mercury* was delighted; it said the defunct looked like a parent of *Le Canadien*. In all this squabble many youngmen handled the pen and acquired a practical understanding of the art of putting their thoughts in black and white. This was really the first school of the sort in Canada.

Some debating clubs existed in the meantime, where such personalities as Louis J. Papineau, Debartczh and Bourdages gained some fame before coming out openly as public men. Dr.

Labrie gave an impulsion towards the study of the history of Canada. So did George Heriot, in his works published during these years. The Montreal press helped a great deal in that direction by the writings of Viger, Bibaud, Mermet, Saint George and O'Sullivan. The literature of Canada was born by this time. Lambert, who visited the country in 1806-8, does not say much about it, for he only saw the incipient state of things and could not be expected to foresee the future. Here are his observations: "The state of literature and the arts did not improve very rapidly after the conquest. The traders and settlers who took up their abode amongst the French were ill-qualified to diffuse a taste for the arts and sciences, unless, indeed, it was the science of barter and the art of gaining cent per cent upon their goods. For many years no other work was printed in the Colony than an almanac. . . . Of late years the Canadians have appeared desirous of establishing some claim to a literary character. . . . The publishing of six newspapers weekly is a proof of the progressive improvement and prosperity of the country, though it may be but a fallacious system of literary improvement. Four of the newspapers are published in Quebec and two in Montreal. These, with an almanac, and the Acts of the Provincial Parliament, are all the works that are printed in Lower Canada."

It is obvious that Lambert was unaware of other publications, such as school-books, song-books, treatises upon the seignorial tenure, commentaries on laws, discussions of political and historical matters, and amateur theatricals, which, in a Colony, are always a form of intellectual development worth mentioning. Sir James Craig having suppressed *Le Canadien* (1810), another periodical was started in Montreal. At this time political feelings were set aside and *Le Spectateur*, *L'Aurore*, *Le Courrier*, *La Bibliothèque*, *Le Magazin Littéraire*, *L'Observateur*, *L'Encyclopédie*, all published in Montreal (1813-1830), were historical and literary reviews, with a touch of science in them. To complete this statement up to 1830, I must mention a large history of Canada and the "Voyages of Franchère" by Michel Bibaud; the valuable works of Jacques Viger, the archæologist; the poetry of the same Bibaud and of J. J. D. Mermet; the classical books of Joseph Bouchette on Canada; the pamphlets of Dr. E. P. Taché on various sub-

jects; the Quebec and Montreal Literary Societies, flourishing from 1817 to 1830, and up to the present date. A French critic of note, on visiting the Province in 1821, says (*Annales Maritimes Coloniales*) "that the rising of its people in the fields of intelligence is most remarkable, and exceedingly promising for the future." The men who first studied the history of this country, commented on the laws and Parliamentary practices, composed works for the schools, cultivated poetry and the current art of writing for the public, deserve more gratitude from us than those who came after them and accomplished marvels, no doubt, but found the way open and new means of development already prepared.

The period of 1830-1850 must now be examined as forming the second age of French-Canadian literature.\* The intensity of the polemics in the public press of France which brought to light so many able writers under the reign of Charles X. (1824-1830) attracted the attention of the French-Canadian students more than any of the books published in the "old mother country", even during the great revolution, and this was due principally to the renovation of letters so striking at that time in the French literary world. Political ideas had nothing to do with this *rapprochement* of our people towards the voice of France, because the mind of the Canadians was fairly settled as to the mode of government best suited to this country and they did not feel the desire to take lessons on that line of affairs from outsiders. It is the same thing nowadays. But the community of language imposes itself when you come to literature and necessarily the progress of France in that direction is dictatorial to us. The old writers already mentioned here shook their heads at the novelties in style brought forward by Lamartine, Gautier, Delairgue, Courier, Thiers, Hugo, De Vigny and others, whilst the young men stood attentively as the words of the *Renaissance* school spread through the whole of Europe and were listened to by the leading English writers. It was a revolution comparable to that of Ronsard in the 16th Century, that of Boileau, Corneille,

Moliere and the Encyclopædists before 1789. Etienne Parent, as early as 1821, in reviving *Le Canadien*, gave the sound of the new formula, with a certain touch of timidity, and he met with no encouragement at first. His paper disappeared in 1822. But two years later Augustin Norbert Morin came to the front and was followed by others, especially Charles and Dominique Mondelet, F. X. Garneau, Marc-Aurele Plamondon, Amable Berthelot, Isidore Bédard, Jacques Labrie, Auguste Chaboillez, Francois Noiseux, George-Barthelemy Faribault.

*La Minerve* was founded in 1826 by A. N. Morin and immediately took a high position before the public. The paper kept its influence during more than seventy years and proved a constant nursery for the intelligent development of the people. *La Gazette des trois Rivières*, 1817, 1820, 1832, contained many good contributions from Canadian writers. *Le Constitutionnel*, 1823, *L'Ami de la Religion*, 1820, *L'Argus*, 1825-26, all of the same locality, added their share to the literature of the day. In 1830 Michel Bibaud published a volume of verses entitled: *Épîtres, Satires, Chansons, Epigrammes*, in which the legislators of the new Parnassus and their doctrines were totally ignored. However, this selection was the first of its kind issued by a French-Canadian rhymer. For the third time *Le Canadien* entered the field in 1831, under more favourable auspices than in the past and acted in the City of Quebec the same part as *La Minerve* in Montreal. M. Etienne Parent had the satisfaction to see his paper flourishing during forty years and this success has continued until lately. Dr. Pierre de Sales Laterriere published in London in 1830 a work of great value, considering the circumstances of the hour. It was "A Political Account of Lower Canada," giving a fair and intelligible explanation of matters concerning the situation of the people, their manners, character, religion, etc., so as to facilitate the settlement of the then impending difficulties which attained their climax in the troubles of 1837-38.

After the conquest it may be said that immigration from France had ceased entirely, nevertheless I must note, for the purpose of this paper, that on three occasions a small number of indi-

\*From 1830 the English Literature of the Province of Quebec is also marked by a start which Mr. John Reade is more than anyone in a position to describe, and I know that he is at present writing a paper on the subject for this Work.

viduals came to Canada and made their presence felt rather heavily for the moment. I refer to 1770, 1832, 1871. The first batch, about ten men in all, was composed of tradesmen who took side with the Americans in 1775 and were afterwards (1779) put in gaol by Governor Haldimand. It served them right, although they had been unsuccessful in raising the population against the British flag. The second lot belonged to the class of journalists; they published pamphlets and newspapers everywhere from 1832 to 1837. Three of them perished miserably during the Rebellion of 1837, whilst three or four others pulled safely through the crisis. Another small migration of Frenchmen was noticeable after the Franco-Prussian War, but it seems that none of them were of the stamp of agitators. Those of 1832-37 contributed towards the spreading of literature and science to a certain extent, especially Napoleon Aubin, Leblanc de Marconnay and Amury Girod, the latter devoting his talents to agriculture principally.

From 1832 to 1837 we have four young poets: F. X. Garneau, Joseph-Guillaume Barthe, Godfrey Laviolette, Joseph-Edouard Turcotte, all writing songs after the manner of Beranger. Barthe indulged also in composing verses for the Church, without putting too large a share of his own imagination in lines mostly imitated from old obsolete subjects and forms. However, the whole of these efforts contributed to a certain extent in diffusing the taste for refined literature amongst ordinary readers. Garneau was a genuine poet full of national spirit. Turcotte had a political colour in his strophes, and so he turned to be a politician. Laviolette produced some agrestical compositions and a few comedies. Sir George Etienne Cartier has left his mark in the literary pleiad of 1834 by his song: *O Canada! mon pays, mes amours!*

J. B. Meilleur during a long life published several works of importance, especially on subjects of education. He was the first Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada, and during his occupation of that office established forty-five superior educational institutions. Pierre Petitclair was the author of several brief poetical effusions agreeably rendered. He is better known

by three or four comedies, one of which has stood the test of age (*Une partie de campagne*). Real Angers had a brilliant career as a lawyer; his contributions to the legal press made for him a lasting reputation. In 1834 he wrote a novel after the manner adopted later on by Gaboriau, and which is still read by many. Pierre J. O. Chauveau made his debut by several contributions inserted by *Le Canadien* in 1838. He rapidly gained the admiration of the public by his correct, lively and chaste style. From that time his name became synonymous with that of a perfect scholar. He was the best expression of the new mode of literature inaugurated in 1827 by the phalanx of the romantics in France, and, without renouncing the classical school, drew abundant resources from the field recently opened to writers and thinkers. His genial, kindly, hearty manners made him loved and respected by every one.

Journalism, from 1840 to 1850, produced seven remarkable Editors: Cauchon, Bellemare, Macdonald, Doutre, Gérin-Lajoie, Langevin, Dorion. Joseph Cauchon was at first and while still a school boy contributor to *Le Liberal*; in 1841 he published a treatise on physics and in the following year founded *Le Journal de Quebec*, destined to have a brilliant career. "He is one of the most clear and nervous of our public writers," said Fennings Taylor in 1867, "and to his other high merits unites a well stored and cultivated mind on almost every branch of knowledge." For more than forty years we find M. Cauchon in several positions of life, but he remained a militant journalist all the time and kept his connection with the political press when member of Parliament, Mayor of Quebec, Minister of the Crown, President of the North Shore Railway, &c. Last of all he was Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. His pamphlets of 1858 and 1865 upon the then projected Union of the Provinces cannot be overlooked and they deserve reading now, more than thirty years after the establishment of our Confederation. The *Spectator* (Hamilton), commenting on these works in 1865, said: "There is no man in Lower Canada to whom the duty of laying before his countrymen a bold, vigorous defence of the Resolutions of the Conference (Quebec, 1864) could be better entrusted

than to Mr. Cauchon. \* \* \* If the scheme shall be successful, a large portion of the merit of bringing it to a happy termination will be due to the earnest and patriotic effort of Mr. Cauchon to induce its acceptance at the hands of Lower Canadians."

Ronald Macdonald was born in 1798. In 1831 he was entrusted by the Government of the Province of Lower Canada with the management of a school for the education of deaf mutes, which he conducted for some years. He entered the arena of journalism as Editor of the *Gazette de Quebec*, 1836, under the Hon. John Neilson, and from there went to *Le Canadien*, in 1847, where he remained to the time of his death in 1854. He left the reputation of an encyclopædist and a man of agreeable intercourse. His language as a French writer was all that could be expected from a scholar such as he was.

Joseph Doutre commenced his connection with the press when eighteen years old, as a contributor to *Les Milanges Religieux*, Montreal, 1843, by a pointed attack upon the administration of Sir Charles Metcalfe. Soon after, he wrote for *L'Aurora du Canadas* and became known throughout the Province as a forcible polemist. In 1844 he published *Les Frances de 1812*, a novel dealing with Canadian characteristics. *Le Frere et la Sœur*, in 1848, and *Les Sauvages du Canada*, in 1852, are apparently all his productions outside of the political field, but he was a hard worker and devoted much time in connection with the labour of *L'Institut Canadien* and literary circles in general. When *L'Avenir* was founded in 1848, he joined Louis Joseph Papineau and J. B. E. Dorion in support of the Liberal party. He also took part in the establishment of the powerful organ, *Le Pays*. In 1852 he was elected President of *L'Institut Canadien*, a very flourishing concern, which he developed in an extraordinary manner for a young country. As a lawyer he enjoyed a well deserved reputation as a clever and learned practitioner. We meet him throughout the history of his time in the capacity of counsel in many celebrated cases.

Antoine Gérin-Lajoie had the singular good fortune of acquiring a universal celebrity in the Province before leaving College. A tragedy and a song—especially the song—made him famous

at once. This was in 1842. The tragedy was based on the adventures of La Tour and his son in Nova Scotia during the early part of the 17th Century; the song was merely an expression of home-sickness placed in the mouth of a Canadian exiled to a foreign land after the events of 1837-38, but it contained no word alluding to that particular fact, so that it was found to be applicable to all classes of Canadians away for any cause and at any time from the fatherland. So popular did these strophs become amongst the French-speaking population that they are nowadays heard wherever the French-Canadians have wandered on the face of this continent. A good translation of them was made more than thirty years ago by George T. Lanigan, a gifted poet and a critic of high merit. The following is the first verse:

"From Canada afar  
And banished from his home,  
Weeping thro' stranger lands  
Did a lone exile roam."

From 1845 to 1847 Gérin-Lajoie edited *La Minerve*, then was admitted to the Bar; subsequently he was appointed Joint Librarian of the Legislature, with Mr. Alpheus Todd (1856). He took an active part in establishing *L'Institut Canadien* of Montreal, was elected three times as President of that body, and delivered there several interesting lectures. His contributions were to *Les Soirees Canadiennes* and *Le Foyer Canadien* (1861-66), in which he published the biography of Ferland the historian, and *Jean Rivard*, a tale of a pioneer of the forest which is not likely to be forgotten as long as all the lands of Canada have not been settled. The last work of Gérin-Lajoie's pen is a large volume on the history of Responsible Government in Canada from 1840 to 1850.

Raphael Bellemare succeeded Gérin-Lajoie on *La Minerve* in 1847, where he remained until 1855, but it may be said that he never severed his connection with that paper, at least in the line of historical publications. Henry J. Morgan, in his *Bibliotheca Canadensis*, 1867, mentions his principal writings, but the list must be now three times longer. Hector Louis Langevin (afterwards Sir Hector) was twenty-one years old when he accepted the Editorship of *Les Melanges Religieux*, Montreal, 1847, where he made his mark,

and, although he afterwards kept himself mainly occupied with the exercise of his profession as a lawyer and in political life, he always manifested a deep interest in matters concerning literature. He was a great reader and a well-informed man. Jean-Baptiste-Eric Dorion, born in 1826, founded *L'Avenir* in 1848, which, while it lasted, was held as the most uncompromising organ of the *Rouge* party. He was one of the most redoubtable polemicists of his day in Lower Canada. He held the Presidency of *L'Institut Canadien* for three years, and sat in the Legislative Assembly, 1854-57, 1861-66. He was an excellent stump orator. *Le Defricheur* was published by him in *L'Avenir*, County of Drummond, a village which he had founded and settled for the purpose of promoting colonization among the French-Canadian rural population from the south shore of the Saint Lawrence.

Three periodicals not yet specially mentioned here deserve to be noted on account of their literary merit. *Les Mèlanges Religieux* 1840-42 (revived in 1847), *L'Album de la Minerve*, 1848, *L'Album du Canadien*, 1849. *La Revue Canadienne* was established in 1846, and *L'Album de la Revue Canadienne*, 1847, by M. O. Letonneux, a very able writer who abandoned them in 1849 in order to devote all his attention to *La Revue de Legislation et de Jurisprudence*, which was subsequently conducted by Messrs. Lelierre and Angers of Quebec. Angers has already been mentioned. Simeon Lelierre was also the Editor of the *Lower Canada Law Reports*. Of all these publications none equal the four volumes of *Le Répertoire National* compiled by J. Huston and printed in 1848-50. It contains a choice collection of all the writings of the French-Canadians, in prose and verses, from 1777 to 1850. An elegant edition of this work has been made in 1895.

Literary Institutes were during this period in full activity at Quebec, Three Rivers, Sorel and Montreal. Public lectures attracted very large audiences as a rule. Papineau, Doutre, Dorion, Gérin-Lajoie, Chauveau, Parent, the latter by far the most learned, contributed the main share of such intellectual recreations. I must not omit also, for the period of 1840-50, Soulard, Lenoir, Lacombe, Gingras, Painchaud, Olivier, De Boucherville, who stood in the second rank

it is true, but influenced considerably the literary movement amongst all classes of the population. Auguste Soulard edited in 1840 *Le Journal de Familles* (one single number), delivered lectures, wrote verses and contributed several witty articles to *Le Fantasque*, but he died so young that he had not the time to develop his brilliant faculties. Joseph Lenoir was a constant contributor in verse to the French-Canadian press from 1847 to 1859. His poetical genius, which was of the highest order, manifested itself while he was still at College. Many of his detached pieces appeared in *L'Avenir* and *Le Répertoire National*. Patrice Lacombe, a notary public, was the author of *La Terre Paternelle*, a romance of manners and habits of the people of Lower Canada. In this particular line of literature, which involves a close knowledge of all that characterizes a nation, I may note here six or seven remarkable attempts that presented faithful pictures of the French-Canadian race: De Gaspé 1837, Doutre 1844, Lacombe 1848, Chauveau 1852, L'Escuyer 1854, Gérin-Lajoie 1862, De Gaspé 1863.\* The success of Gérin-Lajoie seems to justify me in saying that his *Jean Rivard* carries the palm of the "roman de mœurs" in the Province of Quebec.

The principal event of the next decade is, in the field of literature, *Histoire du Canada*, by F. X. Garneau, three volumes, 1845-48. It created a deep sensation because of the superiority of the work over precedent efforts of the same kind. Garneau has not been surpassed for his discernment of the causes of the many intricate facts recorded with more or less accuracy in the papers of old concerning this Colony. He is less passionate or partial than historians who have dealt with the subject before him; for instance, he never hides the good doings of the British people on this continent, whilst he had under his eyes the work of other writers who constantly conceal the actions favourable to the French element. Taking his views on the whole from an elevated standpoint, he knew he could raise the tone of history to a high, philosophical and fruitful level. So he did, and was thanked for it by the mass of the readers. The only objection he met with came from a few

\*For further particulars of these names see Morgan's *Bibliotheca Canadensis* and Gagnon's Catalogue.

members of the Catholic clergy, who were *intrinsicants* on matters connected with the Church, especially during the French *régime*. A fifth edition is now (1898) being prepared by his son, Allred Garneau, who is the chief French translator in the Senate.

It must not be forgotten that from 1817 to 1850 the Province was agitated by political feelings of intense acuteness, and that amateurs in literature and studies generally could not expect to secure much of the attention of the public. Nevertheless, we can appreciate what they accom-



François-Xavier Garneau.

plished under the circumstances and how far they realized their programme for the extension of the art of thinking and writing. With the comparatively quiet period of 1850-1880, a greater activity is noticeable. The enumeration of volumes, pamphlets and review articles printed during those thirty years is out of the question here because of their great number; it would form a large catalogue. Let me give the names of the authors only:

1850-60: Barthe, Boucher, Bourassa, Casgrain,

Crémazie, Bellefeuille, Fenouillet, Dessaulles, Fabre, Fiset, Fréchette, Garneau, Drapeau, Hugnet-Latour, Laberge, Langevin, Larne, Laverdière, Provancher, Royal, Sempé, Stevens, Taché, Verreau.

1860-70: Anger, Baillairgé, Baudry, Bédard, Beausoleil, Bégin, Bélanger, Blain, Blanchet, Bois, Buies, Cassegrain, Chaudonnet, Dansereau, Darveau, David, De Cazes, De Celles, De Gaspé, De la Bruyère, De Montigny, Desmazures, Dionne, Desjardins, Donnelly, Doutre, Dunn, Faucher, Fortin, Fréchette, Faillon, Gagnon, Gelinias, Genand, Gerin, Gladu, Gingras, Labelle, Lafèche, Langelier, Legendre, Lemay, Le Moine, Lesage, Lusignan, Marchand, Malouin, Marmette, Maurault, Montpetit, Moreau, Mousseau, Nantel, Ouellet, Ouimet, Provencher, Pelletier, Prudhomme, Racine, Raymond, Renault, Routhier, Taché, Tanguay, Tassé, Trudelle, Trudel, Turcotte.

1870-80: Barnard, Beauchemin, Beaugrand, Caouette, Caron, Carrier, Chapman, Chouinard, Deguise, Desrosiers, Dick, Dionne, Evanturel, Fontaine, Gagnon, Gelinias, Genest, Gingras, Guay, Honde, Huot, Jolicaur, Laflamme, Lareau, Levasseur, Marsil, Poirier, Pagnuelo, Poisson, Prendergast, Tardivel, Tarte, Tremblay.

Some families have produced two or three writers, viz.: Barthe, Boucher, Doutre, Fréchette, Gagnon, Garneau, Gelinias, Provancher. The last twenty years have given such an extensive development to historical studies and other branches of literature, including sciences, that the whole of what had been done during a century before 1880 is overwhelmed by the mass of the new material brought to light. Altogether I have mentioned one hundred and seventy-five writers, from 1820 to 1880—sixty-seven of whom have published verses and prose. Some have not exceeded fifty or one hundred pages, but these productions are valuable, and, as they are inserted in magazines and books made accessible to the public, their influence is still active amongst the young people who read them for the first time. Amongst those who have occasionally made use of the English language through the press may be mentioned especially Bender, Chauveau, Dionne, Fréchette, LeMoine, Marchand, Taché.

The principal magazines from 1860 to 1880 were: *Soirée Canadiennes*, 1861; *Foyer Canadian*,

1863; *Revue Canadienne*, 1864; *Opinion Publique*, 1873; *Revue de Montreal*, 1877. The language since 1860 has improved immensely, under three different aspects—the writings, the speech and the conversation. This wonderful progress made by people who thought at first they possessed the perfection of their tongue, but who found out that they were behind the age, is a clear indication of the natural resources they can bring into action when made aware of a difficulty. It is certain that the mainspring is not now broken or weakened in them. As regards erudition, its merit is diversely distributed, nevertheless the variety of subjects treated by French-Canadian writers is astonishing. M. Edme Rameau, visiting Canada a few years ago, made the remark that our amateurs, as they style themselves, seem to explore every possible field of learning, and they must necessarily succeed in some of them. New editions of old works of standard value are now quite fashionable in the Province of Quebec.

Many fine private libraries exist there that comprise also the best productions of English-Canadian authors.

Before closing this paper it must be stated that not three, if indeed even any, French-Canadian writers are living out of the income derived from their literary works. They are all amateurs—and probably the more happy on that account, for they are never disappointed in the financial side of the business, and whatever little glory they reap by an occasional good hit of the pen they pocket with delight. Those, like Fréchette, Casgrain and two or three others whose productions have been *couronnées* by the French Academy, and twenty besides who are decorated with the *palmes académiques* by the Minister of Public Instruction of France, are the best paid. The remainder are satisfied with a few compliments dispensed to them from time to time at a banquet or through the pages of a review of books recently published.



Dr. George Stewart.



## ENGLISH LITERATURE AND JOURNALISM IN QUEBEC

BY

JOHN READE, F.R.S.L., F.R.S.C. Associate Editor of the *Montreal Gazette*.

ABOUT a quarter of a century ago the late Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau said that the population of Quebec reminded him of the famous staircase in the Castle of Chambord, which was so constructed that two persons could ascend it at the same time without meeting save at rare intervals. "And so," said M. Chauveau, "we in this Province of Quebec, French and English, move onward to the destinies that await us, without knowing, without meeting each other, and only seeing each other on the landing place of politics. As to society and literature, we are greater strangers than the French and English in Europe." And at one time the comparison was only too well founded. But it was not in the nature of things that such estrangement between neighbours and fellow-citizens should last for ever, and, for some years before his lamented death, M. Chauveau had the satisfaction of observing that mutual knowledge and kindly reciprocity had begun to bear fruit. The evidences of the welcome change are manifold, not the least noteworthy being the growing tendency, of which the present enterprise may be cited as an example, towards co-operation in scientific and historical research.

I have been asked to contribute to this volume of the Canadian Encyclopædia a brief outline of the origin and progress of English journalism and literature in the Province of Quebec. In dealing, in the first volume, with some of the conditions of business and social life in Canada during the period between the conquest and the close of the last century, I had occasion to mention the foundation of the *Quebec Gazette*, and also gave some samples of its quality during its infant years. Like its younger namesake of Montreal, this pioneer of Canadian journalism

derives some interest from its associations with Benjamin Franklin. According to Dr. H. Neilson, who possesses the papers of the Brown and Neilson families, William Brown was born, about 1737 or 1738, in Scotland, of well-to-do parents. Among his connections were the Ramsays, of whose stock the Earl of Dalhousie, one of our Governors, was a distinguished member. At the age of fifteen he was sent to relatives of his mother in Virginia to seek his fortune. After trying several occupations, he was apprenticed to William Dunlop, printer and bookseller of Philadelphia, and brother-in-law of Benjamin Franklin. In 1760 Dunlop put him in charge of a printing concern at Bridgetown, Barbadoes; but, in 1763, he abandoned this position on account of his health and resolved to betake himself to Quebec, which had just fallen into the hands of the British. In this resolve he had the encouragement of Dunlop, who furnished him with the means to purchase a complete printing plant in England. Brown reached Quebec towards the close of September, 1763, with a prospectus of his journal printed in advance in order to collect subscriptions anent the arrival of his press and type in the following spring. On the 21st of June, 1764, the first number of the *Quebec Gazette* made its appearance. Shortly afterwards Brown added to his press a book store and did a good business. He never married and, as he was both energetic and economical, he had amassed a fortune of more than £15,000 sterling, when death suddenly overtook him on the 22nd of March, 1789. His remains were interred in the little English Cemetery on St. John Street, Quebec.\* William Smith, the historian, gives a slightly different account of the enterprise, and there is

NOTE. See *Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne*, by Phileas Gagnon, page 556.

still another in a small volume published in 1863 and entitled *Business Sketches* :

"The premises of Middleton and Dawson are situated at the foot of Mountain Street, Quebec. The two gentlemen who compose the firm may be regarded as the direct successors in the first printing and English bookselling business established in Canada. They own, edit and publish the *Quebec Gazette*, so long under the management of the Hon. John Neilson, a name well known in the political annals of the Province. These gentlemen also carry on the stationery and bookselling business which was suspended from the demise of the late Hon. Mr. Neilson, from whose legatees Mr. Middleton (who had been in his service nearly a quarter of a century) purchased the *Gazette*, now approaching the completion of its hundredth year.

The *Montreal Gazette*, coming next on the list, was first published on the 21st of June, 1764, just five years after Wolfe's landing. The paper was issued weekly, each alternate column being in English and French. The *Gazette* was published by Messrs. Brown and Gilmour, who brought their type and presses from Philadelphia. The paper flourished in every respect and in 1790 became the property of Mr. Samuel Neilson, who also performed the duties of Editor and was successor to his uncle, Mr. W. Brown, one of the founders of the *Gazette*. This gentleman died in 1793, and Mr. John Neilson, his brother, being then a minor, the publication of the paper was conducted by the late Rev. Dr. Sparks, his guardian, until 1796, when Mr. Neilson, having attained his majority, assumed control. The journal under his management continued to prosper and to exercise a strong influence on public measures of every kind. In 1848 Hon. John Neilson died, and the *Gazette*, as stated above, passed into the hands of Mr. Middleton."

M. Phileas Gagnon, of Quebec, a distinguished bibliophile, has maintained that Mr. Brown's press was not the first introduced into the Province of Quebec. Those who are interested in his argument will find it in his *Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne* (pp. 381, 385). The press in question was, he affirms, in possession of Bishop de Pontbriand, and was used for printing his *mandements* in the year 1759. As my readers are aware, Halifax had at that time been using a printing press for at least seven years, the first issue of the *Halifax Gazette* having taken place on the 23rd of March, 1752. It is M. Gagnon's conviction that Mgr. Pontbriand's press was the Bishop's personal or official property and was

taken with him for Diocesan purposes on his episcopal tours. Thus he claims that, of the two *mandements* of 1759, the earlier (that of May) was promulgated at Quebec, the second (that of October) at Montreal, after the Bishop's withdrawal to that city. But even if we admit M. Gagnon's contention, and it certainly is probable enough, we know that for general objects there was no printing press in Lower Canada under the Old Régime, which, indeed, furnishes the curious anomaly of a fairly copious literature, without a single printer. It may even be said that, if the conquest introduced the printing press, it caused a temporary paralysis of that literary production which from the foundation of New France had never ceased until the Bourbon flag was lowered on the Citadel. If it be objected against so comprehensive a view of French-Canadian letters that the valuable histories, chronicles and treatises of all kinds written by Frenchmen in Canada under the Bourbon Kings are not indigenous, it may be replied that neither are a great many works that are always classed under the head of British-Canadian literature. If we admit any departure from the rule that all who write in French are French writers and all who write in English, English writers, it is difficult to draw the line in any way but one, and that is to give Canada, French or English, the benefit of the credit due to her adopted children and champions, wherever they may have been born or their works may have greeted the light. Even from the purely literary standpoint, one might discern a certain promise of good things to come in the fact that the very beginnings of our colonization, both French and English, were strangely linked with the cult of the muses. When Lescarbot gave to his lucubrations the title of *Les Muses de la Nouvelle France*, may he not have unconsciously foretold in the 17th the triumphs of Canadian inspiration in the 19th century? And when, on the other hand, that almost forgotten Viscount of Canada, Sir William Alexander, combined the ambition of a poet with that of a colonizer, may he not have furnished one of those unconscious forecasts which sometimes prove men to be wiser than they seem?

But not for many years were these felicitous forecasts to be fulfilled. Certainly during the

18th century the new Régime brought success neither to English literature nor to French, and for journalism the age had not yet dawned. All that can be averred is that the printing press had become a fixture both in Quebec and Montreal. There is a bibliography of the forty years that followed the capitulation of Montreal, but there is no literature. Those who had leisure sometimes rhymed and more often prosed. Even the choice of subject was restricted. The picture presented by Governor Haldimand supervising the advertisement of the Reverend John Stuart for his private school gives a fair notion of the paternal system by which any intellectual effort that appealed to the public was controlled. At a still later stage the editors of papers were put under arrest for reporting the proceedings of the Assembly, and it may be asserted without fear of contradiction that anything approaching to what we understand to-day by liberty of the press did not exist in this Province during the 18th century. In a measure, this restriction of newspaper discussion within a narrow range might be deemed favourable to literary invention. But, if so, its fruits are still to seek. *Le Répertoire National*, first published in 1848, and re-printed five years ago by an enterprising Montreal firm, contains a more than representative collection of Canadian literature up to the date of publication.

Two writers, Joseph Quesnel and Foucher Fils, are set down as belonging to the period in question. M. Quesnel, after a changeful life, spent partly in the east, partly in South America, was brought to Halifax in an English frigate and, subsequently coming to Quebec, with introductions to Governor Haldimand, resolved to settle permanently in this Province. His gifts as a musical composer and writer of comedies made him quite an acquisition to Canadian society and some of his plays were acted, while his sacred music was used in the Church of Notre Dame, Montreal. He is virtually the only *litterateur* of the forty years in question. Dr. Bender, under the title of *Old and New Canada*, has given the biography of his ancestor, M. Joseph Francois Perrault, a fine type of public-spirited French-Canadian of the years of transition. Dr. Bender has made his personality the centre in a succes-

sion of excellent pictures of the private and public life of the time. M. Perrault came of age in the year of the Quebec Act and lived till the 3rd year of the Union régime, and, as his whole adult life was devoted to educational reform, he was associated with the intellectual movement of his native country for three score years and ten. This movement is largely identified with the progress of literary production and M. Perrault himself was a writer of books on many themes. Now, in contemplating the educational agitation in which M. Perrault was a valiant pioneer, we cannot trace a very deep line of division between the French and the English section of the population. The best men of both sections were earnest in desiring a sound system of public instruction, however they might differ as to methods. The Hon. James McGill may be mentioned as a parallel type of public-spirited citizen in the English community. That men of these types, French and English, did not always work apart we find interesting evidence in a document belonging to M. Phileas Gagnon and reproduced by M. R. Renault in his *Courier du Livre* (Vol. 1, 2, 3, 4.), entitled "Séance de la Société Littéraire de Quebec tene le 3 de Juin 1809." The object of the special session thus reported, and published by J. Neilson, printer and bookseller, 3 Mountain Street, Quebec, was to examine poems, both French and English, written in honour of King George III.'s Jubilee, in order to adjudge the prizes offered by the Society. In presence of an audience composed of the intellectual élite of Quebec, M. Romain, the President, announced that, having examined the pieces submitted to it with the most scrupulous attention, the Literary Society considered that Mr. John Fleming, of Montreal, had written the best English poem and the person who signed himself "Canadensis," the best French poem. Now a prize poem of the year of grace 1809 ought to supply the key to the position of literature in Lower Canada in the days of the Regency. Here, therefore, is a brief portion of Mr. Fleming's ode on "The Birthday of His Majesty King George III.":

"Hail, joyful morn, ordained for social mirth,  
Auspicious morn that gave our Sovereign birth!  
The Muse of Canada thee humbly hails,  
Thy praise resounds through her sweet smiling vales.

As heavenly Phoebus cherishes the soil  
 With ripening fruits rewarding mortals' toil,  
 So George's fostering and paternal hand  
 Dispenses blessings o'er our happy land."

Such was the advance attained by English literature in the Province of Quebec in the fiftieth year after the death of Wolfe. Not very much, it may be said, but still a beginning. Mr. Fleming, who was from Aberdeen, was at this time in his 25th year. He was a man of considerable taste and literary aspiration and, though an active man of business, amassed a library of 11,000 volumes which it was his avowed intention to bequeath to McGill College. The cholera carried him off in 1832 before he had put his intention in writing and in 1843 his fine collection was sold by auction.\* Mr. Fleming was the author of a work entitled *The Political Annals of Lower Canada*.

In the year before Mr. Fleming won his prize medal from the Literary Society of Quebec, that city was visited by John Lambert, who has something to say of the state of science, letters and the arts at that time. He expresses the opinion that "the publishing of six newspapers weekly is a proof of the progressive improvement and prosperity of the country, though it may be but a fallacious symptom of literary improvement." He then proceeds to enumerate and characterize the newspapers of the Province. Four are published in Quebec and two in Montreal, and "these, with an almanac and the Acts of the Provincial Parliament, are all the works that are printed in Lower Canada." He mentions first the *Gazettes* which, he says, "seldom interfere with the morals or manners of society; these subjects are left to the other weekly papers which are published on Saturdays and Mondays." These are "the *Quebec Mercury*, published entirely in English by Carey on Monday afternoon," and "the *Canadian Courant*, also published in English at Montreal every Monday by Nahum Mower, an American from the States." The other papers in Mr. Lambert's list are the *Canadien* and the *Courier de Quebec*.

\*NOTE. His fine copy of Abbe Gedoyn's annotated version of *Pausanias* in two crown quarto volumes (Paris, 1731) came into my possession after first passing through the hands of another bibliophile, M. Bibaud. The name of "John Fleming" is written on the title page and a note signed "Bibaud" states that the work once belonged to Mr. Fleming.

Of the latter Mr. Lambert says: "This little paper is conducted by two or three young French-Canadians for the purpose of inserting their fugitive pieces. These gentlemen have recently established a Literary Society which though it may not contain the talents of a national institute or a Royal Society is, notwithstanding, deserving of all the encouragement that can be given to it by the Canadian Government. The first dawn of genius in such a country should be hailed with pleasure." Mr. Lambert describes the warfare of the press in that early day in terms that are still applicable to portions of the Dominion. He knows of but one public library in Canada, which is kept in one of the apartments of the Bishop's palace at Quebec. After some remarks on the general taste for novel reading among Canadian ladies he goes on to say that happily their temptations are few, as few new publications, good or bad, appear in Canada and the bookstores contain chiefly "school-books and a few old histories."

Mr. Lambert is not always correct and what he says of libraries is not true of either Quebec or Montreal. In the latter a Library was founded in 1796 which, after passing through the hands of the Mercantile Library Association, forms at present part of the collection in the Fraser Institute. In Quebec a Public Library was opened as early as 1785. In the year following Mr. Lambert's departure (1809) an important addition was made to the newspaper press of Montreal. The following obituary notice, which appeared in the *Montreal Gazette* of September 9, 1818, sheds some light on the circumstances of its foundation: "We are sorry to have to perform the melancholy duty of announcing to our readers the death of Mr. Mungo Kay, Editor of the *Montreal Herald*. He departed this life on Sunday last (6th September) at the age of forty-three years, regretted by all his acquaintances. His funeral was attended by a numerous concourse of the most respectable citizens. Mr. Kay had long been a respectable merchant of this city. It is now nearly seven years since he became Editor of the *Herald*. To him in a great degree the paper owes its birth; and it is but doing justice to his memory to say that his talents and indefatigable industry have

made it at least one of the most entertaining journals of the two Provinces. His judicious selections, his unwearied research and his efforts to obtain the earliest intelligence have more than justified his choice of motto—'Animos novitate tenebo.'\*#

In the year 1824 R. V. Sparhawk, of Montreal, published a modest little volume entitled *The Widow of the Rock and other Poems*. On the title page it bears the following lines:

Ne cherchez point dans ce recit  
L'esprit, le brillant, l'eloquence,  
Je sens bien plus que je le pense

(Demoustier.)

A pathetic interest is attached to this little book, now sought after by collectors in the States as well as Canada. For the authoress of it was the wife of that Harman Blennerhassett whom Burr, in his ambition and jealousy, allured to his ruin. The story is told in a bulky volume, published by Clarke, of Cincinnati, under the title of *The Blennerhassett Papers*. In a letter to her husband, then in England, Mrs. Blennerhassett refers (page 619) to the little book which has long been among the poetical incunabula of our Canadian press. Blennerhassett was attracted to Montreal by a kind letter from his old school-fellow, the Duke of Richmond. He hoped to obtain a Judgeship, but the Duke's melancholy death upset his plans, and, after attempting to win a practice in company with a Mr. Rossiter, and meeting with but slight success, he left his wife and family in Canada and (1822) started for England. His wife followed him in 1825 and in 1831 his death in Guernsey left her, like her heroine, a widow. She subsequently returned to New York, where she died in 1842 in the care of the Sisters of Charity. Of her poems *The Desert Isle* (pp. 116-124) is a lament over the destruction, owing to Burr's treason, of the beautiful home of the Blennerhassetts near Marietta, Ohio. Another is in memory of her grandfather, General Agnew. Another is, "To a Humming-bird (the first seen by the author in Canada)".

Another little book which is not without interesting associations is the *Odds and Ends* of Robert Sweeny, published in 1826. The author was a

native of Ireland, of good family, who crossed the Atlantic in 1819, and, having settled in Montreal, was for several years a prominent figure in legal and social circles. He married a lady, Miss Temple, of the circle with which the Blennerhassetts were intimate. While she was still in the pride of her beauty, Mr. Sweeny unhappily took offence at the attentions of an officer of the Montreal Garrison, challenged him and killed him. The tragic result of the duel weighed on his spirits, and his comparatively early death left Mrs. Sweeny a widow while her charms were still fresh. She took for second husband a young lawyer named John Rose, who ultimately rose to position, wealth and fame in Canada and England, and was made a baronet. Lady Rose died at Queen's Gate, Kensington, some years before Sir John, regretted by a large circle of friends. Sweeny's *Odds and Ends* is among the prizes of the collector, but cannot be said to rank very high as poetry.

The publication of *The Huron Chief and other Poems*, by Adam Kidd, marks some advance towards Canadian feeling. The author was honoured by the recognition of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, the foundation of which, under the auspices of the Earl of Dalhousie, was an event of importance in our intellectual history. According to the late Hon. William Sheppard, who was President of the Society in 1834, 1841, 1843 and 1847, it owed its origin to a difference of opinion on political matters between Lord Dalhousie and the Hon. John Neilson. The *Quebec Gazette*, which was owned by the latter, had the privilege by Act of Legislature of publishing all official documents. In order to have a paper of his own that he could control, His Excellency invited to Quebec Dr. John Charlton Fisher, at that time co-editor of the *New York Albion*, to take charge of his Government organ. Dr. Fisher had been a leading member of the Literary and Historical Society of New York, and, according to Mr. Sheppard, he induced Lord Dalhousie to establish in Quebec a similar organization. Another President gives a different account of the circumstances under which the Society had its beginning. It fell to Mr. Andrew Stuart, during his Presidency in 1838, to refer to the then recent death of the

\*NOTE. Ovid: Met., lb. IV, vs. 284.

noble founder, and he said that, from the day of his arrival in the country, the project had occupied His Excellency's thoughts. Believing that the time had come when such an institution might begin its career with some prospect of success, he concluded that the oldest of the Colonies should have the distinction of giving it a home. Accordingly, in the year 1823, he called together at the Castle of St. Louis a number of persons favourable to his design. In a short address His Excellency set forth the advantages likely to result from its formation, mentioning as special topics of inquiry, the early history of Canada and the languages and customs of the aborigines.

The first meeting of the Society was held on the 6th of January, 1824, when the election of officers took place. The Earl of Dalhousie was nominated Founder and Patron. The Hon. Sir Francis E. Burton, Lieutenant-Governor, was elected President. Chief Justice the Hon. Jonathan Sewell and M. Vallieres de Saint Réal were chosen Vice-Presidents. Mr. William Green was elected Secretary and Dr. John Charlton Fisher, Treasurer. From that day to this the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec has never ceased to labour for the promotion of the objects implied by its name. Indeed, from the first, its aims and operations were more comprehensive than its name gave reason to expect, and some of the members objected to the use of the funds for objects not contemplated in its organization. Others were dissatisfied with its somewhat exclusive character and with the high subscription. The result was the establishment of the Society for Encouraging the Arts and Sciences, of which Colonel Joseph Bouchette was chosen President. This Society, while it included a good many English members, was largely patronized by the French-speaking citizens, and, when in 1829 Sir James Kempt brought about the amalgamation of the two bodies, some of the French members withdrew. Yet that the Literary and Historical Society was intended to comprehend all worthy elements of the population is evident, as Sir James LeMoine pointed out from its charter as granted in 1831. "It is the glory and privilege of the institution," says Sir James, himself for many years one of

its most active Presidents, "in accordance with the object of its Royal charter, to offer to citizens of all creeds and nationalities a neutral ground sacred to intellectual pursuits." This is further proved by the names in that now venerable document—a most interesting list. Mr. W. G. Wicksteed, who died some months ago at Ottawa, in his 99th year, was the last survivor. It is worth mentioning that the rival Society, during its brief existence, offered prizes for poetry, the English winner being William Fitz-Hawley. The age of true poetry had not yet dawned for Canada, but there were writers during the period covered by the competitions of the Societies who might have contributed essays on the condition and prospects of the country equal perhaps to those of the Hon. A. Morris and the unfortunate Sheridan Hogan. That there was literary talent in the Province at that time was proved by the meteoric appearance of two noteworthy periodicals—the *Canadian Magazine* and the *Canadian Review*. The former was started in 1823 and was discontinued in 1825 after the issue of the 24th number. Each number contained ninety-six pages, and they comprised some good reading. The *Review*, which was issued at intervals from July, 1824, till September, 1826, was more ambitious. Following the pattern of its English namesakes, it gave its readers, every time it appeared, 240 pages of multifarious and mostly solid copy. The fate of these ventures was destined to be the fate of most of their successors.

The Literary and Historical Society was the means of bringing into co-operation a large number of persons interested in science, literature, history, education and, in a word, in the intellectual progress of Canada as a whole, and especially of the Province of Quebec. Its *Transactions* and *Memoirs*, now hard to find complete, afford—especially in the earlier volumes—a fair indication of the intellectual condition and aspirations of the Province. It was to be expected that, notwithstanding the Society's name, the pursuits of science should take precedence of literary criticism and production, or historic research. Among those who contributed papers on subjects of scientific and economic interest during the first generation of its existence may be mentioned

Commander (afterwards Admiral) Bayfield, R.N.; Lieutenant (afterwards General) Baddeley, the Hon. W. Sheppard and Mrs. Sheppard, the Hon. Chief Justice Sewell, Dr. Kelley, R.N.; Major Mercer, R.A.; Mr. A. Stuart, Captain (afterwards Sir) Richard Bonnycastle, the Hon. A. W. Cochrane, Lieutenant Ashe, R.N., F.R.A.S., and Mr. F. N. Boxer, C.E. The papers of these members may, for the most part, be still read with profit, as, even where the advance of scientific discovery and invention has rendered their conclusions rather obsolete, their data are mostly of value, if for nothing else, as marking a stage in our progress. If in the contributions—in which the officers of Her Majesty's Army and Navy evidently did their share—the purpose of the Society as implied in its name was sometimes forgotten, the memoirs or historical manuscripts made up for the omission. These are still among the most important documents of their kind bearing upon our history to the close of the War of 1812-15.\*

A new class of contributors was added during the middle years of the Union régime when literary subjects began to assume a certain prominence. Before the end of that régime we notice that Canadian literature had attracted attention through both French and English members. One of the ablest of these as a contribution was that of the Hon. Hector Fabre, for many years Canada's representative at the French capital. It was written on the eve of Confederation and was of a philosophic tone of reflection and forecast in keeping with such a crisis. He spoke of the influence on each other of the two races; of French verve and British calm, French impetuosity and British good sense, so mutually inter-acting as to generate a society not French nor English, nor yet American, but Canadian. He spoke of the ineradicable influence of race in his fellow-countrymen, modified by long separation from French litera-

ture, by a stronger than old-French adhesion to the religion of their fathers and by British institutions and balanced freedom. The British had so far been re-enforced by immigration, but as the influx from the old countries declined, native influences would grow, and the literature of Canada, when it came, would have a note of its own, whether French or English. M. Fabre's remarks on the French language as spoken in Quebec are worth reading from the Anglo-Canadian as well as the Franco-Canadian point of view.



The Hon. Thomas White.

When the Society was celebrating its fiftieth anniversary, Mr. James Douglas, Jr., the President, gave a survey of the intellectual progress of Canada during the preceding half century. In 1824 (according to the *Canadian Review*) there were twelve newspapers published in Lower Canada; four in Quebec, seven in Montreal and one in Stanstead. In 1874 there was a total of eighty-eight newspapers and periodicals of all kinds published in the Province. These were classed as daily (12), tri-weekly (11), semi-

\*NOTE. Among the writers of critical or historical papers may be mentioned Dr. W. J. Anderson, Dr. William, Bishop of Quebec, Mr. (now Sir) J. M. LeMoine, Dr. E. A. Meredith, Mr. E. T. Fletcher, Dr. Henry H. Miles, Dr. George Stewart, Professor Douglas, Mr. John Langton, Dr. John Harper, Mr. William Clint, Mr. James Stevenson, Mr. Arthur Harvey and several others. In a letter dated November 17, 1878, to Mr. (now Sir) J. M. LeMoine, the late Francis Parkman expressed a high opinion of the work of the Society in collecting and printing historical memoirs.

weekly (3), weekly (41), semi-monthly (1), monthly (17), quarterly (3). That the growth indicated during the period in question was due in some measure to the impulse given by Confederation may be inferred from the Post-Office returns for 1867 and 1873 respectively. In the former year the Post-Office distributed 14,000,000, in the latter, 25,480,000, newspaper:s. In commenting on these figures in the year 1874, Mr. Douglas said: "Newspaper literature is, therefore, the chief mental pabulum of our people. What, then is its character?" He then instituted a comparison between the press of the United States and that of Great Britain, in which he gave the former the credit for generous enterprise in securing news though, in his opinion, most of it was of little interest or importance. "But the editorial page," he continued, "instead of being occupied with calm and dignified discussions on leading questions, contains, besides some larger articles, a number of isolated paragraphs criticizing current events and prominent men with a fierce party bias and an utter disregard for the feelings of individuals, not to say of truth. These comments, though striking, often startling, are too flippant in tone to be consistent with the responsibilities of journalism."

Mr. Douglas used the foregoing comparison to rebuke the excesses and defects of the Canadian press. "It is to be regretted," he said, "that our own papers have imitated the American rather than the English type. When we consider the position of a newspaper in a small community, we really see that it labours under peculiar disadvantages. It can with difficulty be independent. Therefore, too generally our newspapers, out of fear or friendship, lavish praise where no praise is due, and refrain from censure and exposure where grave abuses call for blame." Mr. Douglas then surveyed the attempts that had been made from time to time to establish a periodical which would represent the higher culture of the English-speaking community. A short sketch of one of these which had a certain popularity in its day may help to illustrate the literary aspiration, and to some extent the achievement, of an important transition period in the intellectual history of the Province of Quebec.

Towards the close of the half century of con-

flict which formed the régime of the Constitutional Act, Mr. John Lovell established a periodical which, though not as ambitious as the *Canadian Magazine* or *Canadian Review*, already mentioned, had greater vitality and attracted some noteworthy contributors. It was named the *Literary Garland*. Mr. John Gibson, who was connected by marriage with Mr. Lovell, undertook the Editorship and continued in charge of it until his death. He was also a prominent writer for the *Garland*. The first issue appeared in December, 1838, and the last in December, 1851,—the period of duration being divided into two series. The first of these consisted of four yearly volumes ending with the year 1842; the second comprised the nine succeeding years. There are thus thirteen volumes in all. During the final year Mr. Gibson was assisted in his editorial task by Mrs. Cushing, a lady of many gifts and virtues, daughter of Dr. Foster, of Brighton, Mass., and wife of Dr. Frederick Cushing. This lady died in Montreal at the age of ninety-one in May, 1886. She had been from the first a steady contributor to the *Garland*, as was also her sister, Mrs. Cheney, afterwards for many years joint Editor with Mrs. Cushing of the *Snowdrop*, a well-conducted child's magazine. Among the other contributors to the *Literary Garland* may be mentioned Mr. W. J. Fennings Taylor, whose imposing figure is not forgotten in circles that he frequented. He wrote under the *nom de guerre* of "Erasmus Old Style." Other writers for the magazine were Mr. Hugh E. Montgomerie, Agent for the Allan Line, whose pseudonym was "Edward Hugomont"; Mr. Andrew Robertson, long a respected member of the business community of Montreal, and his brother, Mr. George Robertson; Mr. James Holmes, brother of Dr. Andrew Holmes for many years Dean of the Medical Faculty of McGill University; Dr. William Dunlop, well known as a contributor to *Blackwood's and Fraser's Magazine*, and of whose eventful and erratic career much might be said; Mr. William Spink, an official of the Legislature; Mr. Andrew L. Picken, uncle of Mr. E. Picken, a respected Montreal bookseller; Mr. George Macrae, a Montreal advocate, who wrote under the name of "Sylvio"; the Rev. Henry Giles and his talented wife, another sister of Mrs. Cheney; Mr. Charles



Sangster,\* the poet; Mr. (afterwards Sir) F. G. Johnson; Mrs. McLachlan, wife of Colonel McLachlan, R.A., a lady admired no less for her personal charms than for literary ability and enthusiasm; Dr. Von Iffland; Mrs. J. R. Spooner; Colonel J. W. D. and Mrs. Moodie and her sister, Mrs. Traill†—both these ladies being sisters of Agnes Strickland, author of *The Queens of England* and other well-known works; Miss R. E. Mullins, afterwards well-known as Mrs. Leprohon, wife of Dr. J. Lukin Leprohon, for many years Vice-Consul for Spain at Montreal; the Rev. Joseph Abbott, father of Sir J. J. C. Abbott, Sir John Macdonald's successor as Prime Minister of Canada; the Rev. A. H. Burwell and several others. No English-speaking Huston‡ has had the happy thought of ransacking our early magazines and newspapers so as to compile a representative collection of the writings in prose and verse of the pioneer period of our literature. Doubtless, it would be feasible to gather material of sufficient quantity and value to form four volumes corresponding to those of the *Répertoire*. Such a collection would be prized for other reasons than literary merit and if the close of the Union period, instead of 1843, were made the *terminus ad quem*, such merit might not be entirely absent, and we should also find some of our work already done for us.

Three years before we began to keep Dominion Day, the Rev. Dr. Dewart published his *Selections from Canadian Poets*. In 1863 was brought out the large volume entitled *Geology of Canada*, giving the results of twenty years' work of the Geological Survey, established in 1843. In 1827 the Natural History Society was founded in Montreal.

\*NOTE. Mr. Lovell afterwards printed *Hesperus and other Poems* for Mr. Sangster. Poets are rarely rich and a balance remained unpaid which Mr. Lovell had entirely forgotten, when one day he received a remittance from Sangster with the full amount. The poet had been appointed to a Post Office Department clerkship at Ottawa, and one of his first thoughts on this accession of good fortune was to pay the printer. He had more than the reward of a good conscience. A printer, the Hon. Thomas White, helped Sangster, though he was not in his Department, to secure what he acknowledged to be a fair pension on his retirement.

†NOTE. Mrs. Catherine Parr Traill, who is the oldest living author in Her Majesty's dominions, having been born in London on the 9th of January, 1802, resides at Lakefield, Ontario. She began her literary career at the age of fifteen.

‡*Le Répertoire National, ou Recueil de Littérature Canadienne*, Compilé par J. Huston, appeared in 1848. A new edition ably edited by the Hon. Judge Routhier, F.R.S.C., was published in 1893 by J. M. Valois & Co.

Not till thirty years later did the *Canadian Naturalist and Geologist* begin its career with Mr. E. Billings as Editor. In the following year it became the organ of the Natural History Society. Although old science, however good in its day, is not as precious as the best old literature of its kind, there is a good deal that is of interest and value in the early volumes of the *Naturalist* and the publication of the *Geology of Canada* marked a fresh stage in our scientific and economic progress. It is also noteworthy that the year in which Dr. Dewart's *Selections* saw the light was the centennial year of Quebec journalism. It saw moreover the beginning of that eventful Confederation movement of which the Hon. Colonel Gray has in part written the history, deeming it wise, perhaps, to leave incomplete the record of a system that is still developing. The press had been at work for a hundred years. What were its fruits? Certainly Messrs. Brown and Gilmore had planted well. Their experiment thrived and endured. But one would like to know whether something exceptionally conservative in the *genius loci* had not combined with Scottish and other thrift and foresight in endowing Quebec Province with so many long-lived journals. Even so, the older press of the Province has done a work that might have been worse done, though in that centennial year there was doubtless considerable room for improvement.

Apart from journalism, the offspring of the Quebec press during that changeful century comprised in literature very little of permanent interest. Its earliest issues have come to have considerable value for the collector of *Canadiana*. My mandate confines my attention to those written in English by Anglo-Canadians. Of works of a political, constitutional or economical character, like those of Francis Masères, of books of travel and exploration, like those of Long, Henry, Mackenzie, the Simpsons and others; of the writings of early tourists, like Weld, Lambert, the Duc de Rochefoucault-Liancourt, and others who have taken Canada in their routes; of the large number of pamphlets—some of them highly interesting—dealing with controversies of the day; of geographical and descriptive works, like Bouchette's; of papers written to be read before societies and clubs; of scientific treatises, writ-

ten for the general reader—of all these classes of books it is advisable to take note in a review of this kind, when they are directly or indirectly the product of Canadian thought, observation or industry. They are to that extent in the line of Canada's general intellectual development. It is at the same time necessary to discriminate between what is merely of utility and that which has claims upon our approval for its merits of style. Examples of literature in the æsthetic or critical, as distinguished from the technical, sense, cannot be said to abound in the product of the Canadian press or of Canadian thought or fancy during the first century of its operation. Nor is this greatly to be wondered at when it is recalled that at the outset there was no English-speaking society at all, and that when such a community was formed, it was necessarily at first of alien birth and education; that its pursuits were for a long time essentially industrial and commercial, and that it was only by slow degrees that literary aspiration and the spirit of devotion to Canada became so happily allied as to promise the best fruits of intellectual culture. A hasty survey of the century indicated (1764-1864) will prepare us for the developments of the more hopeful age on which we have now entered.

Let us begin here with the field of history. Although George Heriot's *History of Canada*, based on that of Charlevoix, has some right to be regarded as a work of Canadian origin, its author having held for some years the position of Deputy Postmaster-General of British North America, it is to William Smith that the credit of having written the first English History of Canada is generally assigned. The work was not published until 1826, a fact which is strangely inconsistent with the date on the title page. That of the first volume reads as follows: "History of Canada from its First Discovery to the Peace of 1763. By William Smith, Esquire; Clerk of the Parliament and Master in Chancery of the Province of Lower Canada. Vol. I, Quebec; Printed for the Author by John Neilson." The second volume brings the record down to the year 1791. In a letter which is in the possession of Mr. Henry Mott, assistant Librarian of the Redpath Library, McGill University,

Montreal, the author of the history writes to Mr. Stephen Sewell at Montreal, under date of December 12, 1811, stating that his long delayed history would appear about the 5th of January following. From the details that he gives of its size, it is more than likely that he refers to the first volume only. A memorandum on the letter says that the book was not printed until 1815 and "then from some unknown cause was not allowed to make its appearance in the world for many years after, viz., in 1826." In a note on page 467 of his



Philippe Aubert de Gaspé.

*Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne*, M. Phileas Gagnon cites Bibaud's *Bibliothèque Canadienne ou Annales Bibliographiques* (Montreal, 1859), as stating that there was a third volume which brought the history down to the year 1815. He also reproduces an announcement that appeared in the *Montreal Herald* of August 9th, 1826, in which the work is said to be "now first published and for sale by Neilson and Cowan, No. 3 Mountain Street, in two volumes Royal 8 vo., in boards, price 16s." The edition consisted of only 300

copies—which accounts, M. Gagnon says, for the scarcity of the work.

In his preface, Smith says that he began the narrative (for which he modestly declines to claim the rank of history) solely for his private use. He is not complimentary to his subject, however. "I well knew," he writes, "(that) the detail of the occurrences of an inconsiderable Colony, so long struggling in its birth, could afford but little amusement to gentlemen of taste." But the solicitation of his friends at length prevailed, and he consented to print what he had written, in the hope that it would be serviceable to the public. He assures his readers that he collected his materials from the most authentic documents and has narrated the simple truth without partiality or prejudice. In closing the second volume he says that when or where a historian has been led into errors, the only atonement he can make is, upon correction, to retract them. Notwithstanding these professions of a desire to be fair, Mr. Smith did not always give satisfaction. His history is valuable, nevertheless, for the important documents, not generally accessible elsewhere, arranged in an appendix in the first, and less conveniently relegated to page after page of foot notes in the second, volume.

The History by Heriot was published in 1804 and, though mainly a condensed version of Charlevoix (later translated by Shea), must have been welcome to English readers at that time. Canadians put a higher price to-day on his *Travels* (1807), in which he has preserved some precious facts concerning the pioneer conditions of the newer Canada of that time. An English review of the work furnishes an example of the qualities which, though they cause a book to be slighted by the author's contemporaries, may considerably enhance its value for posterity. The review in question commends, though not very warmly, the first part of the book, but pronounces the second half absolutely useless. On what ground, it may be asked, does the English reviewer thus condemn Mr. Heriot's labourious chapters? Because therein "we have a detail of the lakes, rivers and cataracts, the villages, farmhouses and townships of Canada, considerably more minute (need we say how much less interesting?) than we possess of the County of Northumberland."

There could be no more emphatic recommendation to a Canadian in search of information regarding the cradle time of his beloved country than this disdainful rejection of Mr. Heriot's topographical redundancies.

The works of Joseph Bouchette have a recognized value which time does not diminish. For, although more recent books contain a great deal of the geographical and statistical information that Mr. Bouchette collected in the course of his professional pursuits, there are features in these stately volumes that cannot well be reproduced and no Canadian library is complete without a full set of his writings and his maps. Joseph Bouchette, whose name was mentioned in connection with the foundation and early years of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, was the son of that Commodore Bouchette who rendered such good service to Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester) during the "Bastonnais" invasion of 1775. In his seventeenth year he was placed with his maternal uncle, Major Holland, one of Wolfe's officers and dear friends, and so profited by the training and example of his kinsman that, after the latter's retirement, he was soon able to take his place as Surveyor-General of British North America. He rendered excellent service during the War of 1812-15 and was, apart from his career as an engineer and a soldier, a public-spirited and patriotic citizen. His loyalty to the Crown of England was beyond question and it is noteworthy that, in dedicating his *Topographical Dictionary of Lower Canada* to King William IV. in 1832, he describes the Province as "one of Great Britain's most happy and most flourishing Colonies." When it is borne in mind that the agitation which had so deplorable an issue a lustrum later was then nearing its culmination, it would seem as though Mr. Bouchette considered the complaints of grievances then prevalent to be greatly exaggerated.

The writings of Francis Maséres, for some time (1766-1769) Attorney-General of the Province of Quebec and later Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer in England, threw a good deal of light on the conflict of opinion during a most critical period of the development of British institutions in the Colony. Dr. Kingsford thus sums up his contributions to the controversies of his day:

“ He published a volume containing many of the Acts and Reports of the time, including his own Report presented to Carleton and his remarks following Carleton’s rejection of it, styled by him, ‘ Collection of Several Commissions, 1772.’ Two volumes followed: ‘ An account of the Proceedings of the British and other Protestants of the Province of Quebec to obtain a House of Assembly in that Province,’ 1775. *The Canadian Freeholder* appeared in three volumes in 1777, in which he discussed the influence of the Quebec Act and its provisions, upon Canada. There is also a volume of occasional Essays, published in 1805, twelve of which relate to the American contest and to Canadian affairs. Masères’ great ability and honesty of purpose are clearly established by his writings; but his strong prejudices obscured his judgment and his sense of justice. He failed to see any question without the warp which his Huguenot lineage and his strong Protestant sentiment imparted to it.”

There is a considerable number of works that come more or less correctly under the head of history, and which are at least worthy of mention in a review of this kind. Dr. Kingsford, in his *Canadian Archæology*, has a curious note about the borrowing and failure to return certain manuscripts by William Smith, the historian, from Mr. William Lindsay, formerly Collector of Customs at St. John’s, P.Q. The same Mr. Lindsay contributed to the *Canadian Review* (1824) a “ Narrative of the Invasion of Canada by the Americans in 1775.” The records of travel and discovery by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, John Long (the interpreter), Alexander Henry, Gabriel Franchère, may all, for one reason or another, be comprised in Quebec’s bibliography. Long learned at Montreal and Caughnawaga the rudiments of his training as trader and Indian dragoman, Sir Alexander set out on the great quest that has immortalized his name from the City of Montreal. Henry (of whom there is a full biography in the *Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository*, 1823-25) was a Montreal merchant after he had found rest for the sole of his foot. Books like Weld’s *Travels* and those of Lambert, already referred to, are of interest to the student of Lower Canada’s development, but they do not belong exclusively to the Province of Quebec, nor even to Canada.

Isaac Weld visited Quebec and Montreal in 1797, and he has left interesting accounts of the scenes and people that came under his observation. More than half a century later, his half brother, Charles Richard Weld, visited the same scenes, and dedicated his *Vacation Tour in the United States and Canada* to his still surviving kinsman. He tells us in his opening chapter that Isaac Weld’s *Travels* became for many years the chief authority in the old world for matters in the new and had been translated into the various languages of Europe.

A little book which, though printed in Upper Canada, belongs to Lower Canada both by the residence of the author and the subjects of which it treats is *The Lower Canada Watchman*, published at Kingston, U.C. The writer signs himself simply “ T.L.C.W.,” which are evidently the initials of the book. It consists of a series of letters on questions of the day—mainly the Administration of Lord Dalhousie—in some copies numbering ten, in others twelve. The letters, at least the ten letters of the first edition, appeared in the *Kingston Chronicle*, and, in his preface, the author states that it was at the request of the Editor of the *Chronicle* that he had them published in book form. He gives that gentleman much credit for his courage and independence. “ At a time when every other press was mute; at a time when the natural timidity of office shrank from the scowl of authority, this man alone,” says T.L.C.W., “ had the intrepidity to brave popular vengeance and public obloquy.” The author has some claim to a like character. He has certainly the courage of his convictions, writes with vigour and lucidity and was plainly a man of education who had given much study to constitutional history and practice and took an increasing interest in the controversies of his time. Mr. H. J. Morgan (*Bibliotheca Canadensis*) assigns the authorship of the volume to Mr. David Chisholme, a native of Rosshire, Scotland, who died in Montreal in 1842 in his 47th year, having spent twenty years in Canada. He was for a time Editor of the *Montreal Gazette* and was esteemed (and this little book confirms the estimate) an able journalist.\*

\*NOTE. I am indebted for my copy of the *Lower Canada Watchman* to Mr. F. Johnston, Secretary of the Quebec Exchange. A volume of papers by David Chisholme was purchased from his

To the same writer is attributed an incomplete account of the events of the risings of 1837 and 1838 entitled "The Annals of Canada." It must not be confounded with "The Political Annals of Lower Canada, being a Review of the Political and Legislative History of that Province," by a "British Settler." This book, published in Montreal in 1828 (the year before the publication in book form of the *Lower Canada Watchman*), was written by Mr. John Fleming, author of the Jubilee Ode, to which reference has already been made. There are a good many such *Mémoires pour Servir* that might be mentioned. The pamphlet literature of the period is also worthy of mention. The letters of "Veritas," first published in the *Herald* (Montreal, 1815), and then brought out separately in both Montreal and Glasgow, are still of disputed authorship. They were written by a man who was well-informed as to the matters on which he ventured to express an opinion. As a rule adverse criticism by anonymous writers of persons who hold or have held authority and who possess influence with the sources of power and honour is rejected, as evidence, both by public and historian. But *Veritas* justified his assumed name with many unprejudiced readers and the impression that the Letters imparted to many on their first appearance in April-June, 1815, is still the impression that they convey to the impartial historian. And, although his family found friends at Court, the reputation of Sir George Prevost, as Governor and soldier, never wholly recovered from the charges of his nameless assailant. The printer of the above, William Gray, in the same year, 1815, brought out "Nerva: or a Collection of papers published in the *Montreal Herald*." This collection, ascribed to Mr. Justice Gale, was "reprinted by particular desire." Both these pamphlets have become extremely rare.

For a tentative list of the pamphlets of all kinds dealing with Canadian questions during the first century of the Canadian press the reader may consult the second volume of the Catalogue of the Library of Parliament, published

widow by the Government. These documents—proclamations, commissions, instructions, etc.,—had been collected by Mr. Chisholme with the intention of writing a History of Lower Canada, a purpose which his comparatively early death prevented him carrying out.

by order of the Legislature in 1857 and 1858. There are in all fifty volumes of pamphlets and *brochures*. Some of them are of extreme importance to the student of history and of these a good many relate to the affairs of this Province exclusively. Others again are of a divided purport affecting Upper Canada, the Old Land or, in some instances, the Maritime Provinces, the United States or other foreign countries, as much as the Lower Province. One of them is Lord Durham's Report—of which two copies, one French and one English, are within reach of my hand—and there around them is a battle of the *brochures*. To us of to-day it is a battle more than Patrocleian, for all the issues are dead, and yet it is surprising what a store of dormant vitality some of those dead issues keep somewhere in reserve. Save to the historian, or now and then to the politician, this mass of pamphlet literature is of little interest. Yet for vigorous writing, sound principles, and learning often most comprehensive, some of the old dust-covered, forgotten pamphlets surpass many a more ambitious and longer-winded work.\*

Robert Christie is best known by his *History of the Province of Lower Canada*, his latest work, which only reached completion in the year before his death. His career as a historian dates from the year 1818, when he published his *Memoirs of the Craig and Prevost Administrations* (1807-1815), which he subsequently extended so as to embrace the whole period from the Conquest to the close of the Sherbrooke Administration. In 1829 he published a monograph on Lord Dalhousie's Governorship, including that of Lieutenant-Governor Sir Francis N. Burton G.C.H. But his *History of the Province*, begun in 1848 and finished in 1855, comprises the events related in the preceding monographs and brings the record down to the end of the Constitutional Act régime. It is embraced in five volumes and a volume of *Pieces justificatives*. The title of the first volume gives a very good notion of the scope and character of the work:

\*For the pamphlet, as for the other literature of the ante-Confederation period, Morgan's *Bibliotheca Canadensis* is a treasury of knowledge. Of the value of M. Phileas Gagnon's *Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne* it is needless to speak. What he has comprised under the head of bibliography is of great importance to collectors. For Quebec Province the Catalogues of the Legislative Library are, of course, instructive.

"A History of the late Province of Lower Canada, Parliamentary and Political, from the commencement to the close of its existence as a separate Province; embracing a period of fifty years, that is to say, from the erection of the Province in 1797 to the extinguishment thereof in 1841, and its Re-union with Upper Canada, by Act of the Imperial Parliament, in consequence of the pretensions of the Representative Assembly of the Province and its repudiation in 1837 of the Constitution as by law established, and of the Rebellion to which these gave rise in that and the following year; with a variety of interesting notices, financial, statistical, historical, etc., available to the future historian of North America, including a prefatory sketch of the Province of Quebec, from the Conquest to the passing of the Quebec Act in 1774, and thence to its division in 1791 into the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada; with details of the military and naval operations therein during the late war with the United States; fully explaining also the difficulties with respect to the Civil List and other matters; tracing from origin to outbreak the disturbances which led to the re-union of the two Provinces. By Robert Christie. In three volumes. Vol. I. Quebec: printed and published by T. Cary & Co., Booksellers and Stationers, 1848."

It will be seen that the author, in his forecast, contemplated a work of three volumes. The second volume begins with the Administration of Sir G. Prevost in 1811. Before he had finished the second, Mr. Christie found that his three-volume scheme was impracticable unless he forewent the opportunity of including in his history documents of which he became aware during his researches, and the publication of which would materially enhance its value. A "Notice" published at the beginning of the third volume explains this. From the bulk of that volume it looks as if an attempt had been made to complete the work therewith. But, although it contains over 150 pages more than volume two, the appendix proper to it had to be assigned to the ensuing volume. In that volume (IV.) another "Notice" was found necessary. "It was originally my intention", says the author, "that this compilation should consist of only three volumes, but here, however, is the fourth, which, notwithstanding every desire to compress the whole matter into the smallest possible space, and to close the undertaking, only reaches to the autumn

of 1837, including the affairs of St. Denis, St. Charles and Moore's Corners, extinguishing the Rebellion of that year, south of the St. Lawrence. That of St. Eustache, with its incidents, and the events of the three following years, with a copious appendix of very interesting papers, for the most part not hitherto published, will constitute the fifth and final volume."

The "Notice" of the fifth volume shows that Mr. Christie was not yet assured that the goal was in sight and he did not venture to affix his *finis* at the close of either text or appendix. Still he clearly considered it the end of the work so far as he had himself any relation or comment to make. "This volume", he writes, "terminates an undertaking which, whatever critics and the fastidious in literature may think of it, has cost considerable labour and time, without any expectation, or indeed desire, of a pecuniary return. It is, and from the commencement was intended as, a votive offering by a native colonist of a different Province from that of his adoption, and will be found a faithful record of the principal political matters in Lower Canada during the fifty years of its existence as a separate Province and Government." After a word about the authenticity of the sources of information, Mr. Christie pays the following tribute of honour to his printers: "I must not, however, while proclaiming my own disinterestedness in a pecuniary sense, in this publication, forget to acknowledge the obligations under which I am towards my friends and publishers; in the first place, Mr. Thomas Cary, for the impression of the first three volumes, and in the next to Mr. John Lovell, for this and the preceding volume. It is entirely to the public spirit and liberality of these gentlemen that I owe the impression of the work, which I should not, indeed, could not, have undertaken at my own expense, and which, at no inconsiderable risk to themselves, they generously assumed, and which I beg them to be assured I am very sensible of and justly appreciate." He then speaks somewhat vaguely of a supplemental volume of public documents. The delay did not, however, prove so long as he seemed to apprehend that it would, for in the following year (1855) he had the happiness of dedicating that extremely valuable volume of Lower Canadian archives to the members of

the Joint Committee of the Library of Parliament in token of the readiness and liberality with which they met his purpose. Utterly unadorned as it is, Robert Christie's *History of the Province of Quebec*, during its fifty years of isolation without tranquillity, has a value that every student of his country's development must recognize. Garneau and Bibaud cover the same ground but they do not supersede it.

"The Rise of Canada from Barbarism to Wealth and Civilization" is the ambitious title of a work of which the first and only volume appeared in the very year that saw the completion of Mr. Christie's undertaking. The author, Charles Roger, a native of Scotland, had settled in Quebec in 1842 and had become well-known as a journalist. In the preface he sets forth at some length his ideas of what a History of Canada ought to be. But before the book was printed Mr. John M. McMullen, of Brockville, had produced a History of this country from its discovery to the present time, almost as if he had been influenced by motives similar to those which influenced Mr. Roger. The latter compares his History with Mr. McMullen's. "His pictures," he says, "are not my pictures, nor his sentiments my sentiments. The books, although the facts are the same and necessarily derived from the same sources, are essentially different. He is most elaborate in the beginning and becomes more and more particular with regard to details toward the close; I expand with the expansion of the country."<sup>\*</sup> In four chapters Mr. Roger brings the record of Canada's "Rise from Barbarism to Wealth and Civilization" down to the departure of Lord Dalhousie, and then he ceased expanding, leaving the country to expand without his assistance. He has a fluent style and, when he understood what he was writing about, his pages are readable. But the history of Canada

was clearly a new study to him. He is generally shallow; is often flippant and is frequently inaccurate. Indeed, he does not put a high value on historical accuracy, though he takes credit for honesty of purpose and freedom from deliberate disregard of truth. "I have creamed Gonrly," he writes, "Christie, Murray, Alison, Wells and Henry, and taken whatever I deemed essential from a history of the United States without a title page, and from Jared Sparks and other authors; but for the history of Lower Canada my chief reliance has been upon the valuable volumes compiled with so much care by Mr. Christie, and I have put the essence of his sixth volume of revelations in its fitting place." Mr. Roger was not wanting in ability, but in his "Rise of Canada," he did justice neither to his subject nor to himself.

There is a large number of works (like Major Richardson's *History of the War of 1812*) which treat of events that occurred only in part in this Province and in which all Canada—the whole Empire in fact—is concerned. Again, some of Major Richardson's works—for instance his *Eight Years in Canada*, covering the Durham, Sydenham, Metcalfe and Bagot period—were published in Montreal. During the period of Legislative rotation, the Government and its official and unofficial environment transferred their penates from Montreal to Kingston, thence to Quebec, and so on, so that an author might write his book in one place and have it printed in another. A good many works that came in a general way under the head of history cannot therefore be assigned to one Province more than another, and the richest harvest of the Quebec press during this and every period—that is, the French—is to me forbidden fruit. One little book I must mention, both as the first of its kind, and because it opened a vein in which others have profitably worked—Mrs. C. M. Day's *Pioneers of the Eastern Townships* (Lovell, 1863). During the centennial celebration last year (1898) this latter volume and Mrs. Day's later and larger work were in high request. Mr. C. Thomas, Mr. E. R. Smith, Mr. Thomas Sellar and others followed Mrs. Day's lead, but their work does not come within my century.

The literary career of Sir James Le Moine, who

\*NOTE. Mr. McMullen's book, as it issued from his own press in 1855, lies before me and near it a somewhat dilapidated copy of Mr. Roger's "Rise." The former it does not come within my sphere to criticize, but as the words quoted from Roger's preface have introduced Mr. McMullen's name and work, I would like to say that I consider his History a most creditable production. When the circumstances under which it was written—circumstances described by himself thirty six years later in the preface to his third edition—are considered, the wonder is that he should have made it at once so readable, so comprehensive and so generally trustworthy. His motives also are admirable. As the first History of Canada, covering the whole period from the discovery of the country, it must always have a special interest.

has enriched the Province and the world with so many works of historical interest, had begun before Confederation, but his most successful work was done in the Federal régime. For that period are reserved a good many other records which it would be useless to divide. A little book that has done good service in the historical education of the Province of Quebec is the *History of Canada*, for schools, of Mrs. Jennet Ray, the 7th edition of which appeared in the very year at which this retrospect ends. It was then familiar to at least two generations of pupils, for Mr. David Denne, of Montreal, has a copy of the work printed in 1847—(*Canadiana* 1, 106). It was translated into French and used as a text book in some of the French schools of the Province. The translation of Garneau's History of Canada by Andrew Bell has a right to grateful remembrance, as, apart from the school text books, it was for some years the chief, if not only, source of knowledge on the general history of their country to a good many English-speaking Canadians. Mr. Bell's notes (marked "B") are generally of interest. Sometimes they indicate a difference of opinion as to the policy or character of a statesman or Government; sometimes they deal with the possible inaccuracy of a statement; again, in a few instances, they compare Garneau's later views with those of the original (and now rare) edition of his work. In one case for example (1, 110, 2nd edition, J. Lovell, Montreal), where Garneau treats adversely of the admission of Huguenots to the benefits of colonists, Bell cites in a foot-note a passage from the first edition in which the author highly commends Coligny's scheme, condemns its enemies and mentions with reprobation the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Even those (French or English) who prefer reading Garneau in the original will find it of advantage occasionally to consult Mr. Bell's version and foot-notes.

Hawkins's *Picture of Quebec* (1834) and Newton Bosworth's *Hochelaga Depicta* (1839) deserve mention if only for the estimate that collectors form of them. The *Annals of the Diocese of Quebec* by the Reverend Ernest Hawkins was the best source of authority on the early history of the Church of England in the Province before the publication a few years ago of the admirable

monograph of the Rev. Mr. Stuart, of Three Rivers. How far such works as the Lives of Lords Sydenham, Metcalfe and Elgin should come into such a retrospect as this we need not discuss. Reference has been made to the papers and memoirs published by learned societies and to the early reports of the Geological Survey. Some of the Sessional Papers and Special Reports issued by the Governments during the Constitutional Act and succeeding régimes are of great historical value and a few of them have the impress of literary taste as well. The prize essays of Messrs. Hogan and Morris are still of value to the inquirer. The author of the first met with a melancholy fate, his life of promise being brutally cut short; that of the second rose to distinction, became one of the prophets and founders of Confederation and was one of the earliest of North-West Governors. The excellent series of Constitutional handbooks written by the late Alpheus Todd, C.M.G., had been begun in the early years of the Union. Before his death in 1883 Dr. Todd had been recognized as one of the first authorities of the day on his chosen subjects.

What was Canada's output in fiction during the first century of our printing press, or up to the eve of the greater Canada's foundation? To answer this question we should require first a definition of fiction and then ascertain what it is that constitutes fiction Canadian. It is, moreover, to a single Province of Canada that I am consigned and confined. It has been usual to begin the record in this Province of such works of imagination as come under the head of the novel or romance with *The History of Emily Montague*, by Mrs. Frances Brooke. Whatever may be its literary qualities, the story as describing social conditions that prevailed at the very dawn of the British régime, cannot fail to have some importance to the student of our development. Mr. W. D. Lighthall, of Montreal, made the novel the subject of an interesting paper read before the Society of Canadian Literature, which he had led the way in organizing. He called it "The first Canadian Novel" and it has some right to the title. Sir James LeMoine makes frequent reference to *Emily Montague* and the scenes in which she figures in his *Maple Leaves* and other books about



Quebec and its environs. Mrs. Brooke was the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Moore, and wife of the Rev. John Brooke, sometime Rector of Colnez, Suffolk.

Major John Richardson, a son of Dr. Robert Richardson, of the Indian Department, was born near the Falls of Niagara, and spent his early years at Amherstburg. Having entered the 41st Regiment as a volunteer, on the outbreak of hostilities in 1812 he obtained a commission and in the course of the war and under Sir De Lacy Evans in Spain he saw a good deal of active service and acquired some skill in the description of military movements. The romance of war always had a strong fascination for him and he wrote of it with enthusiasm. His work as a historian has been mentioned elsewhere. His novels, *Wacousta* and *The Canadian Brothers*, have received praise from experts in literary criticism, while *Jack Brag in Spain* attracted the attention of Theodore Hook, who recognized in the author a kindred spirit. His quarrel with his commander (Evans) we have nothing to do with and the journalism that brought him into conflict with the Government of the Union belongs to another Province. But part of his life was spent, some of his best work was done and some of his most important books were published in the Province of Quebec. Reference has already been made to novels published in periodicals, but I need not recapitulate them here save to say that some of them bring Mrs. Moodie and Mrs. Traill into temporary relations with the literature of this Province. It is, however, with Ontario that the Canadian career of the Strickland family is mainly associated.

A lady who ranks both as poet and novelist is Miss Rosanna Eleanor Mullins, better known by her marital name of Mrs. Leprohon. She was born and educated in Montreal and early gave indication of a literary gift above the average. She was only fourteen years old when she began to send contributions to the *Literary Garland*. In 1851 she became the wife of Dr. Leprohon, for many years Consul for Spain in Montreal. Many of Mrs. Leprohon's works have been translated into French. Among these may be mentioned *Ida Beresford*, *The Manor House of De Villerai*, and *Antoinette De Mirecourt*. Some of her novels

appeared first in magazines or newspapers. This last story was pronounced in the *Saturday Reader* (Montreal), then edited by Mr. Edgar Judge, as "the best Canadian novel *en attendant mieux*."

Mrs. James Sadlier, like Mrs. Leprohon, of Irish origin, has made the destiny of the Irish race—of the Irish Catholic especially—in the United States and Canada the theme of some widely popular stories. Mrs. Sadlier (whose gift is inherited by her daughter) is not of those who look upon the "novel with a purpose," as inferior in inspiration or execution to the novel that puts art first, humanity second and morality third. Her purpose, which she never forgets, is the service of her beloved kindred in blood and faith, cast homeless on the shores of this western continent and exposed to a danger which to the Catholic is worse than that of poverty, sickness or even death itself—the loss of that cherished faith and moral purity which their forefathers saved out of the wreck of their fortunes. Even those who hold fast to different ideals have acknowledged the beauty of Mrs. Sadlier's stories—their true patriotism, their deep devotion, their kindly spirit and touching pathos. Mr. J. King Barton, a Canadian by birth, and for some time Clerk to the Legislative Assembly of the Union period, wrote a romance entitled *Io, a Tale of the Olden Fane*, the scene of which was laid in Ephesus in the days of its pride and before the Temple of the great Diana lay a heap of fallen and broken columns. *The Advocate*, of Charles Heavyside, is a strange, in some respects, a characteristic, production. The scene is laid in Montreal and the plot is mainly concerned with a terrible and ultimately fatal antipathy conceived by the handsome father for his deformed and ungainly son. The book never achieved popularity. On the whole nothing in the native fiction of the century under review justified a forecast of the rich harvest of novels and romances of the last few years. In that harvest the Province of Quebec has well won its share.

Of the poetry of the century under review we can have no better criterion, perhaps, than the *Selections from Canadian Poets*, published by the Rev. Dr. Dewart in its closing year. The book was issued in Montreal, near which city Dr. Dewart at that time resided, so that both as

Editor and contributor he belongs to Quebec. So did Heavysege, D'Arcy McGee's gifted friend, J. F. McDonnell, and McGee himself, Mrs. Leprohon, Miss Jennie E. Haight, Miss Helen M. Johnson, of Magog, P.Q., Miss Annie Walker, the Rev. H. F. Darnell, J. J. Proctor, Miss Augusta Baldwin, Isidore G. Ascher, and George Martin, happily still with us. I have already mentioned some of the earlier volumes from which Dr. Dewart gleaned his century and half of selections. Robert Sweeny, to whose *Odds and Ends* reference has been made, is represented by a romantic ballad, "Toujours Fidèle!" "The Lady of the Rock" had hardly a right to a place in this anthology for she was a mere bird of passage. Nor have any of the three prize-winners mentioned earlier in this article won recognition in his pages. Mrs. Ethelind Sawtell, whose *Mourner's Tribute* was published in Montreal in 1840, is also absent, but the anonymous *Leaves from the Backwoods* found admission. Of the living poets of that time who were accessible through the printing press there are few of whose quality Dr. Dewart does not give a sample. There were some doubtless whose reputation was then maturing and who were soon to pass from merely local into national celebrity by the publication of their works in book form; and there are always men and women of gifts above the average who, sometimes from choice, sometimes from peculiar circumstances, remain in comparative obscurity. It must also be borne in mind that Dr. Dewart's *Selections* are limited to the Canada of the period before Confederation—to the Canada of the Union of 1841.

It is noteworthy that, although several of the most deserving of the poets of that day were not of Canadian birth, it is to a son of the soil that the Editor awards the first place and that place of pre-eminence Canada still maintains. Heavysege had for six years been enjoying the triumph of British and American recognition and had given up an occupation that left his mind free to range among the sublimest, to learn in middle life the exacting and harassing mystery of journalism. The halcyon time of dreaming by day, while the handslost nothing of their cunning, and of inditing by night with unordered pen had been exchanged for an endless drudgery that was the

sworn foe of inspiration. Mr. Heavysege was altogether about sixteen years a member of the Montreal press. He was universally respected and his employers never forgot that he was a man of rare gifts. He took immense pains with every task that he undertook and thus worked out a problem in the correlation of forces of which the solution arrived in July, 1876. For years his claim to be a poet of high rank was denied by those to whom he submitted it. Hawthorne's chance discovery of *Saul* turned the tables; but still few read the poem and the poet would not



John Reade.

reduce it to palatable dimensions. Even the revised Boston edition did not become popular, and to-day, so far as Heavysege's reputation depends on actual knowledge of his writings, it is on his shorter poems—*Jephthah's Daughter* and some of the irregular sonnets—that it may be said to rest.

A young lawyer and journalist of Quebec, J. F. McDonnell, is largely represented in Dr. Dewart's book. He was a friend of the Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee and a writer of poetry

of more than common worth—humane, pathetic, a lover of nature and a man of high ideals. He died about the year 1870 without even publishing a volume. Another writer of promise to whom Dr. Dewart gave attention was Miss Helen M. Johnson. Her poetry, says the Editor, is “characterized by unaffected simplicity, genuine sensibility, often tinged by sadness, a deep sense of the insufficiency of earthly good, and ardent aspirations after the things that are unseen and eternal. She was a native of Lower Canada and died at Magog, P.Q., in March, 1863, after a long and painful illness, in the 29th year of her age”. Miss Johnson’s memory is still cherished in the Eastern Townships. A volume of her poems was, I believe, published in Boston some years after her death. It was probably a second edition of the volume to which Dr. Dewart refers as having been brought out in the same city in the year 1856, and was, I think, edited by her brother-in-law, a clergyman. Another of Dr. Dewart’s lady poets was Rhoda Ann Page (Mrs. Faulkner). While he was preparing his book, he heard of a slight volume that had been published in Cobourg in 1850 entitled *Wild Notes from the Backwoods*, by R. A. P. He wrote to R. A. P. asking for some contributions and received a reply from her husband, explaining that she was too ill to write. A few weeks later Dr. Powell, of Cobourg, sent him *Wild Notes*, and informed him that Mrs. Faulkner had died the week before.

But I have wandered from my beat and must be mindful of my limitations. The tragedy that darkened the later years of Robert Sweeny’s life cast no shade in his little book, which was published as already mentioned in 1826. Miss Haight, who is represented by some fine poems, was well known and highly esteemed as an educationist. Many a Canadian matron learned from her that enthusiasm for the higher life which it is the glory and reward of the true poet to impart. Mrs. Leprohon will always have admirers in Montreal, in which so many

famous sites and homes of beneficence are associated with her song. McGee’s *Canadian Ballads* give him a permanent niche in our temple of fame. Mrs. Sadlier edited his poems in what, thirty years ago, some of the poet’s friends considered a too bulky volume. Perhaps some of the early effusions might have been spared; but to-day the men of research spend much time and ink in trying to atone for the very sins of omission which Mrs. Sadlier was blamed for not committing.

I have been taking a retrospect of a century of which the *Quebec Gazette* and the Rev. Dr. Dewart’s *Selections* suggested the termini. It is the century of British rule that preceded the inauguration of the Federal movement in this Province. It begins with the arrival of Messrs. Brown and Gilmour and the instalment of the printing press in the Ancient Capital. Messrs. Brown and Gilmour laid a good foundation. Their work survived them long and the kindred of William Brown has still its place in the country of his choice. The firm of Brown and Gilmour was succeeded by Samuel Neilson, by John Neilson, by Neilson and Cowan, by the *Nouvelle Imprimerie* of M. Cléry and others; by P. E. Desbarats, by F. Roy and J. V. Delorme, by Thomas Carey & Co. and D. E. J. Smilie, and ever so many more in Quebec; while in Montreal Fleury Mesplet, after setting up his press, took C. Berger into partnership, and became the first in a long and honourable line of printers and publishers—W. Gray, James Lane, R. V. Sparhawk, T. A. Turner, E. R. Fabre, James Brown, William Greig, Armour and Ramsay, John Lovell, Campbell and Beckett, and so on, down to our own day. With some of them were associated able writers, the pioneers of the press of to-day—Ray, Carey, Chisholme, Abraham, Hincks, Campbell, Bristow, Clerk, Kinnear, McDonnell, Penny, Parsen, Chamberlin, Dougalls, all of whom have done their work and gone their way, leaving to us the heritage which some of them so strenuously toiled to win and to preserve.

## A SKETCH OF CANADIAN POETRY

BY

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CANADA occupies a unique position. After England, she is the most fully developed State in the great British federation. She has reclaimed thousands of square miles from the wilderness, and has united under one Government a territory stretching across a continent. And she has achieved more than this. Side by side within her borders are two distinct races living in harmony, possessing equal rights, administered by the same laws, owning allegiance to the same rule and loyal to the same national idea—and this though speaking different tongues. Moreover, in her origin, Canada is unique. She is the work of two great civilizations; her possession was the jewel which caused half a century of conflict.

It has been said that no colony can have a distinctive literature because of its dependent status. A distinctive literature must have a national life behind it, else there will be no vitalizing spirit. But what of Canada's position as outlined above? With us there is so much of national life that the colonial status is lost sight of. Our history, too, is a mine of the richest literary material. In reason, then, we may look for a distinctive Canadian literature. There is reason, also, that our literature should be good. To infuse it there is the best tradition, and to produce it there is excellent stock. The Canadian nationality is made up of three powerful elements—French, English and Scotch. The original settlers—both English and French—were strong men and women; for weaklings would not choose a home among the rugged forests of the West. Only the strongest came across the wide ocean, and only the most hardy survived the rigours of that harsh life. But the pioneers possessed more than endurance. They

were scholars and gentlemen many of them; they had mental as well as physical strength. And this strength was increased by the Loyalist immigration of 1783. Thus we find that the position of Canada and the composition of the Canadian people render probable the development of a national literature—in both prose and poetry.

Such literature should reflect the national mind. Then there will be patriotism, but not blatant, and there will be a breadth of view and utterance as wide as the nation's life. At this our Canadian poetry must aim, and to this it is slowly approximating. The difficulty of judging contemporary poetry is evident. The figures have not yet gained sufficient perspective; we are too near to speak impartially. And it is very unsatisfactory to mix estimates of finished and unfinished work. The majority of our poets are living; the "personal estimate" enters into the question. Thus no final judgment of Canadian poetry can be given. The most that can be done is to outline briefly the work of each, with but the most obvious criticism. It is only of comparatively recent years that there has been a distinctive Canadian poetry—though some exception must be made in the case of early French writers in Quebec. Very little English verse of any merit was written in Canada before Heavyside brought out *Saul* in 1857. Nearly all was crude, imitative, unformed—for the most part a mere overflow from the dead elements of the eighteenth century literature in England. Our writers achieved success in prose before any adequate poetic utterance was made. This was natural enough for two reasons. In the first place, Upper Canadians were fully engrossed with the struggle for existence and the work of nation-making; in the second, they had the best literature in the world to satisfy their needs.

In reality, it is only since 1867 Canada has possessed such unity as would be likely to favour national literature. Our best English poetry has therefore been written during the past thirty years. Before that time it was meagre and frail. After Confederation, however, when Canada became a united nation, when before her was seen a great ideal of national growth and all about her the heartening signs of expansion and consolidation, a distinctive poetry came into existence as a factor to be reckoned with. It naturally developed first among the French Canadians; the reason being that their civilization was older than that of their fellow-subjects. Their earlier work, too, was superior in quality and quantity; but as years went on this difference disappeared until, at the present day, the preponderance of merit is on the other side.

The earliest known French-Canadian poem was written by Jean Taché in 1732. It was called *Tableau de Mer*. Then followed an interval of over a century. In 1820 was born Pierre J. O. Chauveau, a prominent author and poet. His best known poem is perhaps his *Donnacona*, which appeared in 1861. He died in 1890. Octave Crémazie is generally given a high place. He was born at Quebec in 1830, and died in France in 1878. His poems appeared between 1852 and 1862. Among them may be mentioned *Le Drapeau de Carillon* and *Le Vieux Soldat*. Louis Honoré Fréchette, born 1839, is the most famous of French-Canadian poets. In 1880 two collections of his poems—*Les Fleurs Boreales* and *Oiseaux de Neiges*—were crowned by the French Academy, an honour which at once brought the little books into popular favour. His other books of verse are: *Mesoisiers*, 1863; *La Voix D'un Exile*, 1869; *Pile Mêle*, 1877; *Les Oublies* and *Voix d'outre Mer*, 1886; *Feuilles Volantes*, 1891. The work of M. Fréchette is, according to Sir J. G. Bourinot, admitted to be "the most finished illustration of French poetic art yet produced in the Dominion." Pamphile Le May is another well-known name. He has done some important poetical work. His first volume—*Essais Poétiques*—was issued in 1865. *Poemes Couronnées* appeared in 1870, and *Une Gerbe*, a collection of short poems, in 1879. Benjamin Sulte has published two books of verse—*Les Laurentiennes* in 1870

(his most ambitious work), and *Les Chants Nouveaux* in 1880.

The poetical production of French Canada has been very large. In 1880 there were counted 175 names of minor poets. Of this number, by far the greater part was known only to the columns of the newspaper. But there have been more than a few poets of merit, while some have attained a notable place. As John Talon-Lesperance has well said: "All the elements have been touched on in their poetry—their history, enlivened by romance and consecrated by affliction; their nationality, preserved in spite of all the disintegrating influence of conquest; their religion, homely and primitive as in the Brittany and Normandy of the middle ages; their social life, adorned by courtesy, inspired by cheerfulness and stamped with a simple old-fashioned sense of honour."

Perhaps a word should be said here with regard to the *chanson*. The *chanson* is *par excellence* the property of lumbermen and canoeists on all the lakes and rivers of Quebec. It is the rough and genuine product of free life. In some ways it resembles the "chanty" of salt water—the deep-sea song. Compare these two, for example:

V'la l'bon vent, v'la l'joli vent.  
V'la l'bon vent, ma mie m'appelle.  
V'la l'bon vent, v'la l'joli vent.  
V'la l'bon vent, ma mie m'attend."

"We'll blow him right down and we'll blow him right over,  
Way-eh! blow the man down;  
We'll blow him right down and we'll blow him right over,  
Give me some time to blow the man down."

There is in most of the *chansons* the real inspiration of open-air life. They are to the mass of French Canadians almost what the ballads were to the English people of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They are of various beginnings, some inherited from old French days and others belonging to the peculiar type which originated among the *courriers des bois* and *voyageurs* in early Canadian annals. Many of them breathe some quaint atmosphere of the past, of "old forgotten things, and battles ended long ago." Such a one is the well-known *chanson* commencing:

Malbrouck s'en va-t-en guerre

Mais quand reviendra-t-il ?

"Malbrouck", of course, has nothing to do with Marlborough, as the poem is of a much earlier date than the General—probably of the time of the Crusaders. The *chanson* literature is of great interest, but, strictly speaking, does not belong to French-Canadian poetry. M. Ernest Gagnon has collected into a volume the *Chansons Populaires du Canada*.

The first Canadian poet who wrote in English was Charles Sangster. Born at Kingston in 1822,



Louis Honoré Fréchette.

he led a life which was not without variety, dying in 1893. The first volume of English poems issued in Canada was his *The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay, and other Poems*. It appeared in 1856. *Hesperus and other Poems and Lyrics* was published in 1860. A strong figure is that of Charles Heavysege. He was born in England in 1816, and did not come to Canada until he was 37 years old. After publishing some tentative work, he issued his drama, *Saul*, in 1857. This possessed great power, and was warmly praised in

the *North British Review* in 1858. The poet Longfellow, too, gave it high commendation. Heavysege brought out some other works of minor interest. He died in 1876. George Martin is another Canadian poet born out of Canada. His native country was Ireland, and 1822 the year of his birth. A book of poems from his pen appeared in 1887—*Marguerite and other Poems*. The chief work of John Hunter Duvar—born 1830—is an historical drama, *De Roberval*. The period is the first colonization of Canada by the French. Mr. Duvar had already (1879) published *El Enoramada*, a closet drama of the Spanish school. John Reade is well-known to Canadians. He has done a great deal of essay-work. In 1870 he published a scholarly book of verse, *The Prophecy of Merlin and other Poems*. Like Martin, Reade is an Irishman by birth. He came to Canada in 1856, at the age of nineteen, and has had a good influence on Canadian letters. Charles Mair was born in 1840. His work has been chiefly of a dramatic nature. In 1868 he issued a small volume of poems, called *Dreamland*, and in 1886 a more important book, *Tecumseh*, a drama.

And now I come to a remarkable group of poets. The accomplishment of Confederation had given us national unity, and national unity has brought into existence our best poetical literature. Difficult indeed it is to write of men who are still in the prime of life and work. A brief outline, however, may be traced of the new Canadian school and its members. The writers are given in chronological order. Arthur John Lockhart was born in Nova Scotia in 1850. He has produced two volumes of poems, *The Mask of Minstrels* in 1887, and *Beside the Narraguagus* in 1896. George Frederick Cameron published one book—*Lyrics*. His life was a short one—from 1854 to 1885—but full of promise. William Douw Lighthall (1859) has written prose as well as poetry. His first volume of verse, *Thoughts, Moods and Ideals*, appeared in 1887. In 1889 he published *Songs of the Great Dominion*, which is a good anthology of Canadian verse up to the date of its issue. The four poets who come next perhaps most adequately represent the finest elements of our poetry. They have created a school of verse which is founded upon the best principles. They have felt the full flood of the spirit which

makes men look with hope to their country's future. The four poets in question are: C. G. D. Roberts, W. W. Campbell, Bliss Carman, and Archibald Lampman.

Charles George Douglas Roberts is widely known not only in Canada but in England and the United States. He was born at Westcott, New Brunswick, in 1860. In 1881 he became Editor of the *Toronto Week*. In 1885 he was appointed to the Chair of English Literature at King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia. He resigned this position in 1895, in order to gain more freedom for purely literary work. He has published five books of verse: *Orion, and other Poems*, 1880; *In Divers Tones*, 1887; *Songs of the Common Day*, 1893; *The Book of the Native*, 1896; and *New York Nocturnes*, 1898. Besides his verse, Mr. Roberts has written much prose of a high order, while his influence and critical advice have always been on the side of the sane and the strong in literature. In fact, he has been a liberator and an influential leader, and Canadian poetry owes much to his example. His work has been valuable throughout and evinces high art with vigour and depth of thought.

William Wilfrid Campbell was born in 1860. His first book was issued in 1888—*Snowflakes and Sunbeams*. It was followed in 1889 by *Lake Lyrics, and other Poems*, and in 1893 by *The Dead Voyage*. Mr. Campbell's poetry has virility and human interest. He is the author of some strong dramatic work. His drama *Modred* treats of the Arthurian legend.

Bliss Carman is a cousin of Roberts. He was born in 1861 and studied in Canada, England and the United States. His first volume of verse—*Low Tide on the Grand Pré*—appeared in 1893. Mr. Carman has published five other collections of poetry: *Behind the Arras*, 1896; *Ballads of Lost Haven*, 1897; *By the Aurelian Wall*, 1898; *Songs from Vagabondia*, 1894; and *More Songs from Vagabondia*, 1896. The last two were written in collaboration with Mr. Richard Hovey, an American poet. Mr. Carman has held several important positions in connection with large publishing firms and is at present living in Boston, Mass. His work possesses fine lyric quality.

Archibald Lampman's first book was called

*Among the Millet*, and appeared in the same year as Campbell's. Besides many contributions to the leading American magazines, Mr. Lampman published a second volume—*Lyrics of Earth*—in 1895. His work is simple, strong and pure, showing, with the later volume, a great advance in power and scope.

These four poets, as I have said, occupy a position of importance. It is impossible as yet to determine their absolute standing, but there is no doubt they have established Canadian poetry upon an adequate basis and given it movement in the right direction. The most hopeful fact is that they are all in the prime of life, and the good work they have done argues more good work in the future. A glance may now be taken at some other of the poets of Canada. Frederick George Scott published *The Soul's Quest* in 1888 and *My Lattice Window* in 1896. Duncan Campbell Scott issued a book of poems in 1895—*The Magic House*. Miss E. Pauline Johnson issued *The White Wampum* in 1895. Arthur Weir, *Fleurs de Lys*, in 1887; *The Snowflake*, 1896. Miss Wetherald, *The House of the Trees*, 1896. Francis Sherman, *Matins*, 1896. W. H. Drummond, *The Habitant*, 1897. The last is a work dealing with French-Canadian life in a manner which has not before been attempted.

Canadian poetry has its faults, and they are not few. It is too often imitative; too often it lacks culture; too often there is bad *technique*. In a word, far too much is written without thought or care. Many persons are afflicted with the *cacoethes scribendi* and desire above all things to appear in print. Unfortunately, during the last decade or so, there have always been magazines which publish work that never ought to see the light. Sadly little discrimination was shown, and the result was the raising of a false standard of criticism. There has been in the past, and there is still, too much written in praise of Canadian poetry. Praise is a pleasant thing, but it may be disastrously applied. These faults, however, are not at all hopeless. There is much that is excellent in the work of our singers. Some of their books have been welcomed by the highest critical authority and the outlook is certainly good, while the product is steadily improving.

## CANADIAN WOMEN WRITERS

BY

THOMAS O'HAGAN, M.A., Ph.D.

A REMARKABLE feature of the Canadian literature of to-day is the strength of its women writers. Especially is this notable within the domain of poetry.

Some of the sweetest and truest notes heard in the academic groves of Canadian song come from our full throated sopranos. Nor does the general literature of our country lack enrichment from the female pen. History, biography, fiction, science and art—all these testify to the gift and grace of Canadian women writers, and the widening possibilities of literary culture in the hearts and home of the Canadian people. The Bourbon lilies had scarcely been snatched from the brow of New France when the hand and heart of woman were at work in Canadian literature. Twenty years before Maria Edgeworth and Jane Austen had written *Castle Rackrent* and *Pride and Prejudice*, Mrs. Frances Brooke, wife of the chaplain of the garrison at Quebec during the Vice-regal régime of Sir Guy Carlton, published in London, England, the first Canadian novel. This book, which was dedicated to the Governor of Canada, was issued from the press in 1784.

Two names there are of women writers who deserve special and honourable mention in connection with the early literature of Canada. These are Susanna Moodie, one of the gifted Strickland sisters, and Rosanna Eleanor Leprohon. Mrs. Moodie's four sisters—Elizabeth, Agnes, Jane, and Mrs. Traill—the latter yet living as the *doyenne* of Canadian literature—have all made worthy contributions to the literature of the day; the *Lives of the Queens of England*, by Agnes Strickland, being regarded as one of the ablest and most exhaustive works of the kind ever published. Mrs. Moodie lived chiefly near the Town of Peterborough, Ontario, and may be

justly regarded as the chief poet and chronicler of pioneer days in Ontario. Her best known works are her volume of poems and *Roughing it in the Bush*. In her verse beats the strong pulse of nature aglow with the wild and fragrant gifts of glen and glade. Mrs. Moodie published also a number of novels, chief among them being *Flora Lindsay*, *Mark Hurdlestone*, *The Gold Worshipper*, *Geoffrey Monckton* and *Dorothy Chance*.

Mrs. Leprohon was, like Mrs. Moodie, both poet and novelist. She did perhaps more than any other Canadian writer to foster and promote the growth of a national literature. In her novels she aimed at depicting society in Canada prior to and immediately after the conquest. One of the latter, *Antoinette de Mirécourt*, is regarded by many as one of the best Canadian novels yet written. Simplicity and grace mark her productions in verse. Mrs. Leprohon lived in Montreal and did her best work in the "fifties". A woman writer of great merit was Isabella Valancey Crawford. Her death, which occurred some ten years ago, was a distinct loss to Canadian literature. Miss Crawford's poetic gift was eminently lyrical, full of music, colour and originality. She published but one volume, *Old Spook's Pass and other Poems*, which is royal throughout with the purple touch of genius. No Canadian woman has yet appeared quite equal to Miss Crawford in poetic endowment.

Down by the sea, where the versatile and gifted pen of Joseph Howe and the quaint humour of "Sam Slick" stirred and charmed as with a wizard's wand the people's hearts, the voice of woman was also heard in the very dawn of Canadian life and letters. Miss Clotilda Jennings and the two sisters, Mary E. and Sarah Herbert, glorified their country in poems worthy of the literary promise which their young and



ardent hearts were struggling to fulfil. Another whose name will be long cherished in the literary annals of Nova Scotia is Mary Jane Katzmann Lawson, who died in Halifax, March, 1890. On her mother's side Mrs. Lawson was a kinswoman of Prescott, the American historian. She was a voluminous contributor to the periodicals of the day and was herself Editor for two years of the *Halifax Monthly Magazine*. Her poems, written too hurriedly, are uneven and in some instances lack wholly the fashioning power of true inspiration. When her lips were touched, however, with the genuine honey of Hymettus she sang well, as in such poems as "Some Day," "Song of the Morning," and "Song of the Night." In the opinion of many the work of Mrs. Lawson as an historian is superior to her work as a poet. Considering, however, the industry of her pen and the general quality of its output, Mrs. Lawson deserves a place amongst the foremost women writers of her native Province.

There passed away in 1895 near Niagara Falls, Ontario, a gifted woman who did not a little in the days of her strength for the fostering of Canadian letters. Miss Louisa Murray, author of a poem of genuine merit, *Merlin's Cave*, and two novels, *The Cited Curate*, and *The Settlers of Long Arrow*, will not soon be forgotten as one of the pioneer women writers of Canada. The venerable and kindly form of Catherine Parr Traill happily remains with us yet as a link between the past and present in Canadian literature. Nor has her intellect become dimmed or childish. Although ninety-seven years nestle in the benediction of her silvery hair her gifts of head and heart remain still vigorous, as is evidenced in the two works, *Pearls and Pebbles*, and *Cot and Cradle Stories*, which have come from her pen within the past few years. For nearly seventy years this clever and scholarly woman, worthy indeed of the genius of the Strickland family, has been making contributions to Canadian literature from the wealth of her richly stored and cultivated mind. Now a tale, now a study of the wild flowers and shrubs in the Canadian forest, occupies her busy pen. Mrs. Traill is indeed great in the versatility of her gifts, the measure of her achievements, the crowning length of her years,

and the sweetness of her life and character.

Like Desdemona in the play of "Othello," Mrs. Mary Anne Sadlier, the veteran novelist, now a resident of Canada, owes a double allegiance—to the City of Montreal and the City of New York. The author of *The Blakes and Flanigans* and many other charming Irish stories has been, however, living for some years past in this country, and, while a resident of the Canadian metropolis, has helped to enrich the literature of Canada with the product of her richly dowered pen. Last year Notre Dame University, Indiana, conferred on Mrs. Sadlier the Lætare Medal, as a recognition of her gifts and services as a Catholic writer. Two of the strongest women writers in Ontario have been Agnes Maule Machar and Sarah Anne Curzon. Miss Machar possesses a strong subjective faculty, joined to a keen sense of the artistic. The gift of her pen is both critical and creative, and her womanly and sympathetic mind is found in the van of every movement among Canadian women that has for its purpose a deeper and broader enlightenment based upon principles of wisdom, charity and love. Miss Machar is both a versatile and productive writer; novel, poem and critique flowing from her pen in bright succession, and with a grace and ease that betokens the lifelong student and artist. An undertone of intense Canadian patriotism is found running through her work. Under the *nom de plume* of "Fidelis" she has contributed to nearly all the leading Canadian and American magazines. Her two best novels are entitled *For King and Country* and *Lost and Won*.

Mrs. Curzon, who has recently passed away, had a virility of style and security of touch indicative of a clear and robust mind. Her best and longest poem, *Laura Secord*—dramatic in spirit and form—has about it a masculinity and energy found in the work of no other Canadian woman. Mrs. Curzon was a woman of strong character and principles, and her writings share in the strength of her judgments. Perhaps she may be best described as one who had the intellect of a man wedded to the heart of a woman. Quite a unique writer among Canadian women is S. Frances Harrison, better known in literary circles by her pen-name of "Seranus." Mrs.

Harrison has a dainty and distinct style all her own, and her gift of song is both original and true. She has made a close study of themes which have their root in the French life of Canada, and her "half-French heart" eminently qualifies her for the delicacy of her task. Indeed, it is doubtful if any other woman writer of to-day can handle so successfully that form of poetry known as the *villanelle*. Her book of poems, *Pine, Rose and Fleur de Lis*, has met with much favour at the hands of critics, while her prose sketches and magazine critiques prove her to be a woman of exquisite taste and judgment in all things literary. Mrs. Harrison's latest work is a novel, entitled *The Forest of Bourg-Marie*, with its root in the village and woodland of French Canada. It is marked by some very fine character delineation, its atmosphere is true to French-Canadian life and scene, while its story is of marked interest.

There are two women writers in Nova Scotia who deserve more than a mere conventional notice. By the gift and grace of their pens Marshall Saunders and Grace Dean MacLeod Rogers have won a large audience far beyond their native land. Miss Saunders is best known as the author of *Beautiful Joe*, a story which won a two-hundred-dollar prize offered by the American Humane Society. So popular has been this humane tale that when published by a Philadelphia firm it reached the enormous sale of fifty thousand in eighteen months. *Beautiful Joe* has already been translated into Swedish, German, and Japanese. The work is full of genius, heart and insight. The latest effort of Miss Saunders has been a work of fiction based upon the sad epic of the Acadian deportation and entitled *Rose à Charlitte*. It is a story well conceived and well told, full of sympathetic touches, true to the genius of the Acadian people and true to the idealized facts of history. Other works by Miss Saunders are *The King of the Park*, *The House of Armour*, *For the other Boy's Sake*, and *My Spanish Sailor*.

Mrs. Rogers, while widely different from Miss Saunders in her gifts as a writer, has been equally successful in her chosen field. She has made the legends and folk lore of the old Acadian régime her special study. With a patience and gift of

earnest research worthy of a true historian, Mrs. Rogers has visited every nook and corner of old Acadia where could be found stories linked to the life and labours of these interesting but ill-fated people. Side by side with Longfellow's sweet, sad story of *Evangeline* will now be read *Stories of the Land of Evangeline*, by this clever Nova Scotia woman. Mrs. Rogers has an easy, graceful style which lends to the produce of her pen an additional charm. She is unquestionably one of the most gifted amongst the women writers of Canada.

Connected with the Toronto press are two women writers who have achieved a distinct success. Kathleen Blake Coleman, better known by her pen-name of "Kit", is indeed a woman of rare endowments and a writer of remarkable power and individuality. It may be truly said of her, *Nihil quod tetigit non ornavit*. As a critic she has sympathy, insight, judgment and taste. It is doubtful if any other woman in America wields so secure and versatile a pen as "Kit" of the *Toronto Mail-Empire*. During the recent Spanish-American war she won a practically continental reputation as a newspaper correspondent. Miss Freeman, better known as "Faith Fenton," till lately Editor of a woman's journal in Toronto, and for a number of years connected with the *Toronto Empire*, is also a writer of much strength and promise. Her work is marked by a sympathy and depth of sincerity that bespeak a noble, womanly mind and nature. She is equally felicitous as a writer of prose and verse. Every movement that has for its purpose the wise advancement of woman finds a ready espousal in "Faith Fenton."

As a writer of strong and vigorous articles in support of the demands of women for a wider enfranchisement, Mary Russell Chesley, of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, stands at the head of the Canadian women of to-day. Mrs. Chesley is of Quaker descent, and possesses all a true Quaker's unbending resolve and high sense of freedom and equality. This clever controversialist, in defence of her views, has broken a lance with some of the leading minds of the United States and Canada, and in every instance has done credit to her sex and the cause she has espoused. In Moncton, New Brunswick, lives Grace Campbell, another

Maritime woman writer of note and merit. Miss Campbell holds views quite opposed to those of Mrs. Chesley on the woman question. They are best set forth by the author herself where she says: "The best way for woman to win her rights is to be as true and charming a woman as possible, rather than an imitation man". As a writer Miss Campbell's gifts are versatile, and she has touched with equal success poem, story and review. She possesses a gift rare among women—the gift of humour.

There is an advantage in being descended from literary greatness provided the shadow of this greatness comes not too near. Anna T. Sadlier is the daughter of a gifted mother whose literary work has already been referred to. Miss Sadlier has done particularly good work in her translations from French and Italian, as well as in her biographical sketches and short stories. As a writer she is both strong and artistic. A writer who possesses singular richness of style is Kate Seymour McLean, of Kingston, Ontario. Mrs. McLean has not done much literary work during the past few years, but whenever the product of her pen graces our periodicals it bears the stamp of a richly cultivated mind.

Kate Madeleine Barry, the novelist and essayist, resides in Ottawa, the capital of the Dominion. This clever young writer has essayed two novels, *Honor Edgeworth* and *The Doctor's Daughter*, both intended to depict certain phases of social life and character at the Canadian capital. Miss Barry has a bright and cultivated mind, philosophical in its grasp and insight and exceedingly discriminating in its critical bearings. Margaret Polson Murray, Maud Ogilvy and Blanche Lucille Macdonell are three Montreal women who have done good work with their pens. Mrs. Murray is the wife of Professor J. Clark Murray, of McGill University, and is one of the leading musical and literary factors in the commercial metropolis of Canada. She was for some time Editor of the *Young Canadian*, a magazine which during its short-lived days was true to Canadian aspirations and thought. Mrs. Murray busies herself in such manifold ways that it is difficult to record her activities. Her best literary work has been done as Montreal, Ottawa and Washington correspondent of the

*Toronto Week*. She has a versatile mind, great industry, and the very worthiest of ideals.

Miss Ogilvy is a very promising young writer whose work during the past five or six years has attracted much attention among Canadian readers. She is best known as a novelist, being particularly successful in depicting life among the French *habitants* of Quebec. Two well-written though brief biographies—one of Hon. Sir J. J. C. Abbott, late Premier of Canada, and the other of Sir Donald Smith (Lord Strathcona)—are also the work of her pen. Miss Ogilvy is a thorough Canadian in every letter and line of her life-work. Miss Macdonell is of English and French extraction. On her mother's side she holds kinship with Abbé Ferland, late Professor in Laval University, Quebec, and author of the well-known historical work *Cours d' Histoire du Canada*. Like Miss Ogilvy, Miss Macdonell has essayed novel-writing with success, making the old French régime in Canada the chief field of her exploration and study. Two of her most successful novels are *The World's Great Altar Stairs* and *For Faith and King*. Her latest work is a romance of French Canada entitled *Diane of Ville Marie*. Miss Macdonell has written for many of the leading American periodicals and has gained an entrance into several journals in England. Her work is full-blooded and instinct with Canadian life and thought.

A patriotic and busy pen in Canadian letters is that of Janet Carnochan, of Niagara, Ontario. Miss Carnochan has made a thorough study of the Niagara frontier, and many of her themes in prose and verse have their root in its historic soil. She has been for years a valued contributor to Canadian magazines, and has become so associated in the public mind with the life and history of the old Town of Niagara that the Canadian people have grown to recognize her as the special poet and historian of this quaint and eventful spot. Among the younger Canadian women writers few have done better and stronger work than Mary Agnes FitzGibbon. Miss FitzGibbon is a grand-daughter of Mrs. Moodie. Her best work is *A Veteran of 1812*. This book contains the stirring story of the life of Lieutenant-Colonel FitzGibbon—grandfather of the authoress—a gallant British officer who nobly

upheld the military honour of Canada and England in the Niagara peninsula during the War of 1812. Every incident is charmingly told, and Miss FitzGibbon has shown in a marked degree the gift of a clear and graphic narrator. Latterly, in concert with Miss Mickle, of Toronto, she has published two valuable historic Calendars with Canadian events and characters as the subjects.

A writer who has accomplished a good deal in Canadian letters is Amy M. Berlinguet, of Three Rivers, Quebec. Mrs. Berlinguet is a sister to Joseph Pope, Private Secretary of the late Sir Sir John A. Macdonald, and author of a Life of that eminent Canadian statesman. Mrs. Berlinguet's strength lies in her descriptive powers and the clearness and readiness with which she can sketch a pen-picture. She has written for some of the best magazines of the day. In Truro, Nova Scotia, has lately risen a novelist whose work has met with much favour. Emma Wells Dickson, whose pen-name is "Stanford Eveleth," has many of the gifts of a true novelist. Her work, *Miss Dexie*, which is a romance of the Provinces, is a bright tale told in a pleasant and captivating manner. In the City of Vancouver, British Columbia, lives Lily Alice Lefevre, whose beautiful poem, "The Spirit of the Carnival", won a hundred dollar prize offered by the *Montreal Witness*. Few of our Canadian women poets have a truer note of inspiration than Mrs. Lefevre. She writes little, but her work bears the mark of real merit. Her volume of poems, *The Lion's Gate*, published some years ago, is full of good things from cover to cover. Under the pen-name of "Fleurange" Mrs. Lefevre has contributed to many of the Canadian and American magazines.

Another writer on the Pacific coast is Mrs. Alfred J. Watt, best known in literary circles by her maiden name of Madge Robertson. Mrs. Watt has a facile pen in story-writing, and has done some good work for several society and comic papers. She was for some time connected with the press of New York and Toronto. Her best work is done in a light and racy vein. Another authoress who has lately come to the front in British Columbia is Mrs. Henshaw—"Julian Durham." As a journalist and as the writer of the novel *Hypnotized*, she is making a

distinct mark. Far out on the prairie from the Town of Regina, the capital of the Canadian North-West Territories, has recently come a voice fresh and strong. Kate Hayes knows well how to embody in poem and in prose something of the rough life and atmosphere found in the prairie settlements of the West. Her poem, *Rough Ben*, is certainly unique of its kind. Miss Hayes has also in collaboration composed a number of excellent songs.

It is not often that the poetic gift is duplicated in its bestowal in a family. The English world is well acquainted with the work of Charles G. D. Roberts, the foremost of Canadian singers; but it is not generally known that all his brothers, and especially his sister, Elizabeth Gostwycke McDonald, share with him in the divine endowment of song. The work of Mrs. McDonald is both strong and artistic. True to that special attribute of feminine genius, she writes best in the subjective mood. Under the guidance and kindly criticism of her elder brother, Mrs. McDonald has had set before her high literary ideals, and has acquired a style which has gained for her an entrance into some of the leading magazines of the day.

Perhaps the best-known woman writer to-day in Canada is E. Pauline Johnson. Miss Johnson possesses a dual gift—that of poet and reciter. She has a true genius for verse and, apart from the novelty attached to her origin in being the daughter of a Mohawk chief, possesses the most original voice heard to-day in the groves of Canadian song. She has great insight, an artistic touch and truth of impression. Her voice is far more than aboriginal—it is a voice which interprets, not alone the hopes, joys and sorrows of her race, but also the beauty and glory of nature around. Miss Johnson is on her mother's side a kinswoman of W. D. Howells, the American novelist. Her volume of poems, *The White Humpum*, is indeed a valuable contribution to Canadian poetry. A young writer whose work has attracted much attention lately is M. Amelia Fitche, of Halifax, Nova Scotia. Her novel, *Kerchiefs to Hunt Souls*, has been very favourably noticed in many of the magazine reviews of the day. Constance Fairbanks is another Halifax woman who has done some creditable

literary work. Miss Fairbanks was for some years Assistant Editor of the *Halifax Critic*. In prose Miss Fairbanks has a well-balanced style, simple and smooth.

Helen M. Merrill, of Picton, Ontario, is an impressionist. She can transcribe to paper, in prose or verse, a mood of mind or nature with a fidelity truly remarkable. Her work in poetry is singularly vital and wholesome, and has in it in abundance the promise and element of growth. She is equally happy in prose or verse, and is so conscientious in her work that little coming from her pen has about it anything weak or inartistic. A poem recently from her pen, bearing the title "When the Gulls Come Home," is full of true inspiration and gives evidence of her growing powers. Miss Merrill is a descendant of Jonathan Edwards, well-known in the Colonial literature of America. A name which bears merit in Canadian literature is that of Helen Fairbairn, of Montreal. Miss Fairbairn has not a large literary output, but the quality of her work is in every instance good. She is happiest and best in her prose sketches.

For some years past Canadian journals and magazines have contained sonnets from the pen of Ethelwyn Wetherald. These poems had a strength and finish about them which at once attracted the attention of critics and scholars. Miss Wetherald has lately collected her verse in book form, the volume bearing the title of *The House of the Trees*, and it is safe to say that a collection of poems of such merit has never before been published by any Canadian woman. In subject matter and technique Miss Wetherald is equally felicitous. She is always poetic, always artistic. Jean Blewett resides in the little Town of Blenheim, Ontario, but her genius ranges abroad. Mrs. Blewett has the truest and most sympathetic touch of any Canadian woman writer of to-day. I never read the product of her pen but I feel that she has all the endowments requisite for a first-rate novelist. Her verse, which has recently appeared in book form, is exquisite—possessing a subtle glow and depth of tenderness all its own. Mrs. Blewett's first book, *Out of the Depth*, was published at the age of nineteen, and its merit was such as to gain for her a place among the brightest of our Canadian

writers. Emily McManus, of Kingston, Ontario, is a name not unknown to Canadian readers. Her work in prose and verse is marked by naturalness and strength. Though busily engaged in her profession as a teacher, Miss McManus finds time to write some charming bits of verse for Canadian journals and magazines.

There are three Canadian women now residing out of Canada who properly belong to the land of the Maple Leaf by reason of their birth, education and literary beginnings. These are: Mrs. Everard Cotes, of Calcutta, India, better known by her maiden name of Sara Jeannette Duncan; Helen Gregory-Flesher, of Faribault, Minn., and Sophie Almon Hensley, of New York. Mrs. Cotes is one of the cleverest women Canada has yet produced. She flashed across the literary sky of her native land with a splendour almost dazzling in its brightness and strength. Her first work entitled, *A Social Departure*, gained for her immediate fame, and this was soon followed by a second book, *An American Girl in London*. Mrs. Cotes has a happy element of humour which counts for much in writing. Since her residence in the Orient the authoress of *A Social Departure* has devoted herself chiefly to the writing of stories descriptive of Anglo-Indian life. One of these, *The Story of Sonny Sahib*, is a charming little tale. It will be a long time indeed before the bright name of Sara Jeannette Duncan is forgotten in the literary circles of Canada.

Mrs. Flesher is perhaps one of the brightest all-round women writers that Canada has yet produced. She has had a most scholarly career. Her University courses in music and arts have placed her upon a vantage ground which she has strengthened by her own unceasing labour and industry. Mrs. Flesher is a clever critic, a clever story-writer, a clever sketcher and a clever musician. She was for some time Editor of the *Search Light*, a San Francisco monthly publication devoted to the advancement of woman. At present she is doing work for a number of leading American magazines. Mrs. Hensley, who resides in New York, is both poet and novelist, and is regarded by competent critics as one of Canada's best sonneteers. Sincerity and truth mark all her work. When quite young Mrs. Hensley, who was then residing in the col-

legiate town of Windsor, Nova Scotia, submitted her productions to the criticism and approbation of her friend, Charles G. D. Roberts, and this in some measure explains the high ideal of her work. Mrs. Hensley holds kinship with Cotton Mather, the Colonial writer and author. At present she is giving her time chiefly to story-writing, and is meeting with much success.

In Chicago, U.S., there lives and toils a bright little woman who, though living under an alien sky, is proud to consider Canada her home. Eve Broadbique is justly regarded as one of the cleverest women writers in the West. Since her connection with the Chicago press some five or six years ago she has achieved a reputation which adds lustre to the work accomplished by woman in journalism. Her latest literary production is a one-act play entitled "A Training School for Lovers," which has met with much success on the stage.

No estimate of Canadian women writers would be complete with the name of Lily Dougall omitted. Miss Dougall is a Canadian girl, who a few years ago chose Edinburgh, Scotland, as her home. As a writer, she is both strong and original. Her best work will be found in *Beggars All*, *The Mermaid* and *The Madonna of a Day*. Her other chief works are: *What Necessity Knows*, *A Question of Faith* and *The Zeit Geist*. Canada usually furnishes Miss Dougall the background for her tales. Another Canadian woman writer who has done very creditable work is Jane Newton McIlwraith, of Hamilton, Ontario. Miss McIlwraith has contributed to many of the lead-

ing American magazines. She writes under the *nom de plume* of "Jean Forsyth." In 1897 she completed in collaboration with William McLennan an historical romance, the scene of which is laid in New France, for the Harper's, New York. In 1895 her novelette *The Making of Mary*, was published in London, England.

Mrs. Emily Cummings, of Toronto, Ontario, is a name well-known among the women writers of Canada. Mrs. Cummings has done a good deal of clever journalistic work in connection with the *Toronto Globe* and *Empire*. She generally writes under the *nom de plume* of "Sama." During her connection with the *Empire* she wrote for that paper a series of papers entitled "Our Indian Wards." Another Toronto woman whose pen is busy and graceful is Mrs. Grace Elizabeth Denison. Mrs. Denison is the authoress of a volume bearing the title *A Happy Holiday; A Tour Through Europe*, and is a generous contributor to the periodical press.

Robina and Kathleen Macfarlane Lizars and Lady Edgar have made worthy contributions to Canadian literature. Nor should the names of Mrs. E. Jeffers Graham, Annie G. Savigny, Mrs. E. Mason, Maria Elise Lauder, Mrs. Virna Sheard, Mrs. Emma O'Sullivan, Maud Regan and Rose Ferguson be omitted from the roll of Canadian women writers. All have contributed poems, sketches and stories of considerable merit. Mrs. Graham's *Etchings from a Parsonage Verandah* possesses a flavour of humour at once genial and quaint, while some of Miss Ferguson's poems give evidence of true inspiration.

## THOMAS CHANDLER HALIBURTON

BY

F. BLAKE CROFTON, B.A., Provincial Librarian of Nova Scotia.

**T**HOMAS Chandler Haliburton, until recently the most noted writer born in British North America, was the son of William Hersey Otis Haliburton, Chief Justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, as his office was ponderously styled, and of Lucy, daughter of Major Alexander Grant, one of Wolfe's officers. He was born in Windsor, N.S., on the 17th of December, 1796. He was educated in his native town at the Grammar School, and subsequently at King's College, graduating (B.A.) in 1815. In 1820 he was called to the Bar, and practised his profession for some years in Annapolis, which he represented in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly from 1826 to 1829. One of the most notable incidents of his career in the Provincial Legislature was his warm, eloquent and successful pleading in 1827 for the abolition of the test oath, containing a declaration against transubstantiation which debarred devout Catholics from holding public office. His persistent efforts to obtain a grant for the Pictou Academy, which was more than once voted by the House of Assembly and thrown out by the Council, led to his characterizing the latter body in a newspaper as "twelve dignified, deep-read, pensioned old ladies, but filled with prejudices and whims like all other antiquated spinsters." For this the Council demanded an apology from the House, which was at first refused; but, on Council's more peremptorily repeating its demand, the House passed a resolution of censure, which is thus recorded in its Journals, April 4, 1827:

"Thomas C. Haliburton, Esq., one of the Members for the County of Annapolis, being called upon, and having admitted that he did in this House speak the words complained of by His Majesty's Council, and afterwards publish the same:

Resolved, therefore, unanimously: That the House do consider the conduct of the said Thomas C. Haliburton on that occasion as highly reprehensible, and that Mr. Speaker do pass the censure of this House upon the said Thomas C. Haliburton by publicly reprimanding him therefor at the bar of this House."

Haliburton duly appeared at the bar and received the reprimand. But he felt the snub so much, or thought the back-down of the House so disheartening, that he finally abandoned his efforts on behalf of the Pictou Academy and by so doing provoked much bitter criticism which has not ended with his life. This apparent desertion of a cause which he had so vigorously championed was doubtless one of the reasons which led the Government to resist his claim for a pension, until some years after his retirement from the Bench the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided in his favour. In 1829 he succeeded to his father's Judgeship and soon afterwards removed to Windsor, N.S., where he occupied a pretty villa named "Clifton," whose grounds adjoined those of King's College. In 1841 he was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court. He retired from the Bench in 1856 and took up his residence in England, intending to devote himself exclusively to literature. The University of Oxford gave him the honorary degree of D.C.L. in 1858, and he was elected a member of the Athenæum Club.

From 1859 to 1865 he represented Launceston in the Imperial House of Commons. In Parliament Haliburton acted as the representative rather of British North America than of his English constituency, and he several times combated the then disposition of many statesmen to get rid of the Colonies. But he did not make the mark in the House which the admirers of his writings expected. The truth is that, even in

his prime, his ordinary speeches were little above the average, though parts of his set orations were powerful and impressive in the extreme. But none of his best speeches were made in the House of Commons. In 1859 when he was elected for Launceston he was over sixty-two years old—an age at which most eminent men, having regard to their reputation only, would be wise to rest upon their laurels. And Haliburton had been too self-indulgent a liver to be exceptionally vigorous at the beginnings of his old age. Besides, by this time, his success had probably made him too self-complacent to think it needful to give much thought or labour to his speeches. His tendency to wander from the subject had increased. Commenting on a speech of his made in Committee of Ways and Means, April 25, 1861, Mr. Bernal Osborne observed that he had “touched upon nearly every topic except the issue which is immediately under our consideration. The honourable and learned gentleman is a man famous for his literary ability,” continued Mr. Osborne, “and as the author of works of fiction which are universally read; but I must say that, after the exhibition which he has made to-night, he had, in my opinion, better undertake another edition of ‘The Rambler.’” Haliburton’s last years were spent in Gordon House, Isleworth, a beautiful and historic villa on the Thames, a mile or two from Richmond. There he died on the 27th of August, 1865, and was buried in the neighbouring churchyard.\*

The four books by Haliburton which narrate the sayings and doings of the celebrated Samuel Slick, of Slickville, are, in their chronological order; *The Clockmaker*, *The Attaché*, *Wise Saws*, and *Nature and Human Nature*. Two others, *The Letter-Bag of the Great Western*, and *The Bubbles of Canada*, are expressly attributed to Mr.

\*NOTE. Haliburton married (1) Louisa, daughter of Captain Neville, late 19th Light Dragoons, and (2) Sarah Harriet, daughter of W. M. Owen, Esq. (of Woodhouse, Shropshire), and widow of E. H. Williams, Esq. (of Eaton Mascott, Shrewsbury). He left no issue by his second wife. His children, besides two or three who died young, include Robert Grant Haliburton, Q.C., the litterateur; Sir Arthur L., lately created Lord Haliburton of Dirlton, for some years Permanent Under-Secretary for War; Susan, married to the late Judge Weldon of New Brunswick; Augusta, married to a cousin; Laura, married William Cunard; Emma, married Reverend Bainbridge Smith; Amelia, married Very Reverend Edwin Gilpin, Dean of Nova Scotia.

Slick as their author, as may be gathered from the last letter in the former and from the dedication of the latter work; and publishers have placed the name of Sam Slick on the covers of *The Old Judge*, *The Season Ticket*, *American Humour*, and *Americans at Home*.

The First Series of *The Clockmaker*, which appeared first in *The Nova Scotian* in 1835 and 1836, was published in book form in Halifax and London in 1837. The Second Series was issued in 1838; the Third in 1840. In most later editions the three series make one volume. The cute dodges of the Clockmaker in pushing his trade are said to have been reminiscences of suits tried by Haliburton, and brought by an itinerant vendor of clocks for the payment of notes given him for his time-pieces. In the first chapter of *The Attaché* its ostensible writer speaks of *The Clockmaker* as an accidental hit, a success which he did not purpose to imperil by experimenting in other literary lines. “When Sam Slick,” he says, “ceases to speak, I shall cease to write.” But Haliburton’s self-confidence grew with his fame, and he failed to keep this modest resolution. *The Attaché*, the two series of which appeared respectively in 1843-1844, was probably suggested by Dickens’ *American Notes*, which had been published early in 1842. After deprecating Slick’s lively indignation at the latter book, “The Squire” observes, in *The Attaché*: “If the English have been amused by the sketches *their* tourists have drawn of the Yankees, perhaps the Americans may laugh at *our* sketches of the English.” The sub-title of this book, “Sam Slick in England,” has been made the only title in some editions. This last remark may be made also of *Wise Saws and Modern Instances*, which has been given to the public, at least once, under its second title of “Sam Slick in Search of a Wife.” The first edition of *Wise Saws*, published in London in 1853, and its continuation, *Nature and Human Nature*, in 1855, concluded the record of the sayings and doings of the redoubtable Sam Slick.

Haliburton’s first work was his *Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*, published in Halifax in 1829, for which he received a vote of thanks from the House of Assembly. There is now no doubt that the author’s History tintured



Longfellow's picture of the Acadian expulsion. "The poet," says his brother and biographer, "read such books as were attainable; Haliburton, for instance, with his quotations from Abbé Raynal." But may not the publication of Haliburton's History have been a link in the chain of incidents that led to the inception of "Evangeline?" The tale of the separated Acadian lovers, it is well known, was told to Longfellow by Hawthorne, who had heard it from his friend, the Rev. H. L. Conolly, at one time Rector of a church in South Boston. "The incident had been related to him by a parishioner of his, Mrs. Haliburton", writes the Rev. Samuel Longfellow. This was Mrs. George Haliburton, an aunt by marriage of the author. Is it not likely that her attention was first drawn to the Acadians by the touching description of their virtues and their woes in the History written by her nephew?

Our author's second historical work was *The Bubbles of Canada*, a series of letters on the Imperial Colonial policy, published in 1837, while his third and last was *Rule and Misrule of the English in America*, which appeared in 1851. *The Letter-Bag of the Great Western, or Life in a Steamer*, first published in 1839, is a collection of letters supposed to be written by various passengers from England to America in the famous steamship of that name. These letters contain, not only comments upon life at sea, but the writers' reflections on the country they are leaving or the country they are going to—a plan which enables the author to present us with some lively studies in his favourite subject, human nature. In 1846 and 1847 Haliburton contributed to *Fraser's Magazine* a series of papers, which in 1849 were collected in the book entitled *The Old Judge, or Life in a Colony*. This work depicts various phases of life in Acadia in the earlier part of this century. As in the "Sam Slick" series, the plot is a mere thread on which to string facts, jests and opinions. The Old Judge's opinions, by the way, seem to march pretty closely with Haliburton's own. *Traits of American Humour* and *Americans at Home* (also published under the title of "Yankee Stories") are merely collections of tales, mirthful or marvellous, edited by Haliburton, but culled from American books and periodicals.

His latest work was *The Season Ticket*, a series of miscellaneous notes made and conversations reported by Mr. Shegog, the holder of a season ticket on an English railway. The papers which comprise this work were first published anonymously in the *Dublin University Magazine*, in 1858 and 1859. *The Season Ticket* is important to the student of Haliburton, showing, as it does, that his Conservative and Imperialistic views, and his opinions of the resources and needs of Nova Scotia and Canada, were not materially changed in his old age. In this book, too, we may be sure that the author expresses himself absolutely without fear or favour, for it was evidently designed to remain anonymous. Otherwise he would hardly have been bold enough to make a gentleman (p. 123) group him with Dickens and Thackeray. Haliburton loved fun and showed his love of it even on the Bench. His tastes and instincts were both conservative and aristocratic. He disliked innovations unless they were unquestionable improvements. He disapproved of voting by ballot and universal suffrage. To the latter he makes Mr. Hopewell trace the repudiation of their debts by certain States of the Union. In his historical works he even opposed the granting of responsible government to the Colonies. He held that the tyranny of mobs and majorities may be quite as bad and unbearable as that of despots.

Politics, thought Haliburton, is a poor and overcrowded business, especially in the Colonies. He lamented that his countrymen devoted too much attention to this petty game, and exhausted his stores of epigram and ridicule to open their eyes to the fact. Space forbids an adequate account of his famous criticisms, chiefly by the mouth of "Sam Slick," upon the remediable weaknesses of Nova Scotians. He found many of them surrounded by industrial openings and yet waiting inertly for governmental panaceas or wasting their energies in clamouring for them. But, though he freely criticized his countrymen's faults with a view to their reform, he also recognized and handsomely advertised the many advantages of his native Province. To attain the prosperity which nature seemed to have destined for them, he thought Nova Scotians only wanted more industry and more confidence in domestic enterprises, with less devotion to

politics, less false pride (which set some people against agriculture and other honourable industries) and self-complacency, that they might recognize their faults and reform them.

He seems to have fretted under the subordinate status of the Colonies, and to have yearned for a fuller Imperial citizenship. "No, don't use the word 'our' till you are entitled to it," says the Clockmaker. "Be formal and everlastin' polite. Say 'your' empire, 'your' army, etc., and never strut under borrowed plumes." Elsewhere he has compared the Colonies to ponds, which rear frogs, but want only inlets and outlets to become lakes and produce fine fish. He thought the main cause of discontent among gifted and self-reliant colonists was the lack of openings for genius and ambition. He argued that the representation of the Colonies in the Imperial Parliament would also serve to prevent dangerous disaffection—their representatives would be "safety-valves to let off steam." He thought the North American Colonies had already reached a period in their growth "when the treatment of adults should supersede that of children"; but he was not one of those who wished to accept the full privileges of manhood and shirk its obligations and responsibilities.

Sam Slick, his most noted creation, is in most respects a typical, wide-awake Yankee. He is versatile and shifty. He loves to best a body in a trade—especially when the other party thinks himself knowing. He wants to turn everything to practical use, and at Niagara is struck first by the water-power, and secondly by the grandeur of the Falls! He flatters, wheedles and "soft-sawders" everlastingly; but he never cringes to anyone. He is a past master of slang, and is quoted widely, in illustration of colloquialism, in Bartlett's *Dictionary of American Slang*. He is flippant sometimes to the verge of irreverence and indelicacy. He is a shrewd and close observer of character as well as of externals, of classes as well as of individuals. Proud and boastful of his country, he sees some of its faults and dangers, and criticizes it freely himself. But he resents the criticisms of foreigners, especially of superficial observers who think they know everything in a few weeks. These gentry he sometimes "bams" with such shocking tales

as "The Gônging School" or "The Black Stole." He is so sublimely self-conceited as to be unconscious of the failing; but his boastfulness is not wholly due to his conceit. He sometimes brags because "it saves advertising." "I always do it," he confesses, "for, as the Nova Scotia Magistrate said, who sued his debtor before himself, 'what's the use of being a Justice if you can't do yourself justice?'"

In some of his opinions, however, Mr. Slick is certainly not the typical Yankee of his time. He pours ridicule on the mock modesty and suggestive squeamishness of New Englanders. "Fastidiousness," he says, "is the envelope of indelicacy." He detests cant and distrusts those who use it. Hypocrisy, he thinks, "has enlisted more folks for Old Scratch than any recruitin' serjeant he has." He is opposed to Prohibition and notes some of the humbugs then as now connected with it. "Puritans," he says, "whether in or out of church make more sinners than they save by a long chalk. They ain't content with real sin. Their eyes are like the great magnifier at the Polytechnic, that shows you' awful monsters in a drop of water, which were never intended for us to see, or Providence would have made our eyes like Lord Rosse's telescope."

To believe that any human being, much less one who starts life under considerable disadvantages, could know all that Mr. Slick *says* he knows would tax one's credulity overmuch. He is equally at home in the politics of England, Canada and the United States. He paints, he plays the piano and the bugle, he dances, he is skilled in wood-craft and angling, he rows and paddles neatly, he shoots like Leather Stocking or Dr. Carver. He can speculate in any line with equal success. He has a fair smattering of medicine and chemistry. He offers a hawker of cement a much better receipt of his own invention. He has been in almost every country, including Poland, South America and Persia. In the latter country he has learned the art of stupifying fishes and making them float on the surface. He dyes a drunken hypocrite's face with a dye which he got from Indians in "the great lone land"; and when the hypocrite repents he has a drastic wash ready to efface the stain. "I actilly larned French in a voyage to Calcutta," he

says, "and German on my way home." He knew a little Gaelic too, which he learned on a new and agreeable system that, unfortunately, would never do in the Public Schools.

Artemus Ward was not without warrant in terming Haliburton the founder of the American school of humour, for most of its phases, from the affected simplicity of Mark Twain to the malapropism of Mrs. Partington, are illustrated in his works. About fifteen years before the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Topsy's famous phrase was anticipated in *The Clockmaker* (c. 12), where a country girl, being asked where she was brought up, answered: "Why, I guess I wasn't brought up at all, I growed up." Not only phrases but anecdotes and tales have been borrowed from Haliburton by modern humourists. One might even argue, spitefully, that he furnished the model for "Peck's Bad Boy," for there is in *The Letter-Bag* an epistle from a youth who plays a series of tricks almost as nefarious as those of Peck's monstrosity.

Haliburton pointed the shafts of his sarcasm usually at types and classes, seldom at individuals. He saw an unoccupied field for a satirist at home and he proceeded to occupy it. "The absurd importance attached in this country to trifles," observes one of his characters, "the grandiloquent language of rural politicians, the flimsy veil of patriotism under which selfishness strives to hide \* \* present many objects for ridicule and satire." He used dialogue copiously, as a means to make his writings popular. "Why is it," asked Sam Slick, "if you read a book to a man you set him to sleep? Just because the language ain't common. Why is it if you talk to him he will sit up all night with you? Just because it's talk, the language of natur'." And written chat, he evidently thought, was the most effective medicine next to oral chat for holding the attention of all classes. Haliburton had a

great gift for aphorism and quaint conceits and was never at a loss for an apt or grotesque simile.

To what additional eminence he might have attained, had his earlier efforts been addressed to a more critical circle, must remain a matter of conjecture. But it is not unlikely that he might have taken rank among the very greatest literary names of the century if he had been a little less genial and self-indulgent or if he had had higher educational advantages and a more stimulating literary environment at the outset of his career. As it was, Haliburton generally wrote forcibly, and often smoothly and classically, while in detached passages he could be terse and even brilliant. But the attractions of his style are not sustained, and he is sometimes a little slipshod or diffuse. He is accordingly more to be admired as a humourist than as a stylist, and still more, perhaps, as a thorough student and acute judge of human nature. He noted with almost equal keenness and accuracy the idiosyncrasies of individuals, of classes and of nations. He intuitively recognized the tendencies of the age; he observed the currents of public opinion, and gauged their volume and their force with approximate correctness. He foretold some important events that have happened already and others that seem extremely probable to-day.

A literary society was organized in 1884 in connection with King's College, Windsor, N. S., and named the Haliburton Club. It has published two volumes: the first, a pamphlet by the present writer, entitled *Haliburton: the Man and the Writer*; the second, *Haliburton: A Centenary Chaplet*. The latter is illustrated and contains, with four other papers, a complete bibliography compiled by J. P. Anderson of the British Museum, giving a list of magazine articles referring to the author and of English and foreign editions of his works.

## HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CANADIAN JOURNALISM

BY

ARTHUR F. WALLIS, Editor of the *Toronto Mail and Empire*.

IN no branch of effort has Canadian progress been more marked than in journalism. As the Canadian settler commenced with his rude implements to cultivate the soil, so the pioneers of journalism embarked upon their various enterprises, full of energy and hope, to be sure, but in mechanical contrivances and in all the means necessary for the prosecution of their undertakings poorly equipped. As with the advancement of the country industry and invention have made easier the lot of the farmer, so have these two agencies afforded the press the means for an extension of its usefulness unlooked for and unsuspected in the early days. Canada has travelled rapidly from that period, when the Editor, after passing his compositions to his other self, committed them by his own hand to type and concluded by working off the little edition of his little paper by main force on the hand press. Something more in keeping with the requirements of a great, a growing and an educated public has been achieved. The delicate and intricate type-casting machine, the powerful and speedy steam press, now combine to turn out the complete and carefully prepared weeklies or the largely circulated daily issues, laden not merely with the thoughts of the editorial mind but with discussions on all possible subjects—literary, artistic, scientific, theological, social, commercial and political—and with the news of the entire world cabled promptly and directly into the office of publication. Nor in the tone and character of the press are there wanting signs of change. From the fierce and rugged disputations, the strong and bitter denunciations of a particular period in Canadian history, we have passed to the calmer discussion, the appeal to reason, which alone should influence an intelligent community.

It is unquestionably of interest to know something of the beginnings of journalism in Canada, of the work which the pioneers accomplished, of the circumstances under which they began and of the difficulties with which they met. At one time it was supposed that the first paper to appear in the British North America of to-day was the *Quebec Gazette*, in 1764. This was a mistake. Nova Scotia has the honour of the parentage of Canadian journalism. Three years after the founding of Halifax by Edward Cornwallis; three years before the expulsion of the Acadians from the blissful retreat carved out of the forest primeval; eight years before the transfer of Quebec to the British; fourteen years before the Declaration of Independence by the thirteen colonies; or in 1752, on the 28th of March, the *Halifax Gazette* presented itself for the purpose of affording the inhabitants of the new Colony a weekly *resumé* of the more important events. It seems clear that high anticipations touching the future of the then opening Province led the printer to its capital so soon after its foundation. At all events the projector of the enterprise belonged to a printing and publishing family. His grandfather had conducted a printing establishment at Boston, Mass., his father was the publisher of the *Boston News-Letter*, the first newspaper issued in America, and it was not unnatural that Bartholomew Green should woo fortune in the occupation of his forefathers and in a new and promising field.

Green died before he could bring out his paper; but he had taken to Halifax along with his types and his press a Boston printer, John Bushell by name. Bushell took up the undertaking where Green dropped it, and we have as the result of his efforts the two double-column oblong pages named and dated as already mentioned. There

is one copy of this paper in existence, the Massachusetts Historical Society at Boston being its custodian. Certainly it was an excellent production from all points of view—for that early period of nearly a century and a half ago. But, as with the pioneer press the world over, owing of course to the difficulties of communication, the news that it presented was somewhat belated. For example we have in March Parliamentary information of the preceding September and general European intelligence of November, December and January. The paper, however, throws light upon the condition of the period. Naval battles are reported from the Spanish Main and the flight of the Dons is recorded. The death at Quebec of Le Jonquière, the Intendant of New France, is announced and the prevalence of small-pox on both sides of the Atlantic is declared to be so serious a matter that masters of vessels have been cautioned to carefully inspect their passengers. An Act is said to have been passed by the Imperial Parliament correcting the calendar by omitting all the days between the 2nd and the 14th of September, 1752; and Lord Bolingbroke is reported to have died. The Queen of Denmark had also passed away. As a tribute to her memory it had been ordered that for a whole year there should be no "plays, balls, operas, concertos, etc." "Heavens preserve us," exclaims the Editor, "from such mourning, which would send at least one half of our gay, polite gentry to the grave."

The *Gazette* appears to have been delayed in publication, for the publisher informs those who had subscribed and who wished to know the cause of the delay that "the gentleman who is possessed of the original subscriptions, whenever desired, will give them a satisfactory account." The subscription was twenty shillings a year; the number of subscribers was seventy-two; and it was announced that advertisements, of which three appeared in the initial number, would be "taken in." There was a liberal advertising patronage but some of the announcements made in later editions read queerly in these days. Mr. E. B. Biggar in his "Sketch of Canadian Journalism" \* mentions one pointing to the prosecution

of an industry now happily extinct: "To be sold by Joshua Mauger at Major Lockman's store in Halifax several negro slaves. As follows: A woman aged 35, two boys aged 12 and 13 respectively, two of eighteen and a man aged 30." Bushell incurred debts while publishing his paper and in 1760 took in as a partner Anthony Henry, who, four months later, on Bushell's death, succeeded to the business. Henry did well until on one unfortunate day his apprentice, Isaiah Thomas, cut the stamps required by the Stamp Act from his stock of paper and necessitated the bringing out of an edition—in violation of the law—unstamped. This led to the withdrawal of the official patronage and the importation from London in 1766 of another printer, Robert Fletcher, to publish a rival paper. The newcomer designated his journal the *Nova Scotia Gazette*, and at once Henry's *Halifax Gazette* stopped. But, two years later, Henry re-entered the journalistic arena with a more attractive paper, the *Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser*. Ultimately, through the bankruptcy of his rival, he became the controller of the *Gazette* once more. Incorporating it with the *Chronicle*, and calling the united papers the *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle* he was able to publish until the day of his death. Mr. John J. Stewart, of Halifax, in an able article on Nova Scotia Journalism tells us that the *Gazette* still lives in the *Royal Gazette*, the official publication of Nova Scotia.

The first journalistic enterprise in Canada—the *Nova Scotia Gazette*—was the child—the posthumous child as it turned out—of a Boston printer. Of the next it can also be said that it came from Boston. Reference has been made to the *Boston News-Letter* which, was established by the father of Bartholomew Green. That paper during the troublous time of the Revolution was owned by Mrs. Draper, who inherited it from her husband. Mrs. Draper stood by the Loyalists from the first, and when on March 17, 1776, the British troops evacuated Boston, she left the city also, taking with her the types and her press—a machine formerly owned by Franklin—and a young man who was destined to become famous on his own account, and on that of his son, in Canadian history. The young man

\*EDITOR'S NOTE. See McKim's "Canadian Newspaper Directory," 1892.

was John Howe, father of the great Canadian statesman, the Hon. Joseph Howe. John Howe came of a celebrated English family that had given Britain seamen, soldiers and peers. When the American difficulties arose some members of the Howe family who had been long settled in New England espoused the revolutionary cause. But John looked for freedom under the flag for which his forefathers had fought; and it was with a clear conscience that in company with his bride, Mrs. Draper, a young man by the name of McKinstry, who afterwards became his business partner, and Nathaniel Mills—grand uncle of the Hon. David Mills—he left the place of his birth to live on British soil. Mr. Howe managed Mrs. Draper's business for some years, but it was not until 1781 that he published his paper, the *Halifax Journal*. Taking a prominent part in public affairs he enjoyed the high esteem of his fellow-citizens and in the end settled down as Postmaster of the Province. His son John subsequently conducted the paper. This member of the Howe family was not, however, destined to rise to eminence. His half brother, Joseph, at the age of thirteen was apprenticed to the printing business. Having learned the trade, Joseph, in 1827, joined with James Spike in the purchase of the *Weekly Chronicle*, the name of which they changed to *The Acadian*. It was a literary paper and in all probability failed to afford Joseph Howe the scope for which he looked. At all events he disposed of his interest to his partner and established the *Nova Scotian* in 1828. In this journal he entered upon political discussions, assailing the ruling powers with vehemence and demanding what at that time had been conceded to none of the Colonies, responsible government.

Howe laboured in the same field as that occupied by William Lyon Mackenzie in the west. But he objected to any form of agitation other than such as was constitutional. It was with regret that he heard of the Upper Canadian revolt and of the like proceedings in Lower Canada. But before he could make progress with his movement he had to assert the liberty of the press. This was accomplished in the course of a discussion on the subject of the municipal government of Halifax. The city rulers were irrespon-

sible and Howe's paper charged them with corruption. Mr. Howe was at once arrested for libel. The lawyers to whom he appealed for assistance in his defence unanimously declared he had no case and that he had to select either abject apology or the gaol. He determined, however, to defend himself and with borrowed law books he studied the law of libel and prepared for the trial an argument which he hoped would result in his acquittal. His speech in Court in his own behalf was his first public address. It occupied six and a half hours in delivery and was a masterpiece of eloquence and elegance. It cast aside the defensive position and was distinctly aggressive in that it renewed the assaults upon the civic administration and appealed to the jury to stand by liberty of discussion in the public interests. An able Attorney-General replied and a Judge, not enamoured of the press, made a charge distinctly against the accused. But, after deliberating just ten minutes, the jury acquitted Mr. Howe and the verdict was received with popular rejoicings.

Joseph Howe had won the freedom of the press. Mr. Howe in his paper then turned his attention to the freedom of self-government, in which he also scored a victory. In later years he opposed Confederation; but subsequently accepted it. At the same time he was a Federationist on a larger scale. Looking far ahead and over wider fields he became imbued with the idea of Imperial Federation and was one of the first statesmen to propose and advocate that principle. When Mr. Howe entered formally into politics he parted with his paper, and William Annand, another famous Nova Scotian, became its owner. Mr. Annand subsequently changed the name to the *Morning Chronicle* and it is still published in Halifax. It, with a multitude of contemporaries, notably the *Halifax Herald*, is forming and leading public opinion in that Province.

The first Canadian paper was published in Halifax; the second in Quebec. Prior to the cession there had been no regular journals in the Lower Province. But after the cession, or on June 21, 1764, the first number of the *Quebec Gazette* appeared. It is believed that Murray, the first British Governor after the Treaty of

Peace initiated the enterprise. But, whatever truth there may be in this, two Philadelphia printers, William Brown and Thomas Gilmour, were the first proprietors. Gilmour went to England and bought type, press and paper. Brown took up his residence in Quebec and prepared to commence publication. All was arranged in due time and the paper was issued from the first printing office established in the Province. The style of the sheet suggested the mixed character of the population for it was printed half in English and half in French, the languages occupying alternate columns. A prospectus circulated in advance of the initial number told what the *Gazette* would do. It was to be representative of the two languages so as to "afford a weekly lesson for improvement to any inhabitant willing to attain to a thorough knowledge in the language of the place different from that of his mother tongue—whether French or English." But as that feature of the paper, together with other important departments comprehended in the collection and publication of the news of the world—which was of a particularly boisterous description owing to the prevalence of wars on both land and sea—would necessitate much greater expense than the printers in their circumstances could stand, it was thought well to require that at least three hundred subscribers at \$3.00 each should be on the books before operations were commenced. It is clear that the three hundred were secured for "The Genteel Printing Office", as it was termed, was duly opened.

The editorial programme was pitched in a high key. "Our intention to please the *whole* without offence to any *individual* will be better evinced by our practice than by writing volumes on this subject. This one thing we beg may be believed, that party prejudice or private scandal will never find a place in this paper." The allusion to party prejudice illustrates the political peacefulness of the period. We had not reached the days of turmoil when men took sides strongly and bitterly and resorted to the regular press as a means of advancing their views. It was summer when the *Gazette* appeared, the English news was therefore not more than two months old, while the intelligence from New York was but a month behind the time. But some of the news

was fraught with great consequences. The *Gazette* announced for instance that in London there had been prepared a scheme of taxation for our American Colonies. This scheme was the beginning of the trouble which in a few years altered the colouring of the world's map. Varied and interesting were the announcements from time to time made through the columns of the *Gazette*. The advertisements enumerating the wares for sale pointed to the existence of embryo departmental stores, while the notifications of *fêtes*, concerts and balls about to take place stamped Quebec as decidedly a gay capital. The *Gazette* lived for more than a century under various publishers; but in the changes that took place it was forced to discard that part of its programme having reference to politics. It began to criticize with freedom and was ultimately very outspoken. In 1806 it censured the Legislature for laying an import tax on merchandize, for which censure its Editor was corrected by order of the House and was given the choice of the prison or an apology—the latter being accepted.

Montreal soon grew to a position of importance. It received the next paper under somewhat peculiar circumstances. The first journalistic venture in Lower Canada came before the Declaration of Independence. The second was one of the results of that instrument. The new American Congress thought it could easily convert Canada from its allegiance. With this end in view it voted, in 1776, \$100,000 for missionary work, and deputed Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase and the Rev. Charles Carroll to proceed to Montreal and establish a paper which should appeal to the French-Canadians. To their task the Commissioners applied themselves with the necessary zeal. They gathered all their appliances—paper, press and type; they engaged a Frenchman named Joseph Fleury de Mesplet to edit the paper for them; and they set out for their expected peaceful conquest. Their primary work consisted of the distribution of the manifestoes calling upon Quebec to join the Union. These Franklin wrote; and Mesplet translated and printed them. It soon became apparent to the former that he could not strike a responsive chord. The people preferred Great Britain. Under these circumstances the Commissioners

returned and left Mesplet with their outfit. Mesplet continued the printing office and on June 3rd, 1778, issued the intended paper under the name of the *Montreal Gazette*, from the celebrated Chateau de Ramesay. The paper consisted of four pages, eight columns to the page, and was printed in French. The publisher in his salutatory address mentioned the possible advantages of the paper for advertising purposes and then proceeded to guard himself against any misinterpretation that might be placed upon his motives. Thus: "I will insert in the above paper or gazette everything that one or more gentlemen will be pleased to communicate to me, provided always, no mention be made of religion, government or news concerning the present affairs unless I was authorized from Government for so doing, my intention being only to confine myself to what concerns advertisements, commercial and literary affairs." But the programme was departed from and Mesplet, besides being censured from the Bench, was ordered on one occasion to leave the Province, which order was subsequently revoked; and on another to refrain from attacking the clergy or inserting anything in his sheet which would shock good morals or foment discord. The *Gazette* was printed partly in English ten years after its first issue and ultimately became exclusively English.

Another old Quebec paper, still published, is the *Quebec Mercure*, founded by Thomas Cary in 1805 as an organ of the English people. Cary was a clever and outspoken writer. He frequently came into conflict with the Legislature and it is recorded of him that in one of his conflicts with that body he fed his press with assaults upon it from a concealed chamber in his house while the sergeant, armed with a warrant for his arrest, sought him in vain. The next paper issued in Quebec was *Le Canadien* in November, 1806. This journal was entirely French and until its demise in 1896 it was the oldest French paper in the Province. *Le Canadien* fought for the French-Canadian interests in a period of great difficulty and was strong in its language and decisive in its comments. Its first Editor, the Hon. Pierre Bedard, was imprisoned without trial, and, for a long period, for its assaults upon the Government. Francois Blanchet, a later Editor, passed through

a like experience. Lieut.-Colonel Panet, the President of the Assembly, was one of the shareholders and he was dismissed from the Militia by Sir James Craig because, as Sir James explained, he could place "no confidence in the services of a person whom he has good grounds for considering as one of the proprietors of a seditious and libellous publication that is disseminated through the Province with great industry and which is expressly calculated to vilify His Majesty's Government and to create a spirit of dissatisfaction and discontent among his subjects, as well as of disunion and animosity between the two parts of which they are composed." But *Le Canadien* continued to advocate its views until new conditions arose which rendered the situation more satisfactory.

The succeeding history of the earlier journalism in Quebec is a history of new enterprises commenced with much energy only to sink during some political convulsion a few years later. But Montreal journalism has two distinct points for which it properly claims credit. It produced the first daily paper in the Dominion—the *Montreal Daily Advertiser*, established by H. S. Chapman in 1833; and it produced the first penny paper in the Province—the *Montreal Transcript*. These papers were short-lived, but still they were the first of their character. The passage from the weekly to the daily issue was in most cases gradual. The *Gazette*, established as a weekly in 1778, was in 1847 a daily in summer and a tri-weekly, published on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, in winter. The *Herald*, founded in 1808 as a weekly, was in 1847 a summer daily or a winter tri-weekly. But the winter issues were published on days other than those upon which the *Gazette* was issued, namely, on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. *La Minerve*, established in 1826, was published before it became a daily on Mondays and Thursdays; while the *Witness*, established in 1845, was originally a Monday paper.

The first Canadian paper was issued at Halifax; the second at Quebec; the third at Montreal; and the fourth at St. John, New Brunswick. They were all "Gazettes," but the last of the quartette had the added title "and Nova Scotia Intelligencer." It was on December 17, 1783,



that the *Royal St. John's Gazette* first appeared. At that time, what is now New Brunswick was a part of Nova Scotia. A year later New Brunswick became a separate Colony and as a consequence the paper was named the *Royal New Brunswick Gazette and General Advertiser*. The publishers, Lewis and Ryan, appear to have been succeeded in 1785 by Christopher Sower, who came out as King's Printer and published a paper under the title of *The Royal Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*. Sower's career was much like that of Howe's in Nova Scotia. He was born in the recently revolted colonies. Remaining throughout the rebellion his property was confiscated. After the war he proceeded to London, made the facts known and was rewarded with the offices of Deputy Postmaster and King's Printer at St. John. His first issue was published in 1785; and in 1786 he printed what is believed to have been the first almanac published in Canada.

The early New Brunswick papers resembled those of Nova Scotia. They contained long and ancient summaries of British and foreign news; very slight allusions to home news; reports of the movement of vessels and a few advertisements. Mr. E. B. Biggar mentions the curious fact in relation to these eastern journals that the first marriage announcement which appeared in them was that of Captain Moodie to Frances, third daughter of Hon. George Sproule, Provincial Surveyor-General, in April 1811. Captain Moodie was afterwards the Colonel Moodie who fought in the War of 1812 and was shot near Toronto in the Rebellion of 1837. New Brunswick has been a great journalistic battle ground and has produced men famous in their art, both in and out of the Dominion. George E. Fenety, T. W. Anglin, William Elder, John Livingston—among those who have gone—are names known and respected far beyond the limits of the Province in which the chief work of these gentlemen had been done. To Mr. Fenety has been awarded the credit of bringing out in the *Morning News* of 1839 the first penny paper in the British Empire and the third in America. What its circulation must have been it is impossible to say; but when it is mentioned that the press upon which it was printed turned out 120 copies per hour it will be assumed that

the sales were limited. However, the paper grew in popularity and as it improved its appliances with its growth it was soon a splendid property. This journal was one of the chief advocates of the responsible government which was won in New Brunswick without bloodshed. The New Brunswick press has indeed stood for progress from the first. One of the famous struggles for liberty of the press was made in Fredericton by *The Loyalist*, published by Messrs. Hill and Doak, in 1844. The paper having assailed certain members of the Legislature, the House caused the arrest of the proprietors and detained them in gaol. Mr. Hill entered suit against the Speaker for damages and recovered. This put an end to the theory that the Legislative Assembly could in any way regulate the press. Passing from New Brunswick to Prince Edward Island it is found that the first paper issued there was another "Gazette," which was founded in 1791. It was an official paper. The first unofficial paper was *The Register*, which came out under James D. Hazard, the son of a Loyalist.

Upper Canada, the Ontario of to-day, saw its first paper on April 13, 1793. It was another "Gazette"—*The Upper Canada Gazette and American Oracle*. The Quebec Act had separated Upper from Lower Canada; Governor Simcoe had been appointed to rule over the new Province and had selected Newark, now Niagara, as his capital. There he established his court and there Lewis Roy, a Frenchman from Quebec, established two years later his paper which, as he announced in the prospectus, was to become "the vehicle of intelligence in this growing Province of whatever may tend to its interest, benefit and common advantage." Roy's paper was placed at three dollars per annum with four shillings, Quebec currency, as the rate for advertisements of not more than twelve lines in depth. The sheet was well printed and the paper used was coarse but good. Roy withdrew from the *Gazette* after one year's experience and left for Montreal, where he took charge of the *Montreal Gazette* in succession to Fleury de Mesplet, Benjamin Franklin's protégé. Mr. Gideon Tiffany continued the publication until 1799, when the seat of Government having been transferred to York, now Toronto, the *Gazette* followed it.

The sea of journalism henceforth became stormy. It appears that the *Gazette* as published in York was the property of Messrs. Waters and Simons and that in 1801 they were succeeded by Mr. J. Bennett as printer and publisher. Mr. Bennett had troubles of his own, not the least of which was a scarcity of paper. This famine necessitated the occasional printing of editions either on wrapping paper or on the blue paper used for the covers of official reports. Like experiences have been met more recently by the pioneers of far Western journalism who have in more instances than one printed their issues on wall paper. A second difficulty was the inability to get news. For its British and Foreign intelligence the *Gazette* was dependent upon the New York papers, the arrival of which, particularly in winter, was very irregular. Dr. Scadding in *Toronto of Old* adds that in this paper, as in all the other early prints, there was absolute indifference to local news. The papers would make announcements of meetings to be held and of movements in progress, but they never related what was said or what was done at any gathering. Still we derive from them fair ideas of the practices of the period—the whipping and branding of offenders and other like punishments not inflicted in these later days.

When the *Gazette* migrated to York with the Governor, Tiffany and his brother having confidence in Niagara, remained behind and published a paper called the *Canada Constellation*, the first number bearing date July 20, 1799. The Messrs. Tiffany intended to serve the people well. They spoke in their introductory address of the influence and the usefulness of the press; they depreciated the "political printer"; and they pointed out that printers who were just could do much towards rendering the community united and prosperous, whereas the reverse did harm. There ensued a policy of local loyalty. The printers worked for their own town and ridiculed the pretensions of York, its rival across the lake. But the *Constellation* did not live. After the run of a year it made way for the *Niagara Herald*.

The *Herald* explained that its predecessor had died of starvation. In other words its publishers had failed to insist upon that great safeguard, payment in advance, and had suffered in con-

sequence. It seems probable that the same thing brought the *Herald* to an end for it continued only two years, giving place to another enterprise, which in turn was followed by a fourth. In the *Niagara Herald* as in the old *Nova Scotia Gazette* are to be seen traces of the existence of slavery. Here is one of its advertisements from its issue of January 2, 1802: "For Sale, a negro man slave, 18 years of age, stout and healthy; has had the small-pox and is capable of work either in the house or outdoors. The terms will be made easy to the purchaser and cash or new lands received in payment. Enquire of the Printer." The York paper also has its similar column. For instance: "To be sold, a healthy strong negro woman, about thirty years of age; understands cooking and laundry. N.B. She can dress ladies' hair. Enquire of the Printer, York, Dec. 20, 1800." The harbouring of runaway slaves must have been a serious offence for we read over the signature of Charles Field of Niagara that "All persons are forbidden from harbouring my slave 'Sal' and will be prosecuted if they keep her half an hour." It ought to be said in explanation of these notices that, while the few slaves brought to the Province in the early days could be legally held, no additions to the holdings of that nature were permitted. The Legislature at its first session at Niagara proclaimed the introduction of slaves illegal and slavery died an early and natural death.

The *Gazette* was continued at York until 1813, when the invaders from the United States scattered the type and broke up the press. But it had a rival in 1807 in the *Upper Canada Guardian* or *Freeman's Journal*. This assailed the Government, and its Editor, Joseph Wilcocks, who was a member of the House, was imprisoned for breach of privilege. In 1812 Wilcocks deserted to the Americans and was killed at the siege of Fort Erie. Thus ended his paper and his life. In 1817 Dr. Horne, an army surgeon, revived the *Upper Canada Gazette*, and, in 1820, John Carey, who had reported the debates in the Legislature for its pages and was the first Canadian Parliamentary reporter, established *The Observer*, which he conducted until 1830. A year after Carey's paper appeared Mr. Charles Fothergill took over the *Gazette* and named it the *Weekly Register*. A

variety of papers was issued at this period. But possibly that of the greatest historic value was the *Colonial Advocate*, at first dated from Queenston, printed in Lewiston and circulated in York, under the editorship of William Lyon MacKenzie. This paper appeared in May, 1824, and continued until the rebellion, its office being removed to York, where it was once sacked. It struggled, as did its Editor, against the ruling powers. Much as the outbreak may be regretted and much as we may deplore what was said as well as what was done, there can be no doubt that the system of responsibility which came in part from that struggle, but which in New Brunswick, as we have seen, was acquired by peaceful means, brought with it a larger degree of political freedom. Mackenzie was a tremendous worker and a keen and incisive writer, honest in his purposes, but impetuous in the ardour with which he pursued them. He is the most notable character in mid-century Canadian journalism. After the Rebellion of 1837, his flight and the altered Governmental system, we come to the more moderate journals of modern times. Here we meet with Mr. (afterwards Sir Francis) Hincks, who established the *Examiner* in 1838; George Gurnett, who edited the *Courier* from 1831; William Macdougall, statesman and journalist, who established the *North American* as an advocate of new reforms; Peter Brown, the founder of the *Banner* in 1843; George Brown, his son and the great political leader and editor who conducted the *Toronto Globe*, which was first issued in 1844; Gordon Brown, the brother and co-adjutor of George; James Beaty, of the *Leader* and *Patriot*, and Charles Lindsay of the same papers.

The journalism of recent years in Canada has produced many able writers. As education and culture in the community have progressed so has a higher form of newspaper work developed. In Montreal, the late Hon. Thomas White, Mr. R. S. White, ex-M.P., the late John Talon-Lesperance, and John Reade of the *Gazette*; Mr. Hugh Graham and Mr. Henry Dalby of the *Star*; the late John Dougall and Mr. J. R. Dougall of the *Witness*; and the late Hon. E. Goff Penny of the *Herald* have been foremost in the development of English-speaking daily journalism. In Toronto there have

been many representative and able journalists in recent years. The *Mail* has had Mr. T. C. Patteson, now Postmaster of Toronto, the late Charles Belford and Christopher W. Bunting, and Martin J. Griffin, now Parliamentary Librarian at Ottawa. Mr. Edmund Farrer has been connected with it also as well as with the *Globe*. The latter journal has had the Hon. George Brown, first and foremost and the late J. Gordon Brown, Mr. A. H. Dymond, Mr. E. W. Thomson, Mr. John Cameron, Mr. John Lewis, Mr. J. A. Ewan and last but not least, Mr. J. S. Willison. The central figure of the *World* has been Mr. W. F. Maclean, M.P. The *Empire* during its career of nine years, and up to the time of amalgamation in 1895 with the present *Mail and Empire*, included amongst its Editors Mr. David Creighton, the late John Livingston, Mr. A. H. U. Colquhoun, the late Louis P. Kribs, Mr. J. Castell Hopkins and Mr. P. F. Cronin, Mr. J. Ross Robertson, M.P., Mr. E. F. Clarke, M.P., and Mr. E. E. Shepard must also be mentioned in connection with other Toronto papers. Hamilton has had Mr. A. T. Freed, Mr. J. Robson Cameron and Mr. H. F. Gardiner; London has had the Hon. David Mills, Mr. John Cameron, Mr. Josiah Blackburn and Mr. M. G. Bremner. Halifax journalism has had Mr. J. J. Stewart of the *Herald* for many years; St. John has had Mr. J. V. Ellis ex-M.P. for a long period and Mr. S. D. Scott of the *Sun* since 1885; Winnipeg had Mr. W. F. Luxton and Mr. William Coldwell from its pioneer days and later Mr. R. L. Richardson, M.P.; British Columbia the Hon. D. W. Higgins and Mr. R. E. Gosnell. Many others might be mentioned but these are sufficiently representative names in recent years.

But the great and powerful Provincial press must not be overlooked. Kingston had its first paper—another "Gazette"—in 1801, the first number being issued on September 25, by Messrs. Miles & Kendall, formerly of Montreal. The War of 1812 suspended that publication but it was resumed under the title of the *Gazette and Religious Advocate*. It is supposed to have been the first religious weekly on the continent. East of Kingston the first paper was the *Recorder* of Brockville, established by Colonel D. Wylie. The *Recorder* has battled for sixty-five years and is still hale and hearty. About the date of the

*Recorder's* appearance the *British Whig* of Kingston was first issued by Dr. E. J. Barker. It was a successful paper and is now owned by Mr. E. J. B. Pense, the grandson of the founder. But before it came out the *Chronicle* was issued in the same city by A. Pringle and John Macaulay. In 1851 it became the *News* and is a prosperous daily at this moment. Picton, formerly known as Hallowell, saw its first paper in the *Free Press* in 1830 and Belleville had the *Intelligencer* in 1834. The first proprietor of the latter was Mr. George Benjamin. An apprentice in his office subsequently owned the paper and lived to become Premier of Canada. This lad is now Sir Mackenzie Bowell, K.C.M.G.

The history of the western press in Upper Canada, or Ontario, is of more recent date, settlement in that district having been much later than settlement in the east. In the middle of the century papers appeared in every new settlement until it was said that they were more numerous than in any other country similarly situated. Into the far North-West journalism early found its way and was represented by Messrs. William Buckingham and William Coldwell, who issued on December 28th, 1859, the first number of the *Nor'-Wester* at Fort Garry, which was subsequently edited by Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Schultz. It battled for Canadian interests in the new West. British Columbia's first paper, the *Gazette* of Victoria, was issued during the gold excitement of 1858. In the autumn of the same year the *British Colonist* appeared under Mr. Amor de Cosmos and it still flourishes. While the *Gazette* and the *Colonist* were the first English papers, one in the French language preceded them. The Editor was a French nobleman, Count Paul de Guro, who left France during the

crisis precipitated by Napoleon III. He was afterwards lost at sea.

From necessarily small beginnings the various branches of the press of Canada have grown until to-day the country is second to none in journalistic equipment. Every village of importance has its local paper; every metropolitan centre its two, three or four great dailies; every Denomination its religious organ; every trade its trade journal. The output is enormous. In 1895 it was reported that there were then 92 dailies, 5 tri-weeklies, 25 semi-weeklies, 596 weeklies, 6 bi-weeklies, 25 semi-monthlies, 168 monthlies and two quarterlies—919 in all published in the country. In their respective spheres all are serving the public with a careful regard for the general welfare. The weeklies are powerful instruments in the shaping of an opinion soundly Canadian; while some of the dailies, owing to the great improvements in the art of collecting news and the cheapening of production, are monumental issues laying before the public current information as complete as can be found in many of the metropolitan newspapers of the neighbouring country or of Britain. In tone they are essentially British, while in appearance or "get up" they more nearly approach the United States style. This latter feature is attributable to the close proximity of the country to the United States and the demand of the public, not for the loose and vicious journalism found in exceptional cases in that Republic, but for the peculiar distribution and display of the news that is adopted there. Canada's newspaper service has in fact kept pace with the progress of the land in all the arts and is constantly advancing under that great principle of liberty—a free press and a free people.

## CHARACTER AND POSITION OF THE CANADIAN PRESS

BY

EDWARD J. B. PENSE, Editor of *The Kingston Whig*.

A NEW YORK publication, devoted to journalism as a profession, recently dissected Canadian readers as a class, and brought into prominence two facts—that comparatively few British or United States papers are habitually read in the Dominion, and that the circulation of newspapers there is greater, in proportion to population, than in the Republic itself. These conditions could not fail to be creditable to the press of Canada, nor could the acknowledgment, coming from without our borders, be otherwise than complimentary. As the facilities for becoming acquainted with the periodicals of other countries are manifold, through liberal mailing arrangements, it is clear that the people find the press of their own country equal to their needs, and also it is reasonable to infer that it is abreast of the times. The success of Canadians abroad proves their intellect and knowledge as a class; they might, as well, be accounted fair judges of daily literature at home. It is proclaimed that those who cross the sea do not change their minds, but the people from the British Isles, who have filled Canada with a thrifty and studious population, have not clung to their old associations in journalism; rarely, indeed, is an old country paper regularly received here. The cherished love of the land of birth exists, as intense loyalty and prosperous national societies attest. The papers of this country differ in character materially from those of the Mother Land. The natural expectation would be a slow liking for the new journalism, but the spirit of assimilation, so marked in the United States, is abroad here also, and strangers emerge as Canadians in a short time, our brethren in local thought and feeling, as well as in allegiance.

Despite the great enterprise and brightness of

the United States press, its restricted circulation in Canada is not to be wondered at. That press has been hostile, denunciatory and unjust; readers here shrink from it. American jingo journalism, rightly termed yellow for its semblance to a plague, has no abiding place here. Its sensationalism has kept alive the remembrances of two unmerited invasions and has so consolidated Canadians for British connection that the name of annexationist has become odious; not a dozen men in five millions of population would willingly bear it. It required a great movement, the war with Spain, to recall the Republic to a sense of its long course of injustice to Great Britain, and still worse to Canada, but the revolution has been so signal that there will now, apparently, be two happier nations, who should fraternize cordially in many ways, not least agreeably and effectively through the press of both lands. Great cities in the United States, like Chicago, New York and Philadelphia, make great newspapers and great circulations, increasing the average of readers for the periodicals of the whole country. As compared with rural folk, urban householders are receivers of papers in the proportion of nine to one. It is therefore surprising that Canada should present so large a proportion of readers, since she has no great cities, and suffers the disadvantage of a widely scattered population. May it not be due in some measure to the character and position of the press, particularly to the absence of repellant features? Credit, too, should be given to the Post Office Department, whose well-managed system reaches out to every settlement, with communication prompt and regular, a triumph of government in a young country of continental proportions, yet with population and wealth only equal to that of one great State in the Union to the south.

The Dominion supports 910 newspapers and periodicals, of which 104 are issued daily. Ontario claims a majority of the whole number, having 533 regular publications and yet less than half of the population—a proof that the denser the settlement the more numerous the journals. The vast North-West presents 21 papers, many of them thriving in a “splendid isolation” with a vim that reflects the climatic vigour. Quebec Province, with 119 distinct issues, has not the appearance of a shining force in journalism, and yet *La Presse*, of Montreal, claims the largest daily circulation in Canada. The *Montreal Star*, too, at this moment is preparing to celebrate its arrival at two great figures of issue, 50,000 daily and 100,000 weekly. Whether *La Presse* or the *Star* leads, there surely is a land of promise, if the best two of one hundred Dominion dailies are Quebecers, and one a French-Canadian.

In the light of numbers, the position of the Canadian press is assured. While susceptible of improvement—as witness the steady march in that direction for over a quarter of a century—it is in as close touch with the people as the advance of the times dictates, and is therefore fulfilling its mission of leadership. It has emerged from the baby clothes’ period, when it had to be spoon-fed by political, religious or class interests, and has settled down into an alert business institution. No large section exists because a man or a fraction of a party want a personal mouth-piece; the public will have none of that in this day, and, without their good-will, success is impossible. Even journals founded on large party subscriptions, to be faithful to a leader under all conditions, cannot be made to prevail against private enterprise through the force of money or influence, as a costly Toronto experiment testified, though *The Empire* was so earnestly and ably conducted as to be in all ways a credit to the craft. The press in Canada is an aggregation of units, each working out a self-dependent existence, and gathering energy in proportion to increasing difficulties. As a class it is freed from the threats and influences of the capitalist or local “boss”; he no longer holds its life at his caprice. Party patronage is not sought after as a necessary pabulum. The

commercial side of journalism is a very necessary consideration, the casual advantage of Government patronage a mere incident. The business office is the centre, the backbone, of a journal’s life; if it does not sustain the editorial and news departments, partial paralysis sets in, and the end is not far away. It is a happy condition, this, to which the increased cost of newspapering (a rising tide viewed with dread) has brought the craft; since the margin between success and failure is now so close that there is a constant spur to exertion and an equally necessary ambition for reputable journalism. In Canada the press is truly the fourth estate of the realm in credit and influence. Fine buildings are growing in number; newspaper houses are as valuable and as imposing as the best of other mercantile and professional houses, and taste is supreme where once it was almost a stranger.

Toronto may safely be accorded the first place in Dominion journalism; it is a soil upon which enterprise thrives. The *Globe*, whose fyles spread over Canada’s great political struggles and best years, is issued from an elegant building, and leads the Liberal party with a tact that falls little short of generalship. The *Mail and Empire*, its immediate rival, the leader of the Conservative press, has risen from two sources—the *Mail*, whose sturdy party battles and subsequent independence under trying conditions were a record feature, and the *Empire*, founded by the party leader on generous subscriptions to replace the *Mail*, only at last to coalesce with it. The building from which the paper is issued, one of the most imposing in Toronto, is uncommonly familiar to the public eye. The *World*, unlike its two morning contemporaries, has not a great party organization to sustain it, but for general news, vigorous expression and brightness, it ranks very near them. These three dailies fitly represent the country’s journalism. They cover the whole field of Canadian intelligence by telegrams, the efforts of the Associated Press being seconded by permanent correspondents in cities and large towns, and by a corps of travelling reporters for important functions. The Parliamentary reports are so full and prompt as to distinguish the Toronto papers above those of United States cities; the nearest parallel is to be found in

England. The Toronto evening press has three vigorous competitors—the *Telegram* (which has brought its proprietor a fortune), the *News* and the *Star*.

The Sunday paper is unknown in Ontario, being forbidden by statute as well as by the tastes of the people, so the best efforts of the great dailies are devoted to the Saturday issues, the publishers often quadrupling the eight-page form, and providing each week finely illustrated supplements. Hamilton has three evening papers—the *Spectator*, the *Times* and the *Herald*, issued from handsome buildings of their own, and so creditable typographically and so energetically conducted as to give the city a distinction. While even in Hamilton the morning paper passed away, as the failure it usually is in cities of less than 60,000 population (unless isolated), London has long maintained two creditable morning journals—the *Free Press* and the *Advertiser*—though they are helped out financially by evening editions, to which latter a stirring rivalry has been lately created by the *Evening News*. Ottawa shows signs at last of giving the old established morning *Citizen* adequate support in return for new life and enterprise. It has been encouraged to enter the evening field against the *Free Press* and the *Journal*, two of the most industrious newspapers (especially in respect to local news) upon the continent. Opposition of independent papers, stepping between party journals, has been growing in the lesser cities and the towns. The venerable *Whig* (with an elegant building of its own) and the *News* have been supplemented by the *Times* in Kingston; the *Intelligencer* and the *Ontario*, at Belleville, have the *Sun* to shine against them; at Woodstock the *Sentinel-Review* has two new-born rivals—the *Times* and the *Express*; St. Catharines sustains the *Journal*, *Standard* and *Star*; and Peterborough gives life to the *Examiner*, the *Review* and the *Times*. The cities or towns issuing two daily papers only, and voicing the two political creeds, are Brantford, with the *Expositor* (in a handsome home) and the *Courier*; Brockville, with the *Recorder* and the *Times*; St. Thomas, with the *Journal* and the *Times*; Chatham, with the *Planet* and the *Banner*; Stratford, with the *Beacon* and the *Herald*; Port Hope, with the *Times* and the *Guide*; Guelph,

with the *Mercury* and the *Herald*; Galt, with the *Reformer* and the *Reporter*; Berlin, with the *News* and the *Record*. Ottawa possesses two French dailies—*Le Canada* and *Le Temps*. Dailies which have the local field to themselves are the *Ingersoll Chronicle*, the *Windsor Record*, *Lindsay Post*, *Sarnia Observer* and *Port Arthur Sentinel*. With such an array, and such advantages of keen opposition, Ontario should be contented with its daily press. With very few exceptions, the papers sustain eight-page issues.

The Province of Quebec dailies are only seventeen in number, but in the *Star*, Montreal possesses a journal of the highest enterprise in collecting news, both home and foreign, and in presenting it intelligently and promptly it is doubtful if it is surpassed on the continent in covering completely an especial field. *La Presse* has had remarkable success in the news line and in spread of circulation rivalling the *Star*, though in a distinct constituency. The *Gazette*, while others have fallen by the way, has prospered as a morning journal, and become as solid as the rock of Gibraltar; its old-time associate, the *Herald*, is taking on new life and climbing the ladder of success as an evening issue. The *Witness* still flourishes as a paper of good morals and unflagging industry should; while *La Minerve* and *La Patrie* continue to serve up politics with practised skill. Quebec City has given the *Morning Chronicle* an adequate support for a quiet life, while the *Courrier*, *Evenement*, *Telegraph*, *Quotidien*, *Mercury* and *Soliel* have found the resources of the quaint old town ample for their needs. St. Hyacinthe has two dailies, the *Artisan* and the *Union*.

Since age is honourable, all but the Quebec *Mercury* will bow to Nova Scotia. The Halifax *Recorder* bears the honours of nearly a hundred years, but rivals equally strong and prosperous surround it in the *Chronicle* and the *Herald* and the *Echo*. These journals have a great influence in their own Province, and are secured by distance from competition with dailies of bigger places. Amherst has two dailies, the *News* and the *Press*, and Truro has the *News*. New Brunswick, from the prosperous city of St. John, presents five sturdy journals, the *Telegraph*, the *Sun*, the *Globe*, the *Gazette*, the *Record*.

Moncton sends forth the *Transcript* and the *Times*, while Fredericton follows with the *Gleaner*. Prince Edward Island has three dailies, the *Examiner*, the *Guardian* and the *Patriot* of Charlottetown.

Manitoba has shown sterling enterprise in the *Winnipeg Free Press*. It has for at least twenty-five years kept the North-West promptly informed of all that was interesting in the world outside. The expense would have staggered Eastern journalists, but the Publishers persevered and the people responded to the call for support. The pulse for news is felt by two younger practitioners, the *Tribune* and the *Nor' Wester*, of Winnipeg also. Calgary has two dailies, the *Herald* and the *Tribune*. British Columbia rises to creditable journalistic heights on the shoulders of ten daily journals, the *News*, the *Province* and the *World*, of Vancouver; the *Colonist* and the *Times*, of Victoria; the *Free Press*, the *Mail* and the *Telegram*, of Nanaimo; the *Columbian*, of New Westminster, and the *Miner*, of Rossland, in the heart of the gold region.

To deal with the weekly press would require the proportions of a Directory. Each county town is provided with a local champion, generally with two of them, to keep the balance of political activity. They have grown from an aggregation of clippers and copyists into a band of home and foreign news-gatherers and condensers. In addition to industrious reporting of home events, a system of correspondence is in vogue from villages and hamlets, and, as a consequence, from ten to twenty columns of an issue are required for local news, where a score of years back a column was deemed generous allowance. The competition of the weekly issuing from the city daily offices has created a healthful emulation in the Provincial press.

Unquestionably, the most prosperous section of the Canadian press is trade journalism. The trades are represented by weekly or monthly issues to the number of twenty-three, and each one is highly presentable. They have found in typography a place between the ordinary newspaper and the magazine. The specializing of journalism and advertising has a peculiar value, and this is recognized. The religious press has attained a greater distinction than any other

special department of journalistic life, though not by any means attractive in a business light. It is seldom such strong papers are encountered as the *Christian Guardian* (Methodist) and the *Presbyterian Record*, or one so superior in many ways as the *Westminster*. Of the twenty-one well-established Church journals, five are Roman Catholic, emanating from Montreal, Ottawa, Kingston, Toronto and London; three are Anglican and three are Presbyterian. The farming community is equally well cared for with fifteen journals, headed by the *Farmers' Advocate*, of London; *Farming*, of Toronto; *Journal of Agriculture*, of Montreal; *Nor' West Farmer*, of Winnipeg, and *The Sun*, the organ of the Patrons of Industry, the late ambitious third party. The bee, the insect, live stock, the dog, the garden, and poultry, have their special organs; and *Farm and Fireside*, Toronto, combines practical knowledge and entertainment. The professions are well catered to by seven medical and one pharmaceutical paper, and seven law journals, besides the *Canada Journal of Health*. Each of the leading Colleges has a pretentious students' journal; two mining and two engineering issues take up subjects of natural wealth and material progress; the sporting element finds expression in five publications, the *Canadian Wheelman* being especially creditable. Finance and business have able guidance in the *Monetary Times*, of Toronto, the *Chronicle* and the *Journal of Commerce*, of Montreal. Fashion and society have a representative in *Toronto Saturday Night*, of which no country need be ashamed; the restraining hand in social gossip is well supported by able department writers. The *Metropolitan*, of Montreal, the *Delineator*, of Toronto, and *Progress*, of St. John, have a prominent place in this class.

Each of the secret societies has an organ that is but an expanded circular of its doings and recommendations. Temperance has leading advocates in the *Templar*, of Hamilton, and *Woman's Journal*, of Ottawa. For a quarter of a century the *Orange Sentinel* has proclaimed "No Surrender." The *Municipal World*, of St. Thomas, is filling a useful purpose in keeping the elective Councils in the straight and narrow path. *Truth* and the *Canadian Home Journal*, of Toronto, are family journals of merit. The only Sunday paper



tolerated in Canada is the *Sun*, of Montreal. Several papers are published for the Germans, Norwegians and Mennonites; the deaf and dumb speak out through the *Mute*, and Dr. Barnardo's great and often misunderstood charitable work has an imposing local advocate and friend in *Ups and Downs*. The country is sufficiently broad-minded for all classes to live and move and have their being in the life and pulsations of the printing press.

The student of Canadian newspapering must be gratified at the steady advance in dignity of discussion. Personality and the bitternesses that warp men's natures and betray the aboriginal savage have almost disappeared; Canada has not advanced as a nation more quickly than the press has done in realizing its mission. Its loyalty is unquestioned, nay, unmarred; its moral tone is excellent; its sensational side much more repressed than in the great Republic, despite many examples of spicy journalism luring publishers on to ragged endeavour. It is so law-abiding that a prosecution by the Crown officers is a rarity. Canadian journals are household journals, free visitors by right of existence to homes and firesides. This confidence increases their value to the public reader and advertiser, when linked with moderation in politics. No longer is the average newspaper so rancorous and prejudiced that only one party reads it. It reaches all classes, and the people hear both sides of a question, leading to a modified partyism and to a leavening, in some measure, of the great political mass.

The appreciation of this spirit is seen in the rapid growth of independent papers, alongside of which may be named several papers of a party character conspicuous for courageous disciplining of their own friends. Journalism is a greater

force, in local centres, than ever before, because its opinions are respected, and even dreaded, more than when the lash was frequent and war was the rule. Editors and Publishers are local leaders; out of ninety-six representatives recently elected to the Ontario Legislature, eight from one party, the Liberals, were active Editors and Publishers—Messrs. Auld, Craig, Evanturel, Graham, Pattullo, Pettypiece, Russell, Stratton. Several newspapers of the leading cities of Canada compare more than favourably with New York, Philadelphia and Chicago journals, considering differences of mercantile wealth and of population; while, in appearance, energy and popular characteristics, the press of the smaller places excels, without a doubt, its own class in other countries.

In Magazine production alone has there been conspicuous weakness. Several meritorious efforts to establish Canadian monthlies have failed for lack of an adequate literary circle of readers, and inability to command business sympathy and encouragement. But the *Canadian Magazine*, of Toronto, has passed the critical stage, is on a firm basis, with strong mercantile support, and is month by month showing still more clearly the strength of Canada's literature, the interest of its history and traditions, and the inspiration of its natural beauties. The lengthening life of the *Methodist Magazine* is another evidence that the people are appreciating superior endeavour. While mainly religious in motive, its literary departments are well sustained and deservedly appreciated. The solidity, perseverance and modest ambition of the Canadian tells in journalism fully as effectively as in other ranks of life. A profession demanding so much trial and patience deserves all the success and honours that a well-served country can offer.

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## GEORGE BROWN AND "THE GLOBE."

BY

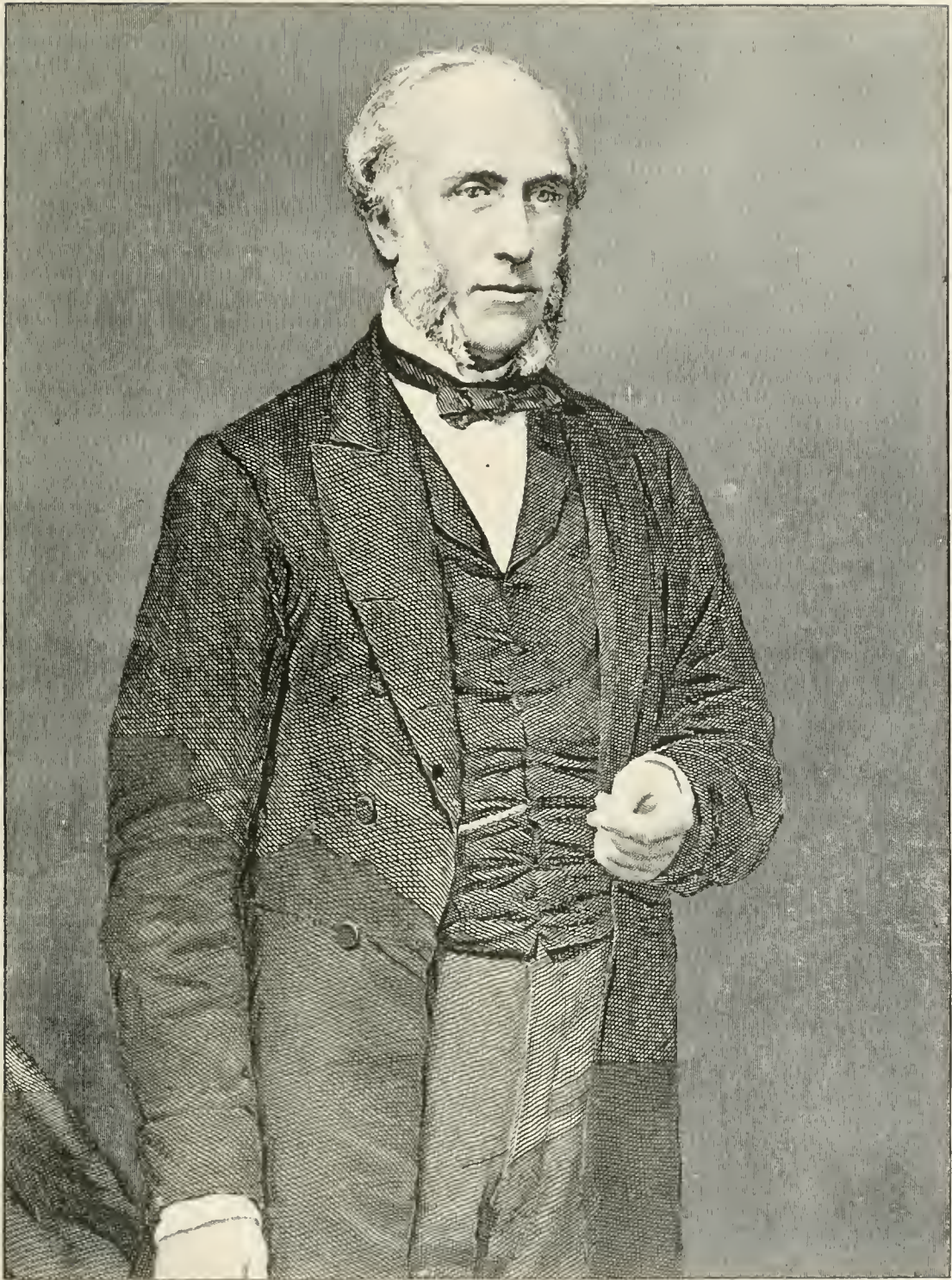
WILLIAM BUCKINGHAM.

IN the person of George Brown, a busy and agitated life was shortened by a tragic death. But though it was a death that came from violence, he had not the satisfaction, poor though that might be, of feeling in his long resulting illness that it was occasioned by his services to the country. The assassins of McGee, Lincoln, and Garfield, made the pretence of public motives for their action, but the miserable misguided man who shot George Brown did it merely to avenge an imaginary and petty personal wrong. Mr. Brown had passed the meridian span of life with the turmoil and strife of his earlier years, and there are good grounds for believing that he had gladly sought to obtain a measure of retirement and repose amidst scenes and influences more congenial to his chastened and subdued spirit, perhaps also to his better nature, when in this wretched manner his death came. Those of his own generation, then still largely to the fore, but since that time mostly passed away, who attended his funeral to pay the last tribute of respect to his memory, and who had been stirred by him in their younger days as few men could stir a people, while thinking again of his exploits, heard once more the trumpet notes of his calls to battle high sounding above the solemn dirges that followed him to the grave. There had been in Canada before his time, there has been in the broader Canada he helped to make, no political warrior with equal power to sound those notes so loud and clear.

In 1857, when the writer of this sketch first came to know him, and an acquaintance was formed in his service which continued to the close, Mr. Brown was in the heyday of his prodigious strength and influence. He had reached the zenith of his physical and mental power, and was being borne on by the elasticity of his mind and character, and the buoyant spirit of the young and

fast developing and resourceful western counties of the Province at his back, towards political heights he clearly saw, though he was enabled to scale them but once, and then for a mere moment to retain his precarious foothold.

At that period he was the uncrowned king—the self-constituted champion of the rights of Upper Canada—a championship which very few in his own party ever dreamt of questioning. One there was who in an unguarded moment at the Toronto Convention of 1867 hinted at the fear of a dictatorship. The mere suggestion was enough. The mutinous member went no further. Mr. Brown was down upon him with his disciplinary lash at once. He said: "I scorn the imputation. I stand here at the end of twenty-five years' service to the Reform party, and I defy any man to show the first act of selfishness of which I have ever been guilty with reference to that party. I defy any man to point to one word that has ever crossed my lips, as the representative of the people—one motion I ever made—one speech I ever delivered—one vote I ever gave—which is not in harmony with the principles of the Reform party of Upper Canada." The *emeute*, if any were intended, stopped right there. It had previously been manifested in the disobedience to orders of Mr. Brown's colleagues in the coalition Government, Mr. McDougall and Mr. Howland, who refused to retire with their leader when he gave the signal, and who faced him on the platform on the occasion of that great gathering. But their incitement to rebellion was brought at the outset to an inglorious end. Mr. Brown was supreme in command of his own forces, and it is probably because he was so well able at that time to keep them in hand that after a long struggle, he forced upon Mr. John A. Macdonald—a greater leader than himself, success in leadership being the



THE HON. GEORGE BROWN.



criterion—the temporary peace which was the prelude to Confederation.

But to return to the earlier period. Towards the close of the 'fifties Mr. Brown was in the full vigour of his manhood, verging upon forty years of age, with no marriage ties to bind him to the family circle; in stature, inches above the average of his fellow-men, broad in proportion, tall and straight, and strong, as in the Miltonic metaphor, "the mast of some great admiral," a notable figure on King Street, where he was so often seen swinging and striding along that well-known Toronto thoroughfare:

"The front of Jove himself;

An eye like Mars, to threaten and command."

Those words "to threaten and command" are very exact in their description of George Brown. From the great frame came forth a voice mighty and unfailling, like the never-ending and overbearing roar and rush of Niagara. He had, too, the strength of a Hercules, enabling the powerful machinery to be kept incessantly at work, so that it never needed to succumb to that weakness of feeling tired, which he so heartily despised in others. He was, in very truth, the incarnation of energy. "Put plenty of work on me," he wrote during an election campaign in 1851. "I can speak six or eight hours a day easily." Yes, all of that, and a great deal more, not only then, but onwards for twenty-five years, as his weary reporters, whose fate it was to follow him up and down the country, to their sorrow knew.

Some of his best work he had already done. Coming to Canada, in 1843, to extend in these provinces the circulation of the *British Chronicle*, a paper his father and himself had established in New York, in advocacy of the principles of the Free Church of Scotland, he saw here opened to them a promising political as well as religious field, and of this he was not slow to induce his father to join him in taking possession. *The Chronicle* in New York ceased to be published, and Peter and George Brown in place of it started *The Banner* in Toronto. At that time the Baldwin-Lafontaine Government was in existence, but not really in power, and was tottering to its fall. The statesmanlike proposals of Lord Durham, following the rebellion of 1837, with Ministerial responsibility to the people as the cardinal

principle of administration, were for still a further period impeded by the influence of what is known as the Family Compact. It has been happily said by Mr. Brown's biographer, Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, that "the battle had been fought, and in a manner won, but the enemy had not been followed up." George Brown's aim was to secure its fruits—to wrest from unwilling hands, by constitutional measures, that which William Lyon Mackenzie had failed to accomplish by force of arms. He became the ally of the Liberal Ministers. They had beaten the Tory Cabinet at the polls, but had not yet gained the victory. They were now in conflict with their titular chief, Lord Metcalfe, the Governor-General of the Canadas, and the struggle reached its height concurrently with the issue of the initial number of *The Banner*. The Ministers, successful with the people, were beaten by the representative of the Crown. Lord Metcalfe declined to take the advice of his ministers on a question of patronage, and they promptly resigned.

Then the necessity was presented for a journal more pronouncedly political than the publishers of a primarily religious paper like *The Banner* were free to make it, and George Brown took a step which was pregnant with results to Canada; he founded *The Globe*. Apt and forceful in all things, he selected for its motto a sentence from Junius, singularly suitable to the occasion: "The subject who is truly loyal to the Chief Magistrate will neither advise nor submit to arbitrary measures." And let the question here be asked, did Mr. Brown ever fail to assert this principle? Did either he or *The Globe* ever make submission? The answer is, never! *The Globe* and Mr. Brown have each in turn been accused of the fault they imputed to others, of being arbitrary. But whether this be true or not, it is quite safe to say they have never at any time been known to tolerate the like failing in any other person or paper.

From the moment of its inception *The Globe* became a power in the land, and by its aid the servant quickly rose to the position of master. Ordinarily

"We build the ladder by which we rise  
From the lowly earth to the vaulted skies;  
And we mount the summit round by round."

Mr. Brown built the ladder, truly enough, but by

it he leapt with his long legs to the vaulted skies from the lowly earth, many rungs at a time, without waiting to get there by any such plodding process as "round by round." Almost at a bound he became the leading figure in Liberal or "Reform" politics. It is not proposed here to enter upon an academic discussion of the oft-asked question, whether Mr. Brown was greater with the pen than on the platform, but if the question really needed an answer, what better could be given than that of my Uncle Toby: "There is much to be said on both sides." In Mr. Brown each side was strongly developed. And they were each self-developed. He had not recovered from the feeling he inspired of wonder at his power as a writer when he created a new source of wonderment at his power as a speaker. The one operated with the other, acting and re-acting in urging him rapidly onward to the climax in his career.

A clear and just distinction was lately drawn by the present editor of the *Globe* between the Canadian journals of past days and those of the present time, when he said the earlier newspapers were "political rather than national." It must be confessed that his distinguished predecessor helped to make them so. Mr. Brown was to the very core loyal and national in sentiment; but he was, over and above all, a politician. The press of Upper Canada was in every way feeble at the time of the Brown invasion. Strong language was heard on the stump and in the forum, but there was a too plentiful lack of strength in the language of the press. George Brown changed this at once. From the moment he took up the editorial pen, it became instinct with energy. He breathed into its nostrils the breath of life. Of course he roused opposition, and notably in the person of the Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson. A couple of amusing letters passed between the two men in 1868, when, on the sixty-fifth anniversary of his birth, the Christian minister, in the tone of meekness pertaining to his sacred calling raised anew the spirit of the old Adam in the breast of his antagonist by the offer of hearty forgiveness for the personal wrongs he assumed George Brown had done him in years gone by. George Brown, from whom the offence was supposed to have come, spurned the offer, and carried the war back into

Africa. The messenger who bore the peaceful missive returned with a terrible answer, quite opposed to Dr. Ryerson's hope in the enjoyment of a full measure of happiness on that glad day. "As to your personal attacks upon myself," said Brown, "those who pursue the fearless course of a public journalist and politician, as I have done for a quarter of a century, cannot expect to escape abuse and misrepresentation. . . . Your dragging my name into your controversy . . . in a matter in which I had no concern whatever, was one of those devices unhappily too often resorted to in political squabbles to be capable of more than momentary indignation." That sufficed for the political parson. The dove with the olive branch went forth no more.

Politics ought not to be everything to a newspaper, but politics were everything to the *Globe*. Signed articles were not then used, and of signed articles to denote the personality of this writer there was no need whatever. His individuality was constantly being revealed in paragraphs condensed and forceful in language, emphatic with black lettering, pointed with index fingers, abounding with dashes, and bristling and pungent with marks of exclamation. Sometimes the style of attack was extravagant, and, if the phrase be permissible, the conclusions were inconclusive. In point, let the curious case be cited of the puzzled reader who one day was told by the *Globe* that "the cup of the iniquity of the Government is running over," and on the following day that "the cup of the iniquity of the Government is nearly full." But if he thought the writer himself to have been in his cups, he would be quite mistaken, for the Browns were the most abstemious of men, as they were purest in mind. It was not often that such a slip of the pen occurred, and when it did happen, it was attributable entirely to the desire to make the case strong. Strong, to be sure, it always was. There was little of exposition; of denunciation a very great deal. The work was not done by proxy, but by Mr. Brown himself, by his own pen, never by the "abhorred shears," for which he had no use. There was no place in the editorial columns of the *Globe* in Mr. Brown's day for scissors, except to give them to the Government. A bad pun? Why so? It has good company. What said the distraught son, in the person of the

Prince of Denmark, of his guilty mother? "I will speak daggers to her, but use none." Daggers were the implements of Hamlet's warfare; scissors, though he preferred to stab with the pointed pen, those of George Brown. News had not then become the feature that it is in our own time. It did not therefore form a counter attraction to the phillipics of the editor. Invariably the reader's first impulse, on receiving the *Globe*, damp from the press, when George Brown was editor, was to turn to the inside page for the tonic, to keep him braced up, which was invariably to be got there—a new stimulant compounded "every lawful day" from the same prescription.

It is quite true the medicine had not the sweetness which is associated with pleasantry, and contained but few of the agreeable ingredients which are derivable from books, for Mr. Brown was not a wide reader or a jocular writer. His reliance was solely upon his intense earnestness and sledge-hammer force, and these never failed of themselves to carry him successfully through. His articles were the talk of the country side, and the pabulum as well of the country press, for when the great dog barked, all the little dogs barked in chorus. In our own age we are sometimes confronted with the proposition, whether with the attractions offered by a constant supply of so many different kinds of news fresh from all quarters of the universe, editorial writing is destined to maintain its supremacy. But this was a proposition never thought of in George Brown's office or by the readers of his paper, for the supremacy of what he wrote over all other kinds of matter then obtainable was unquestionable and unquestioned. He had no patience with long arguments, nice distinctions, subtle disquisitions. His delight was in rough vigour and terse expression. Writers have been said to be like teeth, divided into incisors and molars. Mr. Brown was powerful with both. He could tear a fallacy to rags, and grind it into pulp. Elegance, fine flavour, beauty of illustration, were not of his nature. The questions with him were, "Can the statement be made forceful?" "Can it be made to tell?" He was the god of the Scandinavian mythology—the god with the hammer. With a fyle of the *Globe* before him, Carlyle would have found it an easy thing, had he liked to do so, to

add to his heroes and his worship of heroes, "The hero as journalist," for George Brown was a strong man after his own heart.

Brown's personality was intense, and he impressed it upon his paper with all the force of his masculine and ardent nature. He never followed, but always led. He never stood on the defensive, but was always the aggressor. He was a Napoleon, rapidly moving and constantly forming his columns for attack. Rarely in office, he had no need of explanations of policy. If denied the sense of power in the councils of the country, he felt he possessed it at the lever of the printing press. He was the shaper and creator of public opinion, not its creature. His was the directing mind, setting in motion the whole Liberal journalistic machinery of the Province. From every centre of influence in the West, the tempests which had their origin in the office of the *Toronto Globe* were wafted back with the same certainty as the storms we see nowadays starting forth in obedience to the call of the *deus ex machina* of the meteorological observatory.

It must, however, be admitted that father and son alike were on other lines than politics most rigid. They were as apostolic as Paul in advocacy of "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report." With frigid and prudish minds they guarded the columns of their paper against the intrusion of reports of sports, whether in their nature healthy or unhealthy, or gambling in stocks, or the clean or unclean productions of the stage. Their pleasures and those of their readers were taken sadly in the disturbed pool of party politics; for both there was the constant heartsickness which springs from hope deferred. Politics was the standing puddle of those days, through which was dragged the inner and outward belongings of public men, while clothing of other kinds was cleanly washed and bleached and very stiffly starched.

The debate in the British House of Commons in 1851, when Lord John Russell passed the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill to meet the Bull of the Pope giving territorial designations in England to Cardinal Wiseman and the bishops of his Church, was a great occasion for the *Globe*. It attacked

the Pope and his institutions with a vigour of expression which had no counterpart in the language, intemperate as it was, of the English country gentlemen themselves. Mr. Brown's extreme course in the early part of his life, when Popery was to him as the red flag to the bovine, caused him a great deal of uneasiness in after days, and was for years a serious stumbling block in the path of the Liberal party. It had much to do in causing his defeat when he ran against William Lyon Mackenzie in Haldimand in 1851, and it was in itself enough to justify the expression Mr. Brown more than once applied to himself of being a "governmental impossibility." It is natural in a country with the mixed races and diverse religious beliefs of Canada that this should be so. Intolerance of opinion on cherished subjects is a powerful weapon in pulling down, but weak in building up, and there was little statesmanship in Mr. Brown's uncompromising hostility, during all the years of his more active political life, to the church and language of Lower Canada. In 1871, twenty years after the Haldimand defeat, when Confederation was supposed finally to have composed the religious differences of the community, Mr. Brown wrote a memorable letter of explanation and defence, intended to reunite with the Liberal party the many members of the Roman Catholic Church who had been in unison with it until 1850, but had since that time assumed an attitude of estrangement. But it must be admitted that Catholics and Protestants of the Liberal party did not act again together with the old cordiality and the old confidence in each other until Mr. Brown had ceased to take a dominant part in public affairs.

"They stood aloof, the scars remaining,  
Like cliffs which had been rent asunder;  
A dreary sea now flowed between."

From the issue of the *Banner* in 1843, down to Confederation in 1867, when Mr. Brown left the popular arena and the Liberal leadership was placed in commission, to so remain until, with the concurrence of his Parliamentary colleagues, it was tacitly taken up by Mr. Mackenzie, and formally conferred upon him in 1872; there was here as there was during the long anti-slavery agitation in the United States, "an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces."

The purpose of biographical writing being to proclaim the man, the way to proclaim George Brown is through his style—the way in which he proclaimed himself—*Le style c'est l'homme*. Mr. Brown's style has been dwelt upon with some degree of fulness because it explained so much that there was about him, and because it made him the powerful factor everybody admitted him to be in the politics of Canada, thirty, forty, and fifty years ago. It was by means of his style more than anything else that he commanded the obedience of his fellowmen from the first, and retained it to the last. A master of sentences, he was slow to forsake their construction in the sanctum of the *Globe* for the acclamations which awaited him on the stump, on the platform, and in Parliament. With rare reticence in a man like him, he resisted the overtures to contest a seat in the Legislative Assembly until April, 1851, when he met with failure in Haldimand, but he was returned at the general election later in the same year for Kent, which he represented until 1854. From that time until the elections of 1857, he sat for Lambton. He then had the unusual honour of a double return: for North Oxford and for the city of Toronto—largely through the prancings on the streets of that good old Tory city of "the Protestant horse." Electing to sit for Toronto, he continued its member until 1863, when once more he tried a change of saddle, and became member for South Oxford. As the representative of South Oxford he took a foremost part in the measures for Confederation, which accomplished, he offered in the consequent elections in 1867 for still another seat, that of South Ontario, and suffering a reverse, he devoted himself exclusively to the combination on a large scale of journalism with practical farming, until his call to the Senate in 1873.

The great political movements of his time belong to the domain of history. In each of these movements Mr. Brown's towering person was invariably seen rising high amongst his fellows. He came in, like Lord Elgin, for a share of Tory vengeance for his defence of the Rebellion Losses Bill. Lord Elgin was assailed in Montreal, and an attack was made upon the house of George Brown in Toronto. While supporting the Reform Government in 1851 he gave a summary of



what Liberalism had accomplished, in his address to the electors of Haldimand: (1) control over the executive government; (2) religious equality; (3) a national system of education free from sectarian bias; (4) municipal institutions; (5) great public works; (6) an amended jury law; (7) an improved assessment system; (8) cheap postage.

A staunch advocate of free trade, he was sanguine enough to look forward to the time when the entire Customs department should be abolished, and the ports of Canada be thrown wide open to the world—a vision in statesmanship not yet realized.

Under the inspiration of the *Globe*, a considerable section of the Liberal party became impatient of the tardiness of the Baldwin-Lafontaine Government, which came into power in 1847, in giving effect to their professed policy, especially in the direction of what Mr. Brown called state churchism. With the Reformers of Upper Canada nearly a unit against the bulk of the Tories in that Province in the demand for the abolition of the Clergy Reserves, and with the members of both parties from Lower Canada solidly knit to oppose it, the position of the Liberal Government was one of extreme difficulty. Mr. Lafontaine held to the sacredness of the religious endowments, not as the entire belongings of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland, but as the heritage of all denominations of Protestants; while Mr. Brown and his followers—about that time dubbed by Mr. Malcolm Cameron, because of their tenacity, “clear Grits”—were clamorous for their complete removal through the agency of secularization. Finding the position at length intolerable, Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Lafontaine retired, and Mr. Hincks succeeded to the Liberal leadership. Mr. Hincks declared that the continuance of the agitation was calculated to endanger the Provincial Union, and that, in order to maintain the Union, if the necessary support for carrying on the Government was not to be had from the Liberals, he was prepared to join hands with the Tories. Then the *Globe* went squarely into opposition, and it continued onwards for many years to shake the foundation of governments, until the tension was relieved in 1867 by the Imperial Act of Union of the Provinces of British North America. During that period Mr.

Brown saw the Clergy Reserves secularized by the Ministry of Sir Allan McNab without the realization of the fear of Mr. Hincks as to disruption of the bond between the two Provinces; and Mr. Brown was himself successful in the next great movement to which he gave his attention by securing representation on the basis of population, and along with it the ultimate union of the Provinces of British North America.

But before passing from the Clergy Reserves question, it will be well to quote a sentence or two from the speech Mr. Brown delivered on that subject in Toronto in 1851, as illustrative of his mode of platform warfare. “I hold,” he said “the principle and practice of Establishments to be alike bad. I view the payment of religious teachers by the State injurious to the cause of Christ, injurious to the pastors, injurious to the people, and injurious to the State. I hold that that church which cannot be maintained by the voluntary contributions of the Christian people is not worth supporting. It is true,” he went on to say, “that learned ecclesiastics have shown from Holy Writ that Kings were to be nursing fathers, and Queens nursing mothers to the church, and that by the nicest arguments they have attempted to establish on this foundation a whole fabric of priestcraft”—a fabric which he proceeded at once to raze to the ground. “Let us vow” so concluded his peroration, “that we shall never give up the battle until victory has been fully accomplished; and let us keep ever before us the goal we must reach—no reserves! no rectories! no sectarian education! no ecclesiastical corporations! no sectarian money grants! no sectarian preferences whatever!” No one would be bold enough to say that this was the *ipsissima verba* of the speech, as it was actually delivered, or that any of his other speeches appeared in *The Globe* in the precise language of the platform, for Mr. Brown used few notes, and if a most powerful speaker, he was far from being an exact speaker, and his printed orations were subjected by him, with the aid of short stumps of black-lead pencils, to a considerable degree of added force and editorial embellishment.

The struggle on the representation question was much the same sort of battle as that on the Clergy Reserves had been. The movement, strong among the people in the western part of Upper

Canada, made little advance at first in Parliament. It was resisted by the solid impact of Lower Canada, and by Liberals and Conservatives alike in the easterly constituencies of the Western Province, whose population had become stationary, and who watched the growth of counties like Huron and Bruce with a jealous eye. In the few lines on this question in the high school history for Ontario there is a strange misconception, the writer placing at the head of the impelling forces George Brown, William McDougall, and Antoine A. Dorion, and at the head of the resisting forces John A. Macdonald and George Etienne Cartier. To the latter should be added John Sandfield Macdonald and his brother Donald A. Macdonald, both at that period, in all else but this, very advanced Liberals, as well as Mr. Dorion himself, who, instead of being in the movement as a co-leader with Mr. Brown, with whom he agreed on most other measures of prime importance, joined with the enemy in opposing with all his power the swelling hordes which finally swept him, the three Macdonalds, and Cartier and all else before them. Even in the Confederation debates, after the battle had gone fairly against him, Mr. Dorion spoke in words of bitterness of his former colleagues; and in a previous stage of the history of the movement, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald quite rivalled Cartier in denunciation. Cartier set off against the bone and sinew of the west, the cod-fish in Gaspé Basin, but Sandfield Macdonald with equal if not greater contempt spoke of his newly-arrived Scottish kinsmen in Huron and Bruce as Paisley weavers who were still wearing the coat of whitewash that was given them when they were taken into quarantine at Grosse Isle. John A. Macdonald certainly never said anything worse than that of George Brown's contingent, and George Brown was never more bitter towards Sandfield Macdonald in retort. Brown cared little for what John A. Macdonald might say, but a great deal for what was said by Sandfield Macdonald and Dorion; the fire within the ranks being always hottest and most destructive. Yet he acted towards Dorion and Sandfield Macdonald with a degree of forbearance scarcely to be expected from one of his warlike and impulsive temperament. He was very different in his treatment of William Lyon Mackenzie, the "little

rebel" as he once called him; a Liberal indeed of all Radicals the most pronounced.

Mr. Brown never conquered the counties of his Province which verged upon Lower Canada, but the rest of Upper Canada he hammered into line. Not all at once, but by repeated blows, during which many Governments rose and fell, among the number his own short-lived Ministry which he formed with the aid of Mr. Dorion, in 1858, and that of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, which succumbed in 1864, after a feeble and fitful existence. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald wanted to substitute for the increased representation of Upper Canada according to its population the unworkable project of the two majorities. This meant that the Government of the day must command a majority from each Province. His scheme of course failed, and he had in turn to hand over to the Governor-General the seals of office.

It is not proposed here to more than touch upon the topic so familiar to the past generation by the name of the "double shuffle." This event was the defeat of the sometimes Macdonald-Cartier, at other times Cartier-Macdonald, Government, through the reiterated demands from the west for representation according to its increasing population; the call by Sir Edmund Head to his counsels of Mr. Brown and Mr. Dorion: their immediate defeat on a resolution of non-confidence in the House, where they had vacated their seats by acceptance of office; the refusal by the Governor-General of a dissolution; and the taking by the previous Ministers of double sets of oaths and offices, so as to evade the necessity of returning to their constituents for re-election. Such was the "double shuffle." But the discussion of the subject is too long and too controversial for the pages of this work. Perhaps not less so is the controversy on the fatherhood of Confederation, presenting quite as much difficulty as that involved in the answer to the question, "Who was the father of Zebedee's children?" But as the writer has expressed in other ways his opinion on the tenability of Mr. Brown's claim to this national distinction he may be allowed to state, as he proposes to do in a paragraph, the grounds upon which the claim is based, as an ending to the brief outline he has given of the principal agitations of Mr. Brown's most active life.

So far back as the early part of 1858 Mr. Brown suggested to Mr. Holton of Montreal, as the remedy for the increasing difficulties of government, a comprehensive union. "A federal union, it appears to me," he said, "cannot be entertained for Canada (Upper and Lower Canada, as Canada then was) alone, but when agitated must include all British America." It is true he despaired in his time of its accomplishment, thinking, as he added, that "we will be past caring for politics when that measure is finally achieved"; but in this respect under-estimating the potency of the demands for representation by population, through whose agency it was not long afterwards brought about. In 1859 Mr. Brown called a convention in Toronto, and advocated in lieu of the existing legislative union the adoption of the federal principle. He moved in the same sense at the ensuing session of Parliament. The policy thus outlined was, it is true, limited in its application to Upper and Lower Canada. For its further extension the country was not yet prepared. But events were moving with great rapidity. In the session of 1864, Mr. Brown took advantage of the weakness of the Taché Government, which had succeeded the Government of Sandfield Macdonald, to obtain a Committee on constitutional changes, and as Chairman of the Committee, on the 14th June of that year, he reported in favour of the federative system to be applied either to Upper and Lower Canada alone or to the whole of British North America. The report was adopted with only three dissentients, one of the three being Mr. John A. Macdonald. Next day the Taché Government, with Mr. Macdonald as its leading spirit, was defeated on a direct vote of want of confidence. Mr. Brown's time had now come. He might have taken advantage of his triumph to try to form a Government, but had he succeeded in doing so, no degree of permanency was possible in the state of parties then existing, and he took the patriotic and wiser course of asking his opponents to confer upon the basis of Confederation. Meetings between the hitherto hostile leaders were arranged for; a coalition Government was formed, with Mr. Brown, Mr. Mowat, and Mr. McDougall as Liberal members; and on July 1, 1867, Greater Canada sprang into existence as a confederated country. Mr.

Brown remained sufficiently long with his strange associates to see the enterprise far enough on the pathway to ensure its ultimate success, but his dislike of restraint induced him to quit the ship before it was fairly launched, and towards the close of 1865 he changed the close and stifling atmosphere of the Cabinet for the open air of freedom so necessary to him. Mr. Goldwin Smith once said in the *Bystander*, "The parent of Confederation was Dead Lock." Yes, but who produced Dead Lock? Who but George Brown? George Brown brought the disease to its crisis, and George Brown, I claim, prescribed the cure.

In the general elections of 1867, following Confederation, Mr. Brown was defeated in South Oxford, so that he was excluded from the first Parliament of united Canada, and from that time onward he showed but little disposition to re-enter public life. He accepted nomination to the Upper Chamber in December, 1873, but allowed a whole session to pass without taking his seat. In 1874 he negotiated for Canada a treaty of commerce with the United States, but like the measures of amity between England and the United States of later times, it met its grave in the American Senate. On the death of Mr. Crawford in 1875, Mr. Brown was offered the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, but declined it, rightly concluding that it was a position incompatible with the editorial direction of the *Globe*, and declaring again, as he had often declared before, that he would rather have that position than any dignity or office in the gift of either the Crown or the people. In 1879 a knighthood was a second time pressed upon him, and it was thought that he would at last bend his stiff form and take it, for he went to Montreal to meet the Governor-General, who was charged with the duty of investiture. But he surprised His Excellency and all who were not in the secret, by putting it from him with an expression of his thanks. With change of sky he had changed his mind; rather let it be said that he had never been sufficiently imbued with the notion of acceptance, and, convinced against his will, his opinion had remained the same.

Had he accepted the honour, he would not have lived long to enjoy it. A few months afterwards, in his sixty-second year, in March, 1880, a man

named Bennett, who had been discharged for misconduct from the service of the *Globe*, shot him with a pistol. No one thought that the wound thus inflicted was likely to prove fatal in its consequences; least of all Mr. Brown himself. But the occurrence aroused him to preternatural activity, and in this frame of mind, refusing to take the needed bodily and mental repose, on a bright Sunday in the ensuing May he died. He had insisted on continuing to do business in his chamber, where he held meetings and declared dividends. Perhaps not so much his hurt as his characteristic disregard of it as being a mere trifle prevented his recovery. In scenes of excitement he had passed the many years of his toilsome life; in disquiet he spent the weeks of weary sickness that had brought it to a close; and not till death

was the perturbed spirit to find repose. After his constant buffetings with the world; of achievements which brought with them so few of the fruits of victory; of strifes and disappointments; of the sense of possession of great powers, and of their use to the accomplishment of such poor personal results; who shall say that the restful ending of it all, when it came to him, was unwelcome? His had been the stormy life of Lear, and at the going out of the disquiet spirit the sympathetic ear might have caught the wailing tones of Kent's refrain:

"Vex not his ghost. O, let him pass! he hates him,  
That would upon the rack of this tough world stretch him out  
longer."

Edgar reflectively responds, "He is gone, indeed." And Kent rejoins:

"The wonder is he hath endured so long."



J. S. Willison.

# THE PUBLIC LIBRARIES OF CANADA

BY

JAMES BAIN, JR., Librarian of the Toronto Public Library.

THE art of printing was introduced into the infant Colonies of British America at a very early period. In Halifax the *Gazette* was published in 1756, the first-born of a numerous progeny, and was followed by the *Quebec Gazette* in 1764. In 1779 a number of the officers stationed at Quebec and of the leading merchants undertook the formation of a subscription library. The Governor, General Haldimand, took an active part in the work, and ordered, on behalf of the subscribers, £500 worth of books from London. The selection was entrusted to Richard Cumberland, dramatist, and an interesting letter from the Governor, addressed to him, describing the literary wants of the town and the class of books to be sent, is now in the public archives, Ottawa. The books arrived in due course, and, while no catalogue survives, I think it would not be difficult to name a large proportion of them. The book world in which Dr. Johnson moved was yet a small one. A room for their reception was granted in the Bishop's palace, and as late as 1806 we learn from Lambert's *Travels* that it was the only library in Canada. Removed several times, it slowly increased, until in 1822 it numbered 4,000 volumes. The list of subscribers having become very much reduced, it was leased to the Quebec Literary Association in 1843. In 1854 a portion of it was burned with the Parliament Building, where it was then quartered; and finally, in 1866, the entire library, consisting of 6,999 volumes, was sold, subject to conditions, to the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, for the nominal sum of \$500. The fire was not, however, an unmixed evil, for the partial destruction of the library, together with the Parliamentary Library, called attention to the danger which existed of the total loss of many valuable

books referring to the early history of the country; and it was resolved, in consequence, by the Canadian Government, to reprint the entire series of the *Relations des Jesuites* in three 8vo volumes, a book for which Librarians have always been grateful. This was supplemented in 1871 by the *Journal des Jesuites* in one volume 4to.

Naturally, on the organization of each of the Provinces, libraries were established in connection with the Legislatures. In Upper Canada the small library in the Parliament Building was destroyed by the Americans, and the one by which it was replaced, by the fire of 1824, so that, when the two Libraries of Upper and Lower Canada were united in 1841, there appears to have been little left of the early fugitive literature of the Province. At the end of 1897 the Legislative Libraries of the Dominion numbered nine, and contained 48,834 pamphlets and 309,395 volumes. By far the most important of these is the Library of the House at Ottawa. Originally established on the union of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841, it was successively removed with the seat of Government from Kingston to Montreal, to Quebec, to Toronto, again to Quebec, and finally to Ottawa—a wandering life, which effectually prevented its attaining large proportions.

The unfortunate fires in Montreal and Quebec still further injured it, robbing it of much that was very valuable and which could not be replaced. On the federation of the different Provinces, in 1867, the Library of the two Provinces, only, passed into the hands of the Federal Government. The beautiful building in which it is placed behind the House of Parliament presents a prominent feature in the magnificent pile of buildings which crown the heights

overlooking the Ottawa River, and from the windows the spectator gazes across the rocky gorge and the Chaudière Falls toward the Laurentian hills, forming one of the most picturesque scenes on the continent. In the eyes of the Librarian the Library has only one serious defect—it is complete and no arrangement has been made for extension. On the confederation, in 1867, of the Provinces which now form the Dominion, the union which existed between Upper and Lower Canada was dissolved, and, as we have seen, the Library passed into the hands of the Federal Government. Each of these Provinces, now known as Ontario and Quebec, established new Libraries in Toronto and Quebec cities.

In the Province of Manitoba, Mr. J. P. Robertson, the Librarian of the Legislative Library, says that "the Red River Library was founded in the spring of 1847, the year after the arrival of the Sixth Regiment, in the then young Colony of the Red River Settlement. The officers in charge of the troops were mainly instrumental in starting this pioneer public library. Their efforts in this direction were nobly seconded by a number of leading settlers. Previous to the year 1847 there was a subscription library of 200 volumes, belonging to private gentlemen, some of them officers in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, under the charge of the late Robert Logan, father of ex-Mayor Logan of Winnipeg. The first books for the Red River Library arrived from England in the summer of 1848, *via* the Hudson's Bay route, and were placed in charge of Roderick Sutherland, as Librarian, with the late W. R. Smith as his assistant. It is not stated how many volumes were in the consignment but old settlers say that there must have been at least 1,000 books. The outlay was covered by a grant from the Council of Assiniboia, and a subscription taken up among the settlers. The subscription library before referred to was now merged with the General Library, the members of which were given the gratuitous privileges of the new institution for a term of six years. The Library received a still further accession to its shelves, through a bequest from the late Peter Fidler, a survey officer of the Hudson's Bay Company,

who bequeathed the colonists his private library of 500 volumes, his maps, two sets of 12-inch globes, a large achromatic telescope, a Wilson microscope, a brass sextant by Blunt, a barometer and all his thermometers. The Library was on the circulating principle and contained a large and varied assortment of works in general literature besides many valuable works of reference.

The institution conferred an inestimable boon on the early settlers. Members paying 3/6 per annum were entitled to one book, those paying 7/ got two. Any contributing 15/ were entitled to four volumes at one time. Other additions were made from time to time, which must have increased the number of books in the Library to at least 2,000 volumes. The Librarian left for Oregon, U.S., in 1851, after which date the managers became careless and the last meeting was held in November, 1857. The subsequent history of the Library is difficult to trace but, shortly after 1860, the institution was divided into two sections, one portion being left at Lower Fort Garry for the benefit of settlers in that vicinity and the other removed to the residence of Magnus Brown for the use of the community around Winnipeg. It was from the latter that the books in the present Provincial Library, belonging to the old institution, were obtained." On the establishment of the Province in 1870, Lieut.-Governor Archibald arranged for the purchase of about 2,000 volumes; thus raising the Library to 4,000 volumes, but, owing to the fire in 1873 and the want of proper supervision, it only contained 500 volumes when Mr. Robertson was appointed in 1884. Under his careful librarianship it has grown largely.

In 1872 the Canadian Government instituted an Archives Department for the preservation and calendaring of MS. documents relating to Canada. Large numbers of these have been copied at the Public Records Office, the British Museum and other national repositories in England. A partial examination of others in the Colonial Department de la Marine, Paris, has been made, and many valuable records and papers have been secured in the country. The Archivist, Mr. Douglas Brymner, to whose devotion and energy Canadians owe much, has issued seventeen volumes of reports and calendars, commencing with

1881, but an immense mass of material remains yet to be examined. The Canadian Military correspondence for nearly 100 years, amounting to upwards of 200,000 documents, forms only one item.

The sixty-two colleges and universities of the Dominion are provided with libraries containing 627,626 volumes and 24,894 pamphlets, an average of 10,123 volumes and 402 pamphlets. It is scarcely fair, however, to depend on an average of the whole number, as some half dozen universities possess at least half of the total number. The senior of these, Laval University, Quebec, is famous as being, after Harvard (U.S.), the oldest on the continent, being founded by Bishop Laval in 1663. During the dark days which witnessed the long struggle, first with the Iroquois and afterwards with the English and Americans, little progress was made in the collection of books, and it was not until it was converted into a university in 1852 that its library commenced to increase rapidly. On the suppression of the Jesuit Order and Seminary their books were transferred to it. It numbers considerably over 100,000 volumes, and is unrivalled for the extent and character of its French collection and its many scarce books in early French-Canadian literature and history. Their collection of the *Relations* of the early Jesuit missionaries is only surpassed by the Lenox Library, New York.

McGill University, Montreal, has been the recipient of many gifts from the rich merchants of Montreal, and to one, the late Mr. Molson, it is especially indebted for its beautiful Library building. The fire which destroyed a large portion of Toronto University annihilated the excellent collection of books which formed its Library. An appeal was made by the Faculty and graduates for assistance in replacing it, and the generous response with which it was met from the learned societies throughout the world and from private individuals of all ranks enabled them to start again with 30,000 volumes. These are now housed in a capacious and attractive fire-proof building. I learn from McGregor's *British America* that there was in Montreal in 1824 a subscription library known as the Montreal Library, which contained a voluminous collection of books and prints illustrating the costumes and

scenery of different countries. There was attached to it an excellent reading room, round the walls of which were hung maps of all countries. There was "also a judiciously selected garrison library and an advocates' library." In Kingston, a subscription library known as the Ramsay Library existed in 1836, and contained then about 400 volumes. Similar libraries were to be found in Toronto, Hamilton and Windsor, and indeed, wherever a small colony of intelligent men were clustered together, a library became almost a necessity.

Miss Carnochan, of Niagara, has given an interesting account, in the *Transactions* of the Canadian Institute for 1895, of the formation and history of the first circulating library in Upper Canada (1800-1820), established by some enterprising citizens of the Town of Niagara for the supply of their own immediate wants and of those who could pay the small annual fee. It was successful until the destruction of the town by the American troops in 1813 wasted its volumes and impoverished its subscribers, so that it shortly after quietly passed out of existence. The Province of Ontario was, in fact, the first which attempted to grapple with the question of public libraries.

In 1848 the late Dr. Ryerson drafted a School Bill which contained provisions for school and township libraries, and succeeded in awakening a deep interest in the subject. Ever anxious to impress on his hearers the importance of libraries as the keystone to a free educational system, he urged it at every opportunity. Lord Elgin, at that time Governor-General, was so strongly impressed with the importance of the movement that he styled it the "Crown and glory of the institutions of the Province." In 1854 Parliament passed the requisite Act, and granted him the necessary funds to carry out his views in the matter. The regulations of the Department authorized each County Council to establish four classes of libraries:

1. An ordinary common school library in each school-house for the use of the children and rate-payers.
2. A general public lending library, available to all the ratepayers in the municipality.
3. A professional library of books on teaching,

school organization, language and kindred subjects, available for teachers only.

4. A library in any public institution under the control of the municipality for the use of the inmates, or in any county gaol for the use of the prisoners.

To aid this work a book depository was established in the Education Office to enable the smaller libraries to obtain readily good literature. The books were supplied at cost, and a grant of 100 per cent. on the amount remitted was added in books by the Department. During the thirty years of its existence 1,407,140 volumes were so supplied.

The proposal to establish the second class was, however, premature, and accordingly, finding that Mechanics' Institutes, supported by members' fees, were being developed throughout the many towns and villages, the Educational Department wisely aided the movement by giving a small grant, proportionate to the amount contributed by the members, for the purchase of books and reaching a maximum of \$200, afterwards increased under altered conditions to \$400 annually. In 1869 these had grown to number 26, in 1880, 74, and in 1896 to 292. The number of books possessed by these 292 Libraries was 404,605, or an average of 1,385 each, with a total membership of 32,603. The issue of books for home reading was 700,958, or an average of 24.6 for each member, which is a very creditable return, considering that only thirty per cent. of the books were fiction.

In 1895 the Minister of Education in Ontario brought in a bill, which came into force in May, changing the name "Mechanics' Institute" into "Public Library." By this Act the Directors of any Mechanics' Institute were empowered to transfer the property of the Institute to the municipal corporation on condition that the Library be free. This can be done without passing a by-law or requiring a vote from the people. A large number have already availed themselves of it. In the cities and larger towns previously the Mechanics' Institute, with its limited number of subscribers, was found unequal to the task assigned it, and accordingly, 1882, the Free Libraries Act was passed, based upon similar enactments in Britain and the United States.

The first Free Library established under the Act was in 1883, and in the period between that date and 1897 seventy-eight have successfully come into operation. They contain 308,326 volumes and circulated, during 1896, 1,465,341. Two of them, Toronto and Hamilton, take rank, both in the number and character of their books, among the best libraries of the Dominion. Unitedly the 323 Public and Free Libraries of the Province of Ontario, which reported in 1897, have on their shelves 727,812 volumes, and supplied in 1896 2,157,965 books to their readers. The revenue was \$183,688, of which \$42,741 was contributed by the Province, and they spent of this in books \$49,417.

The Province of Quebec has not yet introduced a Free Library Act, but the generosity of the late Mr. Fraser and a number of gentlemen in Montreal has provided a fund for the establishment of a Free Library in that city, which was opened in October, 1885, under the title of the Fraser Institute. The Mercantile Library Association transferred to it 5,500 English books and *L'Institut Canadien* 7,000 French. In St. John, N.B., a Free Library was founded in June, 1883, to commemorate the landing of the Loyalists a century previous, and in Halifax a Free Library owes its origin to the generosity of the late Chief Justice Young. Both of these have been very successful. A sister society, the Literary and Historical Society of Manitoba, has been the means of introducing a Public Library, and, with the assistance of the municipal authorities of Winnipeg, has laid the foundation of an extensive and valuable library. In the lack of trustworthy information I have not attempted to give any particulars of the Law, Medical, Scientific, Collegiate Institute and Young Men's Christian Association Libraries, further than they are summed up in the following condensed tables, showing the character, and the Province in which they are placed, of the 480 Libraries of a more or less public character in Canada to the end of 1897:

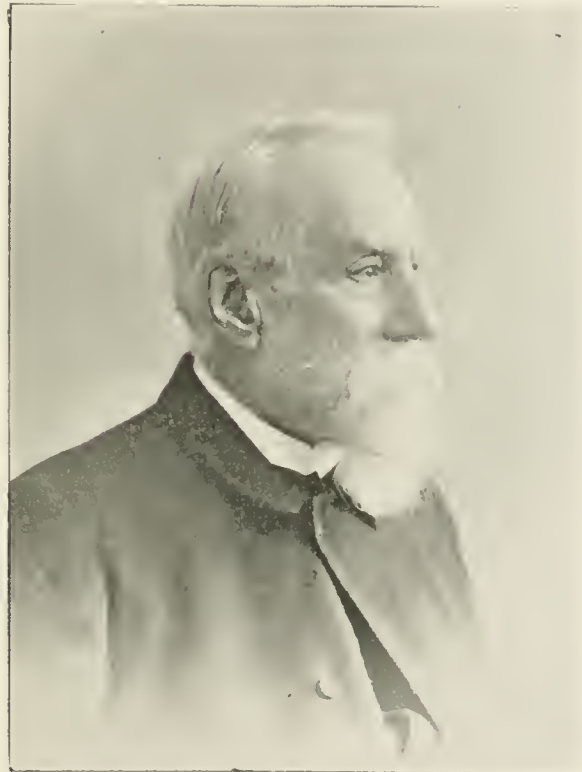
KIND.	No.	PAMPHLETS.	BOOKS.
Law .....	21	1,920	105,788
Legislation .....	9	48,834	309,395
Public .....	325	17,535	663,125
Collegiate, etc. ....	62	24,894	627,246
Others .....	29	15,224	96,918



KIND.	No.	PAMPHLETS.	BOOKS	PROVINCE.	No.	PAMPHLETS.	BOOKS.
Special . . . . .	2	14,330	18,500	New Brunswick . . . . .	15	2,689	54,787
Y. M. C. Associations . . . . .	32		23,660	Prince Edward Island . . . . .	3	500	8,528
Totals . . . . .	480	122,746	1,844,632	Manitoba . . . . .	8	5,014	34,730
				British Columbia . . . . .	10	1,554	11,303
				North-West Territories . . . . .	1	140	2,150
					476	92,416	1,682,562
				Dominion . . . . .	4	29,330	192,060
				Totals . . . . .	480	121,746	1,874,622

By Provinces the 480 Libraries are thus distributed :

PROVINCE.	No.	PAMPHLETS.	BOOKS.
Ontario . . . . .	374	32,922	942,187
Quebec . . . . .	39	31,841	531,356
Nova Scotia . . . . .	26	17,756	97,521



William Kingstord.

# THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA : ITS HISTORY AND WORK

BY

SIR J. G. BOURINOT, K.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L., LIT.D., Honourary Secretary and Ex President of the Society.

**N**EARLY seventeen years have passed away since a few gentlemen, engaged in educational, literary and scientific pursuits, assembled in a small room at McGill College, in Montreal, on the invitation of the Marquess of Lorne, then Governor-General of Canada, to consider the advisability of establishing a Society which would bring together representatives of both the French and English Canadian elements of the population of Canada, for purposes of common study and the discussion of such subjects as might be profitable to the Dominion, and at the same time develop the literature of learning and science as far as practicable. The Society was to have a Dominion character—to be a union of leading representatives of all those engaged in literature and science in the several Provinces, with the principal of federation observed in so far as it asked each Society of note in every section of the country to send delegates to the annual meetings for the purpose of reporting on the work of the year within its particular line of study and investigation.

Of the gentlemen who assembled at this notable meeting at the close of 1881, beneath the roof of the learned Principal of Montreal's well-known University, only the following continue in 1898 as active members of the Society which they aided Lord Lorne to establish; Sir J. W. Dawson, the eminent geologist and teacher; Sir J. M. LeMoine, the Quebec antiquarian, Dr. Selwyn, then Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, and Sir J. G. Bourinot, Clerk of the Canadian House of Commons. Within a few years after the foundation of the Society, Dr. Thomas Sterry Hunt, the eminent chemist, Sir Daniel Wilson, the learned President of Toronto University, Professor Lawson, the distinguished

botanist, Hon. Mr. Chauveau, a notable French-Canadian, were called by death from their active and successful labours in education, science and letters. The result of the efforts of the men just named was the establishment of a Society which met for the first time at Ottawa in the month of May, 1882, with a membership of eighty Fellows, under the Presidency of Sir J. W., then Dr., Dawson. The Vice-President was Mr. Chauveau, who had won a meritorious place, not only in Canadian literature, but also in the political arena, where he was for years a conspicuous figure, noted for his eloquence, his culture, and his courtesy of demeanor. The objects of the Society were set forth in its Dominion Act of Incorporation, as follows:

“First, to encourage studies and investigations in literature and science; secondly, to publish Transactions, annually or semi-annually, containing the minutes of proceedings at meetings, records of the work performed, original papers and memoirs of merit, and such other documents as may be deemed worthy of publication; thirdly, to offer prizes or other inducements for valuable papers on subjects relating to Canada, and to aid researches already begun and carried so far as to render their ultimate value probable; fourthly, to assist in the collection of specimens with a view to the formation of a Canadian museum of archives, ethnology, archæology and natural history.” The membership of the Society at that time was composed of the following gentlemen whose names are duly set forth in the Dominion charter: J. W. Dawson, C.M.G., LL.D., F.R.S., President; the Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, LL.D., Docteur ès Lettres, Vice-President; J. M. LeMoine, Daniel Wilson, LL.D., F.R.S.E., T. Sterry Hunt, LL.D., F.R.S., A. R. C. Selwyn, LL.D., F.R.S., Presidents of Sections; Faucher de St. Maurice, Charles Carpmael, M.A., George Lawson,

ph.D., LL.D., Vice-Presidents of Sections; J. G. Bonrinot, F.S.S., Hon. Secretary; J. A. Grant, M.D., F.G.S., Hon. Treasurer; Goldwin Smith, D.C.L.; the Rev. Abbé Bégin, D.D.; The Rev. Abbé Bois, Napoléon Bourassa, the Rev. Abbé Casgrain, Docteur ès Lettres, Paul DeCazes, Oscar Dunn, the Hon. Hector Fabre, Louis H. Fréchette, LL.D., Napoléon Legendre, Pamphile Le May, the Hon. F. G. Marchand, Joseph Marmette, the Hon. Mr. Justice Routhier, Docteur ès Lettres, Benjamin Sulte, the Rev. Abbé Tanguay, Joseph Tassé, the Rev. Abbé Verreau, Docteur ès Lettres, R. Maurice Bucke, M.D., the Rev. Æneas McDonnell Dawson, Lieutenant-Colonel G. T. Denison, B.C.L., the Very Rev. G. M. Grant, D.D., William Kirby, John Lesperance, Charles Lindsey, the Rev. W. Lyall, LL.D., George Murray, B.A., the Rev. J. Clark Murray, LL.D., Evan McColl, John Reade, Charles Sangster, George Stewart (the younger), Alpheus Todd, C.M.G., LL.D., J. Watson, M.A., LL.D., G. Paxton Young, M.A., C. Baillargé, C.E., Herbert A. Bayne, E. J. Chapman, Ph.D., LL.D., J. B. Cherriman, M.A., E. Deville, C.E., N. F. Dupuis, M.A., F.R.S.E., Sandford Fleming, C.M.G., C.E., P. Fortin, M.D., G. P. Girdwood, M.D., F. N. Gisborne, M. Inst., C.E., E. Haanel, Ph. D., the Very Rev. T. E. Hamel, M.A., B. J. Harrington, B.A., Ph.D., G. C. Hoffman, F.I.C., A. Johnson, LL.D., James Loudon, M.A., T. Macfarlane, M.E., J. G. McGregor, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.E., L. W. Bailey, M.A., Ph.D., Robert Bell, M.D., C.E., F.G.S., G. M. Dawson, D.Sc., A.R.S.M., F.G.S., Edwin Gilpin, M.A., F.G.S., J. Bernard Gilpin, M.D., M.R.C.S., the Rev. D. Honeyman, D.C.L., J. M. Jones, F.L.S., the Rev. Professor J. C. K. Laflamme, D.D., J. Macoun, M.A., F.L.S., G. F. Matthew, M.A., Alexander Murray, C.M.G., F.G.S., W. Osler, M.D., W. Saunders, D. N. St. Cyr, J. F. Whiteaves, F.G.S., and R. Ramsay Wright, M.A., B.Sc.

It must not be assumed that the Society was founded in a spirit of isolation from other literary and scientific men because its membership was confined at the outset to eighty Fellows who had written—to quote the constitution—"memoirs of merit or rendered eminent services to literature or science"—a number subsequently increased to a hundred, or twenty-five each to the four sections of:

1. French Literature and History.
2. English Literature, History and Archæology.
3. Mathematical, Physical and Chemical Sciences.
4. Geological and Biological Sciences.

On the contrary the Society asks for, and is constantly printing, contributions from all workers in the same fields of effort, with the simple and proper proviso that such essays must be presented with the endorsement of an active member, though they may be read before any section by the author himself. Every Canadian association, whether historical, literary or scientific, as I have already intimated, has been asked to assist in the work of the Society, and its representatives are given at the meetings every advantage possessed by the Fellows themselves, except voting and discussing the purely internal affairs of the Royal Society.

Some misapprehension appears to have existed at first in the public mind that, because the body was named "The Royal Society of Canada", an exclusive and even aristocratic institution was in contemplation. It seems a little perplexing now to understand why any possible objection could ever have been taken to such a designation when the Queen is the head of our system of Government, and her name necessarily appears in the first clauses of the Act of Federal Union, and in every document requiring the exercise of the Royal prerogative in this loyal dependency of the Crown. The objection is a good deal on a par with that which has been sometimes ignorantly urged in certain democratic quarters against the conferring of Knighthoods and other Imperial distinctions, to which Canadians have a legitimate right to aspire as long as they are citizens of the Empire and subjects of one Queen, and which are intended, and ought to be always, as Imperial recognitions of special service and merit in the dependencies of the Crown. As a fact, in naming the National Society of Canada, the laudable desire was to follow the example of similar bodies in Australasia, and also to recall that famous Society in England, whose fellowship is a title of nobility in the world of Science. Certain features were copied from the Institute of France, inasmuch as there is a division into sections with the idea of bringing together into each for the purposes of common study and discussion those men who have devoted themselves to special branches of the literature of learning and science.

In this country, and, indeed, in America generally, a notable condition is what might be

called the *levelling* tendency—a tendency to deprecate the idea that any man should be much better than another; and in order to prevent that result it is necessary to assail or sneer at him as soon as he shows any political, intellectual or other special merit, and to stop him, if possible, from attaining that mental superiority above his fellows which has been shown by such men as Laurier, Tupper, Dawson, Fréchette, Parker or Lampman, and many other generally recognized names in politics, literature and science. The Royal Society suffered a little at



Sir John George Bourinot.

first from this spirit of colonial depreciation. The claims of some of its members were disputed by literary aspirants who did not happen for the moment to be enrolled in its ranks, and the Society was charged with exclusiveness when, as a fact, it simply limited its membership, and demanded certain qualifications, like its famous English prototype, with the desire to make that membership an evidence of some intellectual effort, and consequently more prized by those who are allowed sooner or later to enter.

From the very commencement, the Royal Society has been composed of men who have devoted themselves with ability and industry to the pursuit of literature, science and education in Canada—men chiefly drawn from the colleges, universities, official and professional classes. A few years after the establishment of the Society, it was deemed expedient to enlarge the membership to one hundred in all, or twenty-five for each section. At the present time, as the following list for 1898 shows, the Society comprises the large majority of Canadians most distinguished as poets, historians, archæologists, ethnologists, geologists, naturalists, mathematicians, engineers, and other scientists, drawn from every Province of the Dominion:

#### LIST OF MEMBERS, 1898-9.

##### I.—*Litterature Francaise, Histoire, Archeologie, Etc.*

Nérée Beauchemin, M.D., Yamachiche, P.Q.; Mgr. L.-N. Bégin, Archevêque de Cyrène, Quebec; L'abbé H.-R. Casgrain, Docteur ès Lettres, Quebec; L'abbé Cuoq, Oka, P.Q.; L.-O. David, Montreal; Paul DeCazes, Docteur ès Lettres, Quebec; A.-D. DeCelles, Docteur ès Lettres, Ottawa; N.-E. Dionne, Quebec; Hector Fabre, Compagnon de l'ordre des SS. Michel et George, Paris, France; Louis Fréchette, Docteur en Droit, Docteur ès Lettres, Compagnon de l'ordre des SS. Michel et George, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, Montreal; Léon Gérin, Ottawa; L'abbé Auguste Gosselin, Docteur ès Lettres, St. Charles de Bellechasse, P. Q.; Napoléon Legendre, Docteur ès Lettres, Quebec; Pamphile LeMay, Docteur ès Lettres, Quebec; Sir J.-M. LeMoine, Quebec; Hon. F.-G. Marchand, Docteur ès Lettres, Saint Jean, P.Q.; Adolphe Poisson, Arthabaskaville, P.Q.; Edouard Richard, Arthabaskaville, P.Q.; A.-B. Routhier, Docteur en Droit et ès Lettres, Quebec; Joseph-Edmond Roy, Levis, P.Q.; Joseph Royal, rue St. Denis, Montreal; Benjamin Sulte, Ottawa; Mgr. Cyprien Tanguay, Docteur ès Lettres, Ottawa; L'abbé Hospice Verreau, Docteur ès Lettres, Montreal.

##### II.—*English Literature, History, Archæology, Etc.*

Sir John George Bourinot, K.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L., D.L., Ottawa; Douglas Brymner, LL.D.,

Dominion Archivist, Ottawa; Rev. John Campbell, LL.D., Presbyterian College, Montreal; W. Wilfred Campbell, Ottawa; Rev. W. Clark, D.C.L., LL.D., Trinity University, Toronto; Samuel E. Dawson, Lit. D., Ottawa; Lt.-Col. G. T. Denison, B.C.L., Toronto; Hon. Sir J. D. Edgar, K.C.M.G., Q.C., M.P., LL.D., Toronto; Very Rev. G. M. Grant, D.D., Principal of Queen's University, Kingston; Arthur Harvey, Toronto; Rev. Moses Harvey, F.R.G.S., LL.D., St. John's, Newfoundland; Hon. J. W. Longley, M.L.A., LL.D., Halifax, N. S.; Archibald Lampman, Ottawa; J. A. MacCabe, LL.D., Principal of Normal School, Ottawa; Charles Mair, Kelowna, B.C.; George Murray, B.A., Montreal; Rev. J. Clark Murray, LL.D., McGill University, Montreal; Most Rev. Dr. O'Brien, Archbishop of Halifax, Halifax, N.S.; G. R. Parkin, C.M.G., LL.D., Toronto; John Reade, F.R.S.L., Montreal; Hon. Geo. W. Ross, LL.D., Minister of Education, Toronto; George Stewart, D.C.L., LL.D., D.L., F.R.G.S., Quebec; J. Watson, M.A. LL.D., Queen's University, Kingston; Rev. W. H. Withrow, D.D., Toronto.

### III.—*Mathematical, Physical and Chemical Sciences.*

C. Baillarge, C.E., Quebec; H. T. Bovey, M.A., C.E., McGill University, Montreal; Hugh L. Callendar, M.A., F.R.S., McGill University, Montreal; John Cox, M.A., McGill University, Montreal; W. Bell Dawson, M.A., MA.E., ASS. M. Inst. C.E., Ottawa; E. Deville, Surveyor-General, Ottawa; N. F. Dupuis, M.A., F.R.S.E., Queen's University, Kingston; W. H. Ellis, M.D., Toronto University, Toronto; Sir Sandford Fleming, K.C.M.G., LL.D., C.E., Ottawa; G. P. Girdwood, M.D., McGill University, Montreal; W. L. Goodwin, D.Sc., Queen's University, Kingston; Monsigneur Hamel, M.A., Laval University, Quebec; B. J. Harrington, B.A., Ph.D., McGill University, Montreal; G. C. Hoffmann, F. Inst. Chem., LL.D., Geological Survey, Ottawa; A. Johnson, LL.D., McGill University, Montreal; T. C. Keefer, C.M.G., C.E., Ottawa; James Loudon, M.A., LL.D., President of University of Toronto, Toronto; T. MacFarlane, M.E., Chief Analyst, Ottawa; J. G. MacGregor, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.L., Dalhousie University, Halifax; C. H. McLeod, M.E., McGill University, Montreal;

R. F. Ruttan, M.D., C.M., McGill University, Montreal.

### IV.—*Geological and Biological Sciences.*

Frank Adams, M.E., Ph.D., McGill University, Montreal; L. W. Bailey, M.A., Ph.D., University of New Brunswick, Fredericton; Robert Bell, B.A.Sc., M.D., LL.D., F.G.S., F.R.S., Geological Survey, Ottawa; Rev. C. J. S. Bethune, M.A., D.C.L., Port Hope, O.; T. J. W. Burgess, M.D., Montreal; G. M. Dawson, C.M.G., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.G.S., Director of Geological Survey, Ottawa; Sir J. William Dawson, Knt., C.M.G., LL.D., F.R.S., Montreal; R. W. Ells, LL.D., F.G.S.A., Geological Survey, Ottawa; James Fletcher, LL.D., F.L.S., Dominion Entomologist, Ottawa, Honourary Treasurer; James Fowler, M.A., Queen's University, Kingston; Edwin Gilpin, M.A., F.G.S., Inspector of Mines, Halifax; Sir J. A. Grant, K.C.M.G., M.D., F.G.S., Ottawa; G. U. Hay, M.A., Ph.B., St. John, N.B.; W. Hague Harrington, P.O. Department, Ottawa; Abbé J. C. K. Lafflamme, D.D., M.A., Laval University, Quebec; J. Macoun, M.A., F.L.S., Geological Survey, Ottawa; A. H. McKay, LL.D., B.Sc., Halifax; G. F. Matthew, M.A., D.Sc., St. John, N.B.; T. Wesley Mills, M.A., M.D., McGill University, Montreal; D. P. Penhallow, B.Sc., McGill University, Montreal; W. Saunders, LL.D., Director Dominion Experimental Farms, Ottawa; A. R. C. Selwyn, C.M.G., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Ottawa; Rev. G. W. Taylor, Nanaimo, B.C.; J. F. Whiteaves, F.G.S., Geological Survey, Ottawa; R. Ramsay Wright, M.A., B.Sc., University of Toronto, Toronto.

### CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

The Marquess of Loine; T. G. Bonney, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., London, England; Rt. Hon. James Bryce, M.P., D.C.L., London, England; Jules Clarétie, de la Académie Française, Paris, France; Gabriel Gravier, Rouen, France; Sir James Hector, K.C.M.G., F.R.S., Wellington, New Zealand; Alphonse LeRoy, Professor de Philosophie à l'Université de Liège; Gilbert Parker, London, England; Edmè Rameau de Saint Père, D.L., Adon, Loiret, France; Dr. S. H. Scudder, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

### RETIRED MEMBERS.

Napoléon Bourassa, St. Hyacinthe, P.Q.; E. J. Chapman, Ph.B., LL.D., England; J. B. Cherri-

man, M.A., Ryde, Isle of Wight; E. Haanel, Ph. D., Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.; W. Kirby, Niagara, Ont.; W. Osler, M.D., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.; C. G. D. Roberts, M.A., New York.

By comparing the present list of members with the original roll of 1882, it will be seen that death has been busy in the ranks of the Society since its formation. Of the eighty Fellows of 1882-3 only forty-four can now answer to their names when the roll is called. For seventeen years the Royal Society has continued to persevere in its work, and, thanks to the encouragement given to it by the Canadian Government, it has been able, year by year, to publish a large and handsomely printed and illustrated volume of the proceedings and transactions of its members. No other country in the world can exhibit volumes more creditable on the whole in point of workmanship and varied interest than those of the Canadian National Society. The papers and monographs embrace a wide field of literary effort—the whole range of archæological, ethnological, historical, geographical, biological, geological, mathematical and physical sciences. The fifteen volumes already published have been very widely distributed throughout Canada among the educated and thinking classes, and are sent to every library, society, university and learned institution of note throughout the world, with the object of making the Dominion better known. So well appreciated are these Transactions now in every country that, when it happens some library or institution has not received them from the beginning or been forgotten in the annual distribution, the officers of the Society very soon receive an intimation of the fact. This is gratifying, since it shows that the world of higher literature and of special research—the world of scholars and scientists engaged in important observation and investigation—is interested in the work that is being done in the same branches in this relatively new country. It is also necessary to mention here that the Society not only publishes a large volume every year, but also gives to each author a hundred or more copies of his essay in pamphlets. In this way several thousands of valuable papers are circulated

in addition to the Transactions. All the reports of the associated Societies also appear in the volume, which consequently gives to the world a resumé of all the important scientific and historical labours of the year in Canada.

It would be impossible for me, within the compass of this article, to give anything like an accurate idea of the numerous papers, the subject and treatment of which, even from a largely practical and utilitarian point of view, have been of decided value to Canada, and I can only say here that the members of the Society have endeavoured to bring to the consideration of the questions they have discussed a spirit of conscientious study and research, and that, too, without any fee or reward except that stimulating pleasure which work of an intellectual character always brings to the mind. In these days of critical comparative science, when the study of the aboriginal or native languages of this continent has engaged the attention of students, the Royal Society has endeavoured to give encouragement and currency to those studies by publishing grammars, vocabularies, and other monographs relating to Indian tongues and antiquities. The venerable Abbé Cuoq, one of the most erudite scholars of this continent in this special branch of knowledge, has printed in the Transactions what is a monumental work on the Algonquin language. A grammar of the Haida language—one of the tongues of the Pacific coast—has already been published at considerable expense under the careful editorship of Professor Chamberlain, of Clark University—one of those learned Canadians who have found in the neighbouring republic that encouragement for their special accomplishments which is wanting in a limited Canadian field.

A great deal of light has been thrown on Cartier's and Champlain's voyages and discoveries in the Gulf of St. Lawrence by Professor Ganong, a native of New Brunswick, but now a teacher in an educational institution of New England, and by the Abbé Verreau, and of those learned gentlemen who reflect so much honour on the Roman Catholic Church in French Canada. The excellent work of the Geological Survey has been supplemented by contributions from its staff, and consequently there is to be

found in the Transactions a large amount of information, both abstract and practical, on the economic and other minerals of the Dominion. Chiefly owing to the efforts of the Society, the Government of Canada some years ago commenced to take tidal observations on the Atlantic coasts—an enterprise of great value to the maritime and commercial interests of Canada. The Society has also co-operated in the determination of the true longitude of Montreal under the supervision of one of its Fellows, Professor McLeod, of McGill University. The contributions of Sir Daniel Wilson on "The Artistic Faculty in the Aboriginal Races," "The Pre-Aryan American Man," "The Trade and Commerce of the Stone Age," and "The Huron-Iroquois Race in Canada" (that typical family of American Indians), were all intended to supplement in a measure that scholarly work, "Prehistoric Man," which had brought him fame many years before.

One of the most distinguished entomologists of America, and, indeed, of the world, Mr. Horatio Hale, was one of its Fellows until his decease a few months ago, and a contributor to its pages. The Rev. Dr. Patterson, of Nova Scotia, a most careful student of Acadian annals, made valuable contributions during the closing years of his useful life to the history of Portuguese exploration in North American waters, and of that remarkable lost tribe known as Beothiks, or Red Indians of Newfoundland. The *doyen* of Canadian science, Sir William Dawson, has contributed to almost every volume from his stores of geological lore, while his equally distinguished son, the Director of the Geological Survey, has followed closely in his footsteps, and has made valuable additions to our knowledge, not only of the geology of the North-West, but also of the antiquities, languages and customs of the Indian tribes of British Columbia and the adjacent Islands. The opinions of Dr. Thomas Sterry Hunt on the "Relations of the Taconic series to the later crystalline and the Cambrian Rocks" were given at length in the earlier volumes.

Dr. G. F. Matthew, of St. John, New Brunswick, who is a very industrious geologist, has elaborated a work on the "Fauna of the St. John Group." Not only have our geological conditions

been more fully explained, but our flora, ferns and botany generally have been clearly set forth by Messrs. Lawson, MacKay, Macoun and Hay. Dr. Eells, Dr. Bell, Mr. Lambe, Mr. Whiteaves and Dr. Hoffmann, of the Geological Survey; Professor McGregor, of Dalhousie University; Professors Bovey, Girdwood, Callendar, B. Harrington, Wesley Mills, McLeod, Penhallow, Johnson and Cox, of McGill; Professor Ramsay Wright, of Toronto; Professor Dupuis and Principal Grant, of Queen's; Professor Bailey, of New Brunswick University; Drs. Saunders and Fletcher, of the Experimental Farms of Canada, are among the men who have made valuable contributions to the departments of science in which they are engaged, and illustrate the wide range of scientific thought and study over which the work of the Royal Society extends. Very many papers, chiefly in the scientific sections, have been illustrated by expensive plates, generally executed by Canadian artists. The majority of the names I have just given happen to be English-Canadian, but the French language has been represented in science by such eminent men as Hamel, Laflamme and Deville—the first two illustrating the learning and culture of Laval University, so long associated with the best scholarship of the Province of Quebec.

It is not the practice of the Society to give much space to Poetry in Transactions, which are more properly devoted to learned treatises in prose, but on several occasions the French literary section has admitted poems of Fréchette, Pamphile LeMay, and also of Premier Marchand, who is a man of fine culture, which softens and brightens the more rugged qualities which are characteristic of the practical Canadian politician. One recent feature of the Transactions is the publication of books of great rarity, with historical and biographical notes. In the second volume of the New Series—now printed in a convenient octavo form—is the useful history of Canada, written by Pierre Boucher, a Governor of Three Rivers, as far back as 1674. Mr. Benjamin Sulte, a most industrious student of French-Canadian history, has edited the work with much ability and added to its value to the student. The next book of the same class, in course of preparation, is the rare work by Nicholas Denys

—one of the French pioneers of Acadia and Cape Breton—on the history, geography and natural productions of North America; now only to be purchased for three hundred dollars, as there are not more than six perfect copies known to collectors. The papers of Dr. Samuel Dawson on the Cabot Voyages are justly considered among the ablest that have yet appeared on a subject which, of late years, has attracted much attention among students of the discovery of America. The Royal Society was the first to make a practical move to do honour to the great Italian navigator, who showed England the way to maritime and colonial enterprise. The Society has placed in the handsome Legislative Council chamber at Halifax a tablet in commemoration of the famous voyages and discoveries of 1497 and 1498, and the Transactions for the past year contain the Presidential address by Archbishop O'Brien, author and divine; essays by ex-Mayors Davies and Barker, of Bristol, as well as other matter bearing on historic questions of no ordinary interest to Englishmen and their descendants the world over. In the French section Mr. B. Sulte, Abbé Gosselin, Mr. Edmond Roy, Mr. Dionne, Abbé Casgrain, have contributed notable papers on historical events of their interesting Province. In the English section of literature monographs have appeared on Cape Breton and its memorials of the French régime, and on constitutional questions.

Such monographs, as I have mentioned above, represent the practical value of the Society, and show what an important sphere of usefulness is open to its members. The object is not to publish ephemeral newspaper or magazine articles—that is to say, articles intended for merely popular information, or treating of some topic of temporary interest—but always those essays and works of modern compass which show original and thorough research, experiment and investigation in any branch of historical, archæological, ethnological and scientific study, and which will form a permanent and instructive library of reference for scholars and students all over the world. Indeed, at the present time, professors and teachers in our Colleges and High Schools are constantly making demands on the Society for sets of its Transactions or copies of special

papers. The essays must necessarily, in the majority of cases, be such as cannot be well published except through aid granted by a Government, or by the liberality of private individuals. The Society, in fact, is in its way attempting just such work as is done by the Smithsonian Institution and the National Museum on a large scale at Washington, so far as the publication of important transactions is concerned. The main object, of course, is to perpetuate and give currency to the labours of students and scholars in special lines of investigation, and not the efforts of the mere literary amateur or trifler in *belles-lettres*.

But, while there must be necessarily such limitations to the scope of the Transactions, room will be always made for papers on any economic, social or ethical subject, which, by their acute reasoning, keen analysis, sound philosophy and originality of thought and treatment, demand the attention of students everywhere. Such literary criticism as finds place in the dignified old *Quarterlies* or English monthlies of the *Contemporary* type, will be printed whenever it is written by any Canadian with the same power of judicious appreciation of the thought and *motif* of an author that we find notably in that charming study of Tennyson's *Princess* by Dr. Samuel Dawson, who is a Canadian by birth, education and feeling, yet whose essay is specially mentioned in the *Memoirs* of the great poet recently published in England.

As the Society was founded by a Governor-General who is himself a literary worker, so his successors in the same high office have equally sympathized with its objects and given it many words of earnest encouragement. Both the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen have never failed to attend its most important meetings, and His Excellency, at much inconvenience to himself during the busy Jubilee week, visited Halifax for the special purpose of unveiling the Cabot tablet. His immediate predecessor, the present Earl of Derby, was a thoughtful observer of the development of the Society, and, just before his departure from the country whose affairs he administered with so much discretion, he gave his impartial testimony to the usefulness of the body :



“There were some persons who considered that in a comparatively new country like Canada it was ambitious on her part when the foundations of the Royal Society were laid, but there must be a beginning of all things, and I can appeal to the work which has been and is being done by the different branches of the Society as evidence that its establishment was in no sense premature, but that it was fittingly determined that the progress of science and literature should take place coincidentally with that of the country. In a new country like this there is a tendency to further one's material wants, to promote trade and commerce, and to put aside, as it were, literature and the sciences; but here the Royal Society has stepped in and done good work, especially by uniting those who are scattered by distance, and who find in the meetings of the Society a convenient opportunity of coming together for the exchanging of ideas. If we look back we shall best see what good work is now being done. . . . In literature, history and science the Society will from the first have had its influence, as we trust, on the future of the Canadian people.”

To these sympathetic remarks of Lord Derby, to which Lord Aberdeen specially referred in an answer to the farewell address of the Society, the present writer need add only a few words in conclusion. The friends of the Royal Society are confident that, by showing even greater zeal and earnestness in the work for which it was founded, by continuing to co-operate with scholars and students throughout the Dominion, by giving every possible aid to all those engaged in art, culture and education, it has a most successful future before it; and all it asks from the Canadian public at large is confidence in its labours and objects, which are in no sense selfish or exclusive, but are influenced solely by a sincere desire to do what it can to promote historic truth and scientific research, and give a stimulus in this way to the intellectual development of this Dominion—still in the infancy of its literary work, as it is of its material progress and wealth.



Archibald Lampman.

## A REVIEW OF CANADIAN JOURNALISM

BY

THE EDITOR.

THE newspapers and journals of the Dominion embody in a clear and concentrated form the general progress and position of its people. In early days they partook of the limitations of pioneer life, and were not able to do much more than afford a certain amount of literary pabulum copied from English or American papers. Then came the period of keen political controversy, when able or progressive men sought the widening influence of the press in order to advance their views, especially those of reform, or change, or disaffection. Hence it is that during more than the first half of this closing century the intellectual supremacy in Canadian journalism seems to have been largely with the Liberals. After Confederation broader views—less sectional and sectarian—commenced to control the press. Party principles, however, continued to firmly divide the people as well as the papers until within the last decade, when a distinct loosening in this direction occurred for a time.

Meanwhile, a curious conflict within the lines of this journalistic development may be traced by those who look under the surface. It was a struggle between the influence of distant British newspaper standards—high-principled, impersonal, independent of petty monetary considerations—and the ever-present American newspaper ideal summed up in the words alertness, brevity, sensation, money. Had it not been for international forces operating over a long term of years against closer relations with the United States the influence of the press of that country must have been finally paramount. Mrs. Jameson, writing in 1838,\* says that in the previous year in Upper Canada there were 178,065 local papers circulated in the Province which paid postage,

and 149,502 from other countries. Of the latter the majority were probably American, owing partly to contiguity, and partly to the high ocean postage. The evolution which resulted from this rivalry—one of which the people can hardly be said to have been themselves conscious—was a press which is neither British nor American, but purely a product of Canadian conditions and an embodiment of the peculiar national life of the Dominion.

Canadian newspapers are by no means perfect. Yet the press as a whole is far broader in view and has a wider knowledge of world politics than has that of the United States. This is a natural result of our Imperial position. It is also fully equal in the larger city dailies of the country to the great Provincial press of England—in some respects, perhaps, is superior to the newspapers of such cities as Liverpool, Manchester or Sheffield. But the press of Canada is sometimes sadly lacking in dignity. Cable news controlled by American Press Agencies in London and catering to the less cultured classes of the great Republic help to promote this result. Far more space as a consequence is often given to the follies of some alleged "noble organ grinder" or the marital troubles of an aristocrat—compiled perhaps at second-hand by an irresponsible and alien news agent from some gutter journal of the world's metropolis—than to the popular and editorial opinion in Great Britain of some important Canadian and Imperial event; such for instance as the announcement of preferential tariff arrangements or of a proposed Imperial postal policy. In minor matters an Englishman would be justified in sometimes calling our papers Provincial or petty. The otherwise ably edited press of the Maritime Provinces uses hardly any capital letters in its columns, while

\* "Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada."

the cleverly-conducted papers of British Columbia are personal, and at times abusive, to a degree which brings back to memory the days of Mackenzie and his opponents in Upper Canada. The system of importing plates from the United States to fill the inside pages of certain country weeklies and smaller dailies is also a distinct and unpleasant exception to the Canadianism which now so largely characterizes the press as a whole. But with these and other minor faults the Canadian press is none the less an honour to the country, well worthy of the pioneers who created it and of the great country from whose newspapers many of its founders came, or have drawn their truest inspirations.

The first paper published in British North America was the *Halifax Gazette*, in 1752. It is now an official organ called the *Royal Gazette*. It was followed in the Maritime Provinces by the *Acadian Recorder* (1813) and the *Chronicle* (1820). In New Brunswick the "Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser" was established by Christopher Sower, King's Printer, in 1785. In Prince Edward Island the first paper was the *Royal Gazette* (1791). In Lower Canada the *Quebec Gazette* was first issued in 1764, the *Montreal Gazette* in 1778, the *Quebec Mercury* in 1805, *Le Canadien* of Montreal in 1808, the *Montreal Herald* in the same year and *La Minerve* in 1826. In Upper Canada, or Ontario, the first paper was the *Upper Canada Gazette*, issued at Niagara in 1793, and this was followed by the *News* of Kingston in 1810, the *Recorder* of Brockville in 1820, the *Journal* of St. Catharines in 1826. All the papers mentioned were weeklies and many of them are still living as dailies. In the old North-West Territories (including Manitoba) the first paper was the *Nor'-Wester*, launched in 1859, and the first one permanently established in Manitoba after Confederation with Canada was the *Free Press* (1872). In British Columbia the *British Colonist* was the first paper of any permanence and was issued in 1858. The first Boys' paper published in Canada was issued (1857) at Upper Canada College, Toronto, by J. Ross Robertson.

The earliest newspaper published entirely in French was *Tant pis tant Mieux*, Montreal, 1778, with Valéantine Jotard as Editor, and the cele-

brated Fleury Mesplet as printer. The first daily paper in Canada was the *Montreal Daily Advertiser*\* (1833), and the first in Ontario was the *Royal Standard* (1836). This latter paper started a short-lived course on the verge of the Mackenzie and Papineau troubles with the announcement that it commenced its career "at a crisis big with unborn events, and instinct with the spirit of change." The first religious newspaper was the *Christian Guardian*, established under the fighting Editorship of Dr. Egerton Ryerson in 1829. The first penny paper issued in British America was the *Morning News*, published at St. John, N.B., from 1838 to 1863, by George E. Fenety.

The progress of the press as regards numbers was sufficiently rapid when once fairly entered upon. In 1824 there were in Upper and Lower Canada some nineteen newspapers, which increased until in 1836, according to Montgomery Martin's "History of the British Colonies," there were fifty journals altogether, of which thirty were published in Upper Canada. A Quebec daily called *Neilson's Quebec Gazette* was issued on the peculiar plan of appearing for three days of the week in French, and three in English. According to Munro's "History of New Brunswick" there were in 1855 two daily papers and twenty weeklies in that Province, in Nova Scotia three dailies and eighteen weeklies, and in Prince Edward Island five weeklies. At this period there seem to have been nearly 300 papers, all told, in the Provinces then constituting British North America. In 1864, according to statistics compiled for McKim's "Canadian Newspaper Directory" (1892) by Mr. E. B. Biggar, there were 22 dailies, 220 weeklies, 26 tri-weeklies, 12 semi-weeklies, 1 bi-weekly, 5 semi-monthlies, and 27 monthlies in the Provinces of the present Dominion. In 1874—seven years after Confederation—there were 46 dailies, 325 weeklies and 41 monthlies. In 1881, according to Rowell's "American Newspaper Directory," there were in Canada 567 journals, of which 61 were dailies, 407 weeklies, 58 monthlies, and the rest scattering. Ten years later McKim's *Directory* gives a detailed list of Canadian newspapers numbering 1,033, of which 97 were dailies, 653 weeklies and 217 monthlies. The feature of the development during the last

\* George Johnson's *First Things in Canada*.

two decades mentioned was, therefore, evidently in the weeklies—the source of local news in the growing small towns and larger villages of the country.

An analysis of the press in 1891 shows that there were twenty-six papers devoted exclusively to agricultural and rural interests; 34 devoted to the interests of societies and brotherhoods; 10 to law; 32 to literature; 15 to medicine, pharmacy, dentistry and hygiene; 15 to temperance and prohibition; 43 to trade, finance and manufacturing; 7 to education, with 29 published as College papers. There were 144 papers published in other languages than English. Of these 126 were in French, distributed as follows: 115 in Quebec, 6 in Ontario, 2 in Manitoba, 2 in New Brunswick and one in Nova Scotia. There were also 13 German papers, all but one being in Ontario; four Icelandic papers and one Swedish. There were 100 religious publications of which 24 were classed as Roman Catholic, 15 as Church of England, 13 as Methodist, 10 as Presbyterian, 6 as Lutheran, 6 as Baptist, and 26 as belonging to other Denominations or else classed as “unsectarian.” The table which follows gives a summarized view of the chief Canadian newspapers at the present time with the date and in the order of their foundation. They are nearly all dailies (morning chiefly) with the exception of about a dozen:

Name.	Location.	*Date of Foundation.
Royal Gazette .....	Halifax .....	1752
Gazette .....	Montreal.....	1778
Mercury.....	Quebec .....	1805
Herald .....	Montreal.....	1808
News .....	Kingston.....	1810
Acadian Recorder ...	Halifax .....	1813
Morning Chronicle ...	Halifax .....	1820
Recorder .....	Brockville .....	1820
Journal .....	St. Catharines .....	1826
La Minerve .....	Montreal.....	1826
Ontario .....	Belleville.....	1830
Intelligencer.....	Belleville.....	1834
Courier .....	Brantford .....	1834
British Whig .....	Kingston.....	1834

\* NOTE. The dates of organization are, with some few exceptions, taken from McKim's *Newspaper Directory*. They were supplied to that publication by the papers concerned and may, therefore, be assumed to be correct.

Citizen .....	Ottawa .....	1844
Globe.....	Toronto .....	1844
Witness.....	Montreal.....	1845
Spectator .....	Hamilton .....	1846
Reporter .....	Galt.....	1846
Chronicle .....	Quebec .....	1847
Free Press.....	London .....	1849
Herald .....	Guelph .....	1847
Examiner .....	Charlottetown .....	1847
Presbyterian Witness..	Halifax .....	1848
Huron Signal .....	Goderich .....	1848
Dumfries Reformer...	Galt.....	1848
True Witness.....	Montreal.....	1850
Planet .....	Chatham .....	1851
Expositor .....	Brantford ..	1851
Review .....	Peterborough.....	1852
Casket .....	Antigonish .....	1852
Mercury.....	Guelph .....	1853
Times.....	Woodstock.....	1853
Beacon.....	Stratford.....	1854
Sentinel-Review .....	Woodstock.....	1854
Examiner.....	Peterborough.....	1855
Courier du Canada...	Quebec .....	1857
Canadian Post .....	Lindsay .....	1857
Guardian .....	Richmond .....	1857
Times.....	Hamilton .....	1858
Colonist.....	Victoria .....	1858
True Banner.....	Dundas .....	1858
Norfolk Reformer.....	Simcoe .....	1858
Globe.....	St. John .....	1859
Journal .....	St. Thomas.....	1859
Patriot .....	Charlottetown .....	1859
Advertiser.....	London .....	1863
Herald .....	Stratford.....	1863
Canadian Gleaner ...	Huntingdon .....	1863
St. Croix Courier.....	St. Stephen .....	1865
Banner .....	Chatham .....	1865
Le Monde .....	Montreal.....	1866
Star.....	Goderich .....	1866
L'Evenement .....	Quebec .....	1867
Times.....	Fredericton .....	1868
Star.....	Montreal.....	1869
Free Press.....	Ottawa .....	1869
Telegraph .....	St. John .....	1869
Telegraph.....	Quebec .....	1870
Mail and Empire .....	Toronto .....	1872
Free Press.....	Winnipeg .....	1872
Times.....	St. Thomas.....	1873
Morning Herald .....	Halifax .....	1875

Sun.....	St. John .....	1877
Times.....	Brockville .....	1878
La Patrie .....	Montreal.....	1879
Le Canada.....	Ottawa .....	1879
Le Soleil .....	Quebec .....	1880
L'Electeur .....	Quebec .....	1880
World.....	Toronto .....	1880
Gleaner .....	Fredericton .....	1881
Courrier du Canada...	Quebec .....	1881
Transcript.....	Fredericton .....	1882
L'Etendard .....	Montreal.....	1883
Herald .....	Calgary .....	1883
Leader .....	Regina.....	1883
La Presse .....	Montreal.....	1884
Times.....	Victoria .....	1884
Journal .....	Ottawa .....	1885
Morning Guardian....	Charlottetown .....	1885
Tribune .....	Calgary .....	1886
News-Advertiser .....	Vancouver .....	1886
Columbian .....	New Westminster.....	1886
Standard .....	Regina.....	1886
Star.....	St. Catharines .....	1887
Gazette .....	St. John.....	1888
World.....	Vancouver .....	1888
Herald .....	Hamilton .....	1889
Standard .....	St. Catharines.....	1890
The Miner.....	Nelson.....	1890
Tribune .....	Winnipeg .....	1890
Telegram .....	Vancouver .....	1890
Record .....	St. John .....	1893
Daily Province.....	Vancouver .....	1893
Morning Telegram ...	Winnipeg .....	1894
The Miner.....	Rossland .....	1896
News .....	London .....	1896

Canadian journalism has had a chequered career and the work of Canadian newspaper men has not always been upon the sunny side of life's great highway. The list of papers given above, however, with the length of time during which most of them have lived, affords ample evidence of the present existence of a substantial and paying business interest in all parts of the Dominion. But in the stormy days of our early journalism writers of skill and cleverness rose and fell with facility upon the waves of political unrest. Many a young man of ability struggled to make his way in journalism only to meet financial failure with his paper and perhaps with repeated papers. The well-known career of William Lyon Mackenzie is

an illustration of these conditions. His *Colonial Advocate* (1824-1833) was the stormy petrel of Canadian journalism. Its political policy and influence need not be dealt with here, but the reckless, ruthless style of personal writing which Mackenzie affected gave its tone to much of the newspaper work of that period.

*The Maritime Provinces.* A singularly vigorous and much more able man than Mackenzie was his Nova Scotia contemporary—the Hon. Joseph Howe. His name ranks as perhaps the greatest in Canadian journalism. The period in which he edited the *Nova Scotian*, 1827-41, 1844-56, was the most stirring in the history of the Maritime Provinces. Largely through his writings in his famous paper, Howe procured and assured the liberty of the press in that part of British America and obtained without civil strife the Provincial rights of self-government which are now the possession of all Canadians. Associated with him either in New Brunswick or in Nova Scotia in the great journalistic struggles of the time were men like John Sparrow Thompson of the *Nova Scotian* (father of the late Canadian Premier); George Edward Fenety, founder of the *Morning News* of St. John, N.B.; Hugh W. Blackader, Editor and proprietor of the *Acadian Recorder* from 1837 until his death in 1865; the Hon. William Annand, a journalist of much and varied experience. Jotham Blanchard was also a most energetic Reform journalist of this early period in Nova Scotia. He established the *Colonial Patriot* in 1827, was a Member of the Legislature and such a keen fighter that he wore himself out and died prematurely in 1838. Other press names of power in the Maritime Provinces, of that and a slightly later time, were those of J. H. Crosskill (1810-1855), William Garvie, Angus M. Gidney, Edward Willis, John Young (the famous "Agricola") and his son G. R. Young, G. J. Chubb and the Hon. Edward Whelan of the Charlottetown *Examiner*. Sir J. G. Bourinot was at one time connected with the *Halifax Reporter*. The Hon. Jonathan McCully, a Father of Confederation, was long connected with the *Halifax Chronicle*.

Several names stand out prominently in these Provinces during the period between the fifties and the eighties. The Hon. Simon Hugh Holmes, Premier of Nova Scotia for a time, was

proprietor and editor of the *Colonial Standard* of Pictou from its establishment in 1857 until 1878. The Hon. Timothy Warren Anglin, afterwards Speaker of the Dominion House of Commons, established the well-known *St. John Freeman* in 1849 as a Liberal and Roman Catholic organ, and of this he was Editor and proprietor until 1877. The name of the Hon. William Elder stands perhaps foremost during this period. Originally a Presbyterian clergyman he united scholarly attainments with journalistic ability and as Editor successively of the *Colonial Presbyterian*, the *St. John Morning Journal* and the *Telegraph* he ranks high amongst the greater newspaper men of Canada. John Livingston was a contemporary of William Elder's and was associated with him for some time in the editorial management of the *Telegraph*. Later on he established the *Watchman*, edited the *Moncton Times*, and from 1878 to 1883 the *St. John Sun*. For a time he also edited the *Toronto Empire*. His descriptive style was especially good.

The men of to-day in Maritime journalism are worthy of its past record. John James Stewart was in 1875 one of the founders of the *Halifax Herald*, the leading Conservative organ of Nova Scotia, and three years later assumed entire control of the paper. Robert McConnell, after years of varied journalistic experience, became in 1892 Editor of the *Halifax Chronicle*. In St. John, James Hannay of the *Telegraph*, 1863-83 and 1892-99; John Valentine Ellis, M.P., of the *Globe* (1862-99); and S. D. Scott of the *Sun* (since 1883) are distinctly able writers. The Hon. W. S. Fielding and the Hon. J. W. Longley were connected for many years with the *Halifax Chronicle*, and the latter for some time with the *Recorder*. Mr. J. E. B. McCready edited the *Telegraph* of St. John for some years and is now (1899) Editor of the *Charlottetown Guardian*. Other names which must be mentioned in this connection are John T. Hawke of the *Moncton Transcript*, J. H. Crockett of the *Fredericton Gleaner* and the Hon. David Laird, of Charlottetown, P.E.I.—a veteran journalist of the Island Province.

*Province of Quebec.* Lower Canada has been the field of a most complex and varied journalism. Differences in religion, language and race, to say nothing of the most intensely personal and

political controversy have produced a ceaseless change in the character and life of its press. In only a few cases has continuity been a characteristic. *Le Canadien*, *La Minerve* or *L'Etendard* have gone through such alternations of publication, politics and management as to almost defy description. Perhaps the most prominent Editor of *Le Canadien*, which ceased to appear in 1896 after one of the most checkered careers on record, was M. Etienne Parent. He was a wonderfully vigorous journalist, who assumed charge in 1827, and holds a high place in the history of his profession in Quebec. *La Minerve* was started by Messrs. A. N. Morin and Duvernay. Its publishers were exiled after the Rebellion of 1837 and the paper did not re-appear until 1842.\* Other journalists connected with its pages up to 1855 were John Phelan, Gérin-Lajoie and Raphael Belmare.

*L'Avenir*, started in 1848, included a brilliant band of young men amongst its contributors. The Chief Editor was the Radical and Republican leader in Quebec—Jean Baptiste Eric Dorion. Associated with him were journalists and politicians such as Papin, Daoust, Laberge, Blanchet, Doutré and Laflamme. *Le Pays*, started in 1851 as a Liberal organ, was edited by Messrs. Daoust, Dessaulles and Labreche Viger. *La Patrie* was first issued as a Conservative paper by Alfred Xavier Rembeau, and was afterwards edited by F. de la Ponterie, who in 1855 assumed charge of *La Minerve*. Other papers of this stormy political period were *Le Colonisateur*, with M. Mousseau, Adolphe Ouimet and L. O. David as successive Editors; *La Revue Canadienne*, established by Octave Letourneaux in 1848; *L'Opinion Nationale*, started as a workingman's organ by Méderic Lanctot, and strongly opposed to Confederation. The late Hon. Thomas White, speaking in Montreal on November 5th, 1883, stated that "in enterprise the French papers have progressed quite as rapidly as their English contemporaries; and, considering the disadvantages under which they labour, the news coming to them in English and requiring to be translated, no one who knows anything about the work of a daily newspaper office can do other-

\*NOTE. See an able *Lecture* on Newspapers in the Province of Quebec by Mr. Thomas White, M.P., delivered in Montreal on November 5th, 1883.

wise than wonder at the success they achieved as newspapers."

Lower Canada has produced a great many brilliant journalists of French origin and language, and a curiously significant branch of the development of its press has been the close relationship maintained between journalism and politics. Nearly all its political leaders have had a direct or indirect connection of this kind with the press—Sir Hector Langevin, who for a time edited *Le Courrier du Canada*, and the Hon. Thomas Chapais, who now edits that paper; the Hon. J. E.



The Hon. Felix Gabriel Marchand.

Cauchon, who, in 1842, established *Le Journal de Quebec*; the Hon. Joseph Tasse of *Le Canada*, Ottawa, and at a later period Editor of *La Minerve*, Montreal (1869-72); the Hon. M. A. Plamondon, the Hon. J. A. N. Provencher, the Hon. Joseph Royal, the Hon. F. X. A. Trudel, the Hon. Hector Fabre, C.M.G., the Hon. G. A. Nantel and the Hon. F. G. Marchand, now (1899) Prime Minister of the Province, are cases in point. The Hon. J. Israel Tarte still maintains an active journalistic connection, although a

Minister of the Crown at Ottawa. The roll of eminent names in French-Canadian journalism, however, is too voluminous to record in full, though some others must be mentioned in passing. The Hon. Pierre Bedard, N. Aubin, Georges Isidore Barthe, J. G. Barthe, the Hon. L. A. Dessauls, J. P. Boucher-Belleville, Francois Magloire Derome, Jacques Edmond Dorion, V. P. W. Dorion and J. B. E. Dorion (the three irrepressible brothers), Alphonse Lusignan, Joseph Papin, Louis Ricard and Auguste Soulard are representative names in this connection.\* Others of the present time are C. A. Dansereau, Jules P. Tardivel, Godfroy Langlois, Editor of *La Patrie*, Honore Beaugrand, Charles Marcil, A. Filliatreault, Paul Marc Sauvalle. The most prominent of all is perhaps the Hon. Trefle Berthiaume, M.L.C., proprietor of *La Presse*, the great French-Canadian evening paper. He served on the staff of several journals until in 1889 he acquired what was then a struggling paper of doubtful prospects but which to-day has a larger circulation than any of its compatriots.

Turning to English-speaking journalism in Quebec the prolonged and influential career of the *Montreal Gazette* first requires attention. Its earlier annals are fully dealt with elsewhere in this volume. In 1852 it became the property of Messrs. John Lowe and Brown Chamberlin, who conducted it with credit and success until 1870. The former became for a number of years Deputy Minister of Agriculture at Ottawa, the latter Queen's Printer for the Dominion prior to Dr. S. E. Dawson's tenure of office. Other writers upon the paper during their time were Arthur Harvey, W. L. Têtu, John Reade and George Barnum. In 1870 Messrs. Thomas and Richard White came from Hamilton and obtained control of the *Gazette*. During the years which followed and up to the time when the former became Minister of the Interior at Ottawa, in 1886, his name as its Editor-in-Chief was the most prominent and respected in Quebec journalism—perhaps in that of all Canada. Through his ability, integrity of purpose and personal popularity he became not only a tower of strength to his paper, but also a leader of the Conservative party in such full measure as to make his premature death in 1888 the loss of a probable Prime Minister of the Do-

\*NOTE. See M. Sulte's article elsewhere in this Section.

minion. Mr. R. S. White assumed editorial charge of the *Gazette* in 1886 and held the position with combined geniality and skill until 1896 when he was appointed Collector of Customs at Montreal. Mr. S. L. Kydd took his place on the paper, with J. C. Cunliffe—a graduate and Doctor of Letters of London University—and Mr. John Reade as assistants.

The latter name is one of deserved prominence in Quebec journalism. From the time of his arrival in Montreal in 1856 Mr. Reade has steadily contributed to the columns of the paper and since 1870 has been an editorial writer and book reviewer of note. Perhaps in this special work of his no man in Canada has done so much to promote a spirit of journalistic courtesy and fairness and to develop that literary culture which so distinctly marks the press of the Mother-land. Other writers on the *Gazette* during this period were James Kirby, D.C.L., George Spaight, Professor Sumichrast (now of Harvard University), and John Talon-Lesperance. The latter's pen name of *Laclede*, under which he contributed largely to the paper, covered some of the most graceful of Canadian newspaper literature. To Mr. Richard White in a business capacity the *Gazette* during the last thirty years has owed much.

Any detailed history of the other journals would be impossible. The Montreal *Herald* has had a fluctuating career and perhaps reached its height of success in the days of the Hon. E. Goff Penny, a journalist of the highest type—honourable, able and far-seeing. For some years following 1885 the Hon. Peter Mitchell was in control. Under the present-day management of Messrs. J. S. Brierley and J. E. Atkinson it is taking a new and vigorous lease of Liberal life and advocacy. The central figure of English journalism in Quebec today, however, is that of Mr. Hugh Graham, the proprietor of the *Star*. Since 1869, when, in conjunction with Marshall Scott and the late George T. Lanigan, he started it as an evening one-cent paper, the *Star* has grown to enormous proportions in both popularity and influence and has given the proprietor a high place in journalistic life. For nearly two decades past Mr. Henry Dalby has been actively associated with its editorial management. The Montreal *Witness* is another organ of public opinion which has exercised great

weight in the moral and religious field since its establishment in 1845 by the late John Dougall. It became a daily in 1860 during the visit of the Prince of Wales, and since 1870 has been under the editorial guidance of Mr. John Redpath Dougall, a son of the founder.

In the City of Quebec Dr. George Stewart edits with cultured skill the historic *Mercury*, and Mr. E. T. D. Chambers the *Morning Chronicle*—since 1896, when he succeeded Dr. Stewart, who had previously edited the paper from 1879. Scattered through the pages of Lower Canadian history are the names of many other men who have with more or less success edited or written for the newspapers of the passing seasons. The *Vindicator*, established in Montreal by Daniel Tracey, M.D., and edited by him for some years until his death in 1832, was the first Liberal English-speaking paper in that city. It had only a few years of troubled life. Sir Francis Hincks established the *Pilot* in Montreal in 1844 and did much during the four succeeding years to restore Baldwin and Lafontaine to power. William Bristow and Mathew Ryan were well-known contributors to its columns. The *Courier* was at this period a fighting journalistic force under the editorship of John Turner. The *Commercial Advertiser*, guided by a journalist named Parsons, was also an influential paper, while the *Gazette*, under the editorship of Robert Abraham (1843-8), and then of James Moir Ferris, and the *Herald*, edited by David Kinnear, kept up a vigorous political and journalistic rivalry. Mr. Abraham afterwards edited the Montreal *Transcript* from 1849 until his death in 1854. D'Arcy McGee established the *New Era* in 1857 for a brief lifetime of conflict. John Henry Willan did much good journalistic work in both Montreal and Quebec, as did George Sheppard, during the same period. Adam Thom appeared upon the surface at the time of the Rebellion and then like many another promising writer of that time subsided from view. William Andrew, Thomas Storrow Brown, Rollo Campbell, Robert Weir, Jr., Daniel Carey, Joselyn Walter, Thomas Cary, John Gibson, Thomas Andrew Turner, Thomas Sellar, Robert Middleton, J. F. McDonnell, David Chisholme were well known in their day. Names of a latter time are those of Carroll Ryan, F. Clifford Smith,



J. K. Foran, Frank Carrel and J. A. Chicoyne. *Province of Ontario*. Contemporary with the rise of William Lyon Mackenzie into journalistic notoriety in Upper Canada was the scattered establishment of many papers for the advocacy of, or opposition to, his Radical views—chiefly the former. Toronto was, of course, the centre of experiment and change in this connection. The *Upper Canada Gazette* (1793), for some years under the control of Dr. Horne, was Mackenzie's chief journalistic critic in earlier days. For some time also it was the medium of official or



Hugh Graham.

Government announcements, but in June, 1826, the administration decided to publish an organ which should mould public opinion from its own standpoint, and with this aim issued for a couple of years the *Loyalist* in connection with the official paper. In May, 1828, however, the experiment was abandoned, and for a few years the latter organ struggled on alone. The *Upper Canada Guardian*, edited for a few years by the traitor Wilcocks, collapsed with his death in the War of 1812. The *Tory Observer* was first

published in Toronto in 1820. In 1825 Francis Collins established for a time a Radical organ called the *Canadian Freeman* which had a stormy existence. The *Patriot*, a strong Conservative paper, was established in Toronto in 1833, and, until his death in 1840, was edited by Thomas Dalton. It was merged in the *Leader* about 1854. Chief Justice Sir John Hagarty was in his younger days editorially connected with this paper. In 1829 the *Courier*, a paper strongly Tory in politics and extremely loyal to British connection, was founded by George Gurnett, afterwards Mayor and Police Magistrate of the City. The Editor for some years was Charles Fothergill. In 1838 Sir Francis Hincks started the *Examiner* as a Liberal organ, but in a few years left for Montreal and it was put in charge of James Lesslie and afterwards absorbed by the *Globe*. The *North American*, started by the Hon. William Macdougall in 1850 as a Liberal paper, lasted until 1857. By 1858 all these and other less important papers had ceased to appear. The *Weekly Messenger*, edited from 1853 to 1860 by William Lyon Mackenzie, had a somewhat precarious career.

The *British Colonist* was established by Hugh Scobie in 1838 and edited by him until his death in 1853—two years after he had turned the paper into a daily. It then came under the control of Samuel Thompson, until that time publisher of the *Patriot*, and also, for a season, of the *Toronto Herald*. From Mr. Thompson's editorial and financial control it passed, in 1858, into those of George Sheppard and Daniel Morrison—always remaining Conservative in politics. William Kingsford, afterwards celebrated as an historian, was for some time connected with its editorial columns. About 1865 the paper was absorbed by the *Leader*. The *Globe* came in 1844 and the *Leader* was established in 1852 by James Beatty as a moderate Reform paper. It was edited until 1867 by Charles Lindsey—formerly of the *Examiner*. In 1858 Samuel Thompson started the *Atlas*, aided by the Rev. Mr. Roaf, as a Tory organ, and controlled it for a short time. And then came the distinctly modern era of Toronto journalism. Mr. J. Ross Robertson, in 1866, was chiefly instrumental in founding the *Daily Telegraph*, which lasted for five years. In 1876

he established the *Evening Telegram*—one of the most successful papers in Canada. The *Mail* was founded in 1872 and the *Evening News* in 1880. The central figure of this latter journal during the following seven years was Mr. Edmund E. Sheppard, who as its Chief Editor, soon won a wide reputation for clever writing and radical sentiments—even to the point of favouring Canadian independence for a time. In 1887 he established *Saturday Night*, a weekly paper, which became very popular from his editorial contributions and those of a subsequent Editor—Joseph T. Clark—now well-known under the *nom-de-plume* of “Mack.” In December, 1895, Mr. Sheppard purchased the *Evening Star*, then a two years’ old paper, and held possession for a time.

Of the *Globe* under George Brown, J. Gordon Brown, Mr. John Cameron and Mr. J. S. Willison it is hardly necessary to speak here. Mr. Willison is probably the ablest all-round political journalist in Canada at the present time. His career commenced in the office of the *London Advertiser* in 1882. During the next year he joined the *Globe* staff, and in 1890 became its Chief Editor. The editorial management of the paper has, of course, varied greatly in point of ability and sometimes, perhaps, in consistency during its half century of life. But its policy is a part of the history of the country, and need not be discussed here. As a newspaper it stands to-day at the height of its influence, and with a reputation which is steadily growing. The *Mail*, from its establishment in 1872 as a Conservative organ, has had a somewhat fluctuating career. Its first Editor and proprietor, Mr. T. C. Patteson, was a brilliant journalist, and made the paper a political power. But in 1877 it passed out of his hands into those of Messrs. John Riordan and Christopher W. Bunting. The latter was in control of the paper until his death in 1896, and his policy and career constitute an important but unwritten page in the history of Canada. The assumption of independence about the year 1886; the establishment of the *Empire* in 1887 by Sir John Macdonald, David Creighton and others as a Government organ, and its gallant fight for Conservative principles in the general elections of 1891; the final financial victory

of the *Mail* in the rivalry which followed, and the amalgamation of the two papers in 1895 as a single Conservative organ; are interesting events in the record of Canadian journalism and politics. From 1880 to 1885 Martin J. Griffin was the vigorous Chief Editor of the paper. Edward Farrer then for a second time became connected with its columns, to which Dr. Goldwin Smith also contributed, and in 1890 Arthur F. Wallis became Chief Editor, assisted in later years by W. H. Bunting and W. Sanford Evans.

A word must be said here as to the connection of Dr. Goldwin Smith with Canadian journalism. When he came to Canada in 1871 much was expected from his great literary reputation, and he at once plunged into the field of political and personal controversy. As a contributor to the *Canadian Monthly*; as the chief support, if not founder of the *Nation*—a literary journal which did not last very long; as the writer of a little magazine called the *Bystander* for a couple of years; as the founder of the *Toronto Week* in 1884, and a voluminous contributor to its pages during some three years; as a constant writer in Canadian, American and English magazines; as an editorial contributor in later years to the *Mail*, and for some years past to the *Farmer's Sun*; he has been exceedingly prominent in Canadian journalism. But all the enterprises with which he was closely connected have failed to influence the popular mind in any appreciable degree. Unfortunately, also, the strength of his personal prejudices from the time of George Brown to the later days of Sir John A. Macdonald, have contributed to give his pen a degree of vitriolic intensity which has had a distinctly detrimental effect upon the amenities of Canadian journalism. And, despite his own wide culture, this same cause has helped to retard rather than aid the development of Canadian literary culture. The example of moderation in treatment combined with brilliance of thought and expression, which he could have given Canada, would have been an untold benefit to its press. As it is, the bitterness of view and expression which he brought with him only intensified an evil already sufficiently prevalent.

The weekly papers of Toronto have been and are too numerous to review. They run from the *Christian Guardian* established in 1829; the

*Orange Sentinel* founded in 1870 and edited by a representative journalist—Edward F. Clarke, M.P.; the *Catholic Register* started in 1893 as a practical continuation of the celebrated *Irish Canadian*; the *Monetary Times* founded in 1866; to the *Westminster*, established in 1896 as an exponent of literary Presbyterianism. Meanwhile a Provincial press was slowly evolving out of the political chaos of Rebellion days and through the stormy period of the struggle for responsible government. The eastern part of the Province was first in this respect. The earliest Kingston newspaper, the *Gazette*, was published in 1801 and lasted until 1818, when it died. In 1810 the Kingston *Chronicle* made its appearance and was afterwards merged with a paper called the *News*, which had been previously started. The united paper has been published as a daily since 1851. About the same time (1819) the *Upper Canada Herald* appeared and lasted till 1851. In 1823 a paper was started called the *Watchman*, but it lived only one year. In 1829 the *Patriot* was established, but the subscription list and good will were soon transferred to Toronto. In 1830 the *Spectator* was started, and after a precarious existence of four or five years was discontinued. In 1834 the *British Whig* came into life, and is still vigorous and enterprising. The *Argus*, the *Advertiser*, the *Frontenac Gazette*, the *British American* and the *Statesman* also made their bow to the public during this period, and then, meteor-like, disappeared. According to a statement in the anniversary number of the *British Whig* (1895)—and to which I am also indebted for the above facts—the Editors or proprietors of these papers from 1810 onwards were: Stephen Miles, Charles Kendall, John Pringle, John Macaulay, Hugh C. Thompson, Ezra S. Ely, Walter Macfarlane, J. Dalton, John Vincent, Dr. Barker, Roy, Derbyshire, Hill, Cull, Bentley, Ogle R. Gowan, Samuel and John Rowlands, Waudby, Merrill, A. H. St. Germain, Greene, M. L. Pense, of the *Argus* (father of E. J. B. Pense, the present Editor of the *Whig*), Armitage, Armstrong and Carman.

Turning to the Western part of Ontario we find that the Hamilton *Spectator* was established in 1846 by Robert Reid Smiley. In 1864 Thomas and Richard White bought the paper

and published it for six years, when they went to Montreal and a new Company was formed. David McCulloch was its well-known Editor for many years. In 1880 A. T. Freed succeeded to the post and in 1894 J. Robson Cameron took his place. The *Times* started twelve years later (1858) and the *Herald*—edited since 1896 by J. L. Lewis—was established as late as 1889. Some eminent journalists of an earlier day in Upper Canada were connected with the Hamilton press—Alexander Somerville, William Gillespy, George Sheppard, Dr. M. H. Oliver, James Ross, Hugh Bowlby Willson, Alexander Robertson, the Hon. C. H. Mackintosh and others. In London the *Free Press* was established in 1849 by W. Sutherland. Messrs. Josiah and Stephen Blackburn took it over in 1852 and the former edited the paper with satisfaction to a large Conservative constituency in Western Canada until his death in 1890. He was succeeded by Mr. Malcolm G. Bremner, the present able Editor, who had been connected with the paper in various capacities from 1865. The London *Advertiser* was established by one of the veterans of Canadian journalism—John Cameron—in 1863. In 1875 Mr. Cameron founded the *Liberal* in Toronto as an organ of the Blake wing of the Reform party, but it lasted only a year. He was connected with the *Globe* from 1882 to 1890, when he returned to the *Advertiser*. The Hon. David Mills was also connected with this journal as Editor-in-Chief from 1877 to 1882. A well-known London paper in earlier days was the *Prototype* (1861), and its successor the *Herald and Prototype*, started as an evening paper in 1870, and lasting for about a decade. They were edited from time to time by journalists such as Daniel Morrison, Marcus Talbot, and Morgan Caldwell. The London *Sun* had been issued as far back as 1831, by E. A. Talbot, who, in 1839, published for a time the London *Freeman's Journal*. The London *Times* had also a struggling existence in 1844-53. The *Daily News* of London, a comparatively new paper, has been edited since 1895 by Mr. C. B. Keenleyside.

Others notably connected with the Provincial press of Ontario were Lieut.-Colonel David Wylie of the Brockville *Recorder*; George Benjamin, founder of the Belleville *Intelligencer*; Rufus

Stephenson, founder of the *Chatham Planet*; Thomas McQueen, who established the *Huron Signal*; the Hon. James Young, Editor of the *Dumfries Reformer* from 1853 to 1863; Sir Mackenzie Bowell, Editor and proprietor of the *Belleville Intelligencer* from 1853 to 1875 and again since 1896; the Hon. Michael Hamilton Foley of Brantford; the Hon. Thomas White, founder in 1853 of the *Peterborough Review*; W. H. Higgins, the founder of the *Whitby Chronicle*; the Hon. C. H. Mackintosh of the *Ottawa Citizen*; William Benjamin Wells, who wrote for many of our papers between 1834 and 1850; Robert Davis of the *Ottawa Daily Times*; Charles Roger of Port Hope, Millbrook and other places; J. D. Murray of Thorold, St. Catharines, etc.; James Innes of the *Guelph Mercury*; C. D. Barr of the *Lindsay Post*. Others well-known in their day were William Armstrong, David Beach, Robert Cooper, C. W. Cooper, Thomas Dalton, William Buckingham, J. W. Carman, H. J. Friel, William Harris, M. J. Hickey, the Hon. Charles Clarke, John Sheridan Hogan—whose brief but brilliant career was closed in 1859 by his violent death near Toronto, George Menzies, James McCarroll, C. P. Mulvany, James Foley, James Johnson, the Rev. J. Inglis, Avern Pardoe, Rev. W. F. Clarke, T. P. Gorman, G. R. Pattullo, Nicholas Flood Davin, Douglas Brymner, George Johnson, Wm. Houston and L. P. Kribs.

Outside of Toronto, Hamilton and London, the most representative and able journalists of to-day in Ontario are perhaps A. F. Pirie of the *Dundas True Banner*, P. D. Ross of the *Ottawa Journal*, L. A. Magenis-Lovekin of the *Ottawa Free Press*, Andrew Pattullo, M.P.P., of the *Woodstock Sentinel-Review*, E. J. B. Pense of the *Kingston Whig*, T. H. Preston of the *Brantford Expositor*, James S. Brierley of the *St. Thomas Journal*, J. R. Stratton, M.P.P. of the *Peterborough Examiner* and W. S. Dingman of the *Stratford Herald*. Journalism is, however, a wandering profession and Ontario has produced many other bright minds and pens now scattered throughout the Dominion. R. W. Shannon, J. A. Garvin, Horace Wallis, Fred Cook, J. A. Boyd, J. W. D'aoe, L. W. Shannon, Arch. Bremner, J. A. Phillips, J. D. Clarke, A. J. Magurn, Archibald McNee, J. Innes McIntosh are some almost

random names in this connection. The following list of Presidents of the Canadian Press Association since its organization in 1859 is also largely representative of Ontario journalism:

Date.	President.	Place of Meeting.
1859.....	W. Gillespy.....	Kingston
1860.....	W. Gillespy.....	Toronto
1861.....	W. Gillespy.....	London
1862.....	D. McDougall.....	Toronto
1863.....	D. Wylie.....	Toronto
1864.....	Thomas White.....	Belleville
1865.....	Mackenzie Bowell.....	Brockville
1866.....	Thomas Sellar.....	Montreal
1867.....	J. A. Campbell.....	Goderich
1868.....	William Buckingham.....	Collingwood
1869.....	D. Wylie.....	Cobourg
1870.....	E. Jackson.....	Brantford
1871.....	James Somerville.....	Toronto
1872.....	John Cameron.....	Bracebridge
1873.....	Rev. W. F. Clarke.....	London
1874.....	H. Hough.....	Toronto
1875.....	John Cameron.....	Hamilton
1876.....	C. D. Barr.....	Toronto
1877.....	James Innes.....	Toronto
1878.....	James Shannon.....	Guelph
1879.....	A. Matheson.....	Kingston
1880.....	J. B. Traves.....	Toronto
1881.....	E. J. B. Pense.....	Port Hope
1882.....	George Tye.....	Toronto
1883.....	C. B. Robinson.....	Montreal
1884.....	G. R. Pattullo.....	Toronto
1885.....	J. A. Davidson.....	Toronto
1886.....	William Watt, Jr.....	Toronto
1887.....	J. J. Crabbe.....	Toronto
1888.....	E. H. Dewart, D.D.....	Toronto
1889.....	Roy V. Somerville.....	Toronto
1890-91.....	Andrew Pattullo.....	Toronto
1892.....	H. P. Moore.....	Ottawa
1893.....	A. F. Pirie.....	Toronto
1894.....	T. H. Preston.....	Toronto
1895.....	L. W. Shannon.....	Toronto
1896.....	J. S. Brierley.....	Toronto
1897.....	J. B. MacLean.....	Toronto

*Manitoba and the North-West.* On the 28th of December, 1859, William Buckingham, an English and Ontario journalist of experience, and William Coldwell of the *Toronto Leader*, established at the Red River Settlement the pioneer newspaper in all the vast region between Lake

Superior and the Pacific—*The Nor'-Wester*. That country was then in the early stages of its colonization and the difficulties were very great. But the little paper began with spirit. T. D'Arcy McGee, though it was not known at the time, acted as its Ottawa correspondent; George Sheppard, who then had a very high reputation as a journalist, was a contributor, and F. W. Chesson was its English correspondent. Conflicts arose, however, with the Hudson's Bay Company and the paper soon found itself at war with the rulers though supported by the people—the latter a slight factor in that region and at that time. In 1862 Mr. Buckingham returned to Ontario and soon after Mr. Coldwell gave up his share in the enterprise to Dr. (afterwards Sir John) Schultz who, with James Ross, carried it on for a couple of years. From 1864 and through the stormy days of 1869-70 Dr. Schultz continued to issue it himself at intervals. For a short time afterwards it was in the hands of Dr. Bown. The *New Nation*, edited by an American named H. M. Robinson, was a Fort Garry product of the first Riel Rebellion and the organ of that movement. Thomas Spence, of Portage La Prairie, afterwards edited it for some years. The *Manitoban* was a weekly paper published in 1872 by Messrs. Coldwell and Cunningham, and *Le Métis* was an organ of the Half-breeds, established in 1870 by Joseph Royal, afterwards Lieut.-Governor of the Territories and edited by him for some years. In 1872 it became *Le Manitoba*, and still exists edited by E. Trudel. The first daily in Winnipeg was the *Herald*, but it lasted for only a few months of the year 1877. A similar fate befell the *Manitoba Telegraph*, also a journalistic venture by Walter R. Nursey.

The *Free Press* (1872) is the only survival of those stirring days, but its influence is considerable in the Province and its position solid. Through his establishment of this paper and his position as its Chief Editor during twenty-one years, William Fisher Luxton stands out as the most prominent personality in Manitoban journalistic history. In February 1894 he founded the *Daily Nor'-Wester*—now known as the *Telegram* and as the Conservative organ in the Province—but only remained in charge a few months. In 1890 Mr. Robert Lorne Richardson, after

being connected with the *Winnipeg Sun* for some eight years, established the *Daily Tribune*, which has since become the special organ of Manitoba Liberalism and the champion of "National" schools. Various other papers have been started from time to time and many changes have occurred in Winnipeg journalism as in that of every large city. The names of David K. Brown, F. E. Molyneux St. John, F. C. Wade, George H. Ham, Arch. McNee, Acton Burrows, T. H. Preston, Amos Rowe, C. R. Tuttle, A. J. McGurn and Thomas A. Bell may be mentioned. In the Province generally there are a number of excellent weeklies growing steadily with the growth of the towns and villages.

In what is now the North-West Territories the first paper established seems to have been the *Saskatchewan Herald*, of Battleford, by P. G. Laurie, in 1878. John Livingston was for some years Editor of the *Calgary Herald*. But the chief name in the journalism of these great regions and one of the brightest in the press of all Canada is that of Nicholas Flood Davin. An orator in the highest sense, a writer of beautiful and vigorous English, an author of established reputation, and a well-known politician, his has indeed been a most interesting career. Founder of the *Regina Leader* in 1883 he was its Editor and proprietor until very lately. John J. Young of the *Calgary Herald*, and John K. McInnis, of the *Regina Standard*, must also be mentioned.

*British Columbia*. Although possessing even now a very small population in comparison with its area British Columbia, has, probably, in proportion to its inhabitants more newspapers than any other Province of the Dominion. Isolated as the Pacific Coast was until the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, there was but a scanty population to be found then within its borders, and that was located chiefly on the seaboard, the greater portion being in Victoria and New Westminster. From the rush of miners in the fifties into the Cariboo district, and until the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the foundation of the City of Vancouver, the people of British Columbia depended to a great extent for their news of the outer world—at least for more complete details than could be obtained from brief press despatches—upon the newspapers of San

Francisco, U.S.A., with which place there was regular and frequent communication by steamer. This dependence on and close intimacy with San Francisco had results which remain apparent in many ways, although new conditions brought about by the completion of the Railway and by the influx of people from Eastern Canada, are rapidly obliterating these indications of the old order. In no field, perhaps, is this change more marked than in that of journalism.

The first newspaper published on the British Pacific coast was one at Victoria in 1857. It was printed from a French font of type on an old-fashioned French hand-press. The Bishop of the Catholic Diocese, a French-Canadian, was the promoter of the enterprise, and Comte Paul de Garro, who left France after the *coup d'état* of 1851, was the Editor. It was printed in the French language, and lived for only two or three months. The next publication was in May, 1858, when Messrs. Whitton and Towne, two Americans, started the *Victoria Gazette*. This was followed a month later by the *Vancouver Island Gazette*, published by Frederick Marriott which, however, only existed for a month, being followed to the journalistic graveyard by its predecessor in December, 1858. The next newspaper to appear (Dec., 1858) was the *British Colonist* which, under the latter part of the name, has remained in the field until the present time. It was originally edited and managed by the late Hon. Amor de Cosmos—a noted pioneer politician and journalist of the Province. He remained in harness until 1866, when he was succeeded by Mr. D. W. Higgins, who conducted the paper during the next twenty years. Some of those associated with this veteran journalist of British Columbia, or succeeding him in editorial control of the journal, were the late Hon. John Robson (1869-75), afterwards Premier of the Province, Leonard McClure, the Hon. Locke Robertson, Walford Harris, A. Bell, William Mitchell, J. M. O'Brien and Henry Lawson—for periods varying from some years to several months. Mr. Charles H. Lugin is the present Editor.

Between 1858 and the present time many other newspapers have been established in Victoria but have passed away after a brief existence. Among them may be mentioned the *Post* (William McDou-

gall 1880-2), *Telegraph*, *Express*, *Telegram*, *Herald*, and *Globe*. The *Standard* was an exception and lasted twenty years. The *Times* was established in 1884, is still in existence, and gives evidence of prosperity and influence. In 1859 John Robson started the *British Columbian* on the Mainland. It still survives in New Westminster as the *Columbian* (1886). It was followed in that town by the *Herald* and the *Times* and in the nineties by the *Guardian*, the *Truth* and the *Ledger*, all of which lasted a short time and then collapsed. At Barkerville the famous *Cariboo Sentinel* was published by George Wallace and paid well during the years of the placer mining excitement. The *Inland Sentinel*, started in 1880, is now the oldest of these Interior newspapers. In Vancouver the *Telegram*, 1890-3, was for some time a formidable evening competitor with other journals but ultimately had to succumb. On the Island the *Free Press*, established at Nanaimo in 1874, has had a prosperous career. At Rossland and other places creditable mining journals have sprung up in late years.

The *personnel* of British Columbian journalism is interesting. Senator William Templeman, in the Province of to-day, has combined politics with journalism. Coming from Ontario in 1884 he became connected with the *Victoria Times*, of which he has been Editor and is now chief proprietor. The present Editor is Thomas L. Graham—a rising young journalist. The Hon. F. Carter-Cotton, M.P.P., is the only Canadian editor holding a Cabinet position. He helped in 1887 to found the *News-Advertiser* of Vancouver by the amalgamation of the two papers bearing these names, with the *Herald*, and has since then edited the paper with much success. John Campbell McLagan, after being Editor of the *Victoria Times* for four years, founded in 1888 the *Vancouver World*, which to-day is a large and prosperous paper. Arthur H. Scaife, founder of the *Province* (1894) in Vancouver—a high class literary weekly; Walter C. Nichol, now Editor of the *Daily Province* in Victoria; and R. E. Gosnell, a well known writer upon Provincial topics; are the remaining principal names in British Columbian journalism.

*Canadian Magazines*. The monthly and weekly journals of Canada, as distinguished

from newspapers, have been as many as the sands on the sea-shore. They have been of all kinds—literary, professional, comic, scientific, religious and educational. They have come and gone like snow-flakes in the early spring-time. Some have been interesting, some important, some authoritative, some only of use as indicating to the historian the passing follies of an hour or the honourable weakness of some ambitious publisher. Yet the most of them have done good in their way and nearly all have embodied—though sometimes feebly—an effort at the inculcation of Canadian sentiment or the promotion of some Canadian interest. In the Maritime Provinces the first one of which I can obtain any trace was the *Nova Scotia Magazine*, published at Halifax in 1789. The *Quebec Magazine* in 1791-3 was followed by *L'Abeille Canadienne* in 1818-19. Then came the *Canadian Magazine*, published in Montreal in 1823 and of which some four volumes were issued; the *Canadian Review*, edited by Dr. A. J. Christie and issuing somewhat at random during 1824-6; the *Bibliothèque Canadienne*, first published at Montreal in 1825; and the *Canadian Magazine*, issued at York (Toronto) in 1833 and of which only a few numbers seem to have appeared. The following table gives a list of most of the important magazines or journals of a literary character which have appeared since that period in British America, with the date of establishment:

Name.	Place of Publication.	Date of Estab- lishment
Bibliothèque Canadienne	Montreal	1825
Continued as:		
L'Observateur	Montreal	1830
Continued as:		
Magazin du Bas Canada	Montreal	1832
Acadian Magazine or Literary Mirror	Halifax	1826
Canadian Literary Magazine	York	1833
Canadian Magazine	York	1833
Literary Garland	Montreal	1838
Monthly Review	Montreal	1841
Encyclopædie Canadienne	Montreal	1842
Revue Canadienne:		
Journal Scientifique et Litté- raire	Montreal	1845
Album Littéraire et Musicale de la Revue Canadienne	Montreal	1846
Barker's Canadian Magazine	Kingston	1846
Snow Drop	Montreal	1847
Victoria Magazine	Belleville	1847
Repertoire National	Montreal	1848
Maple Leaf	Montreal	1852
Upper Canada Journal	Toronto	1852
The Provincial or Halifax Monthly Magazine	Halifax	1852
British Colonial Magazine	Toronto	1853
La Ruche Littéraire et Pol- itique	Montreal	1853
British American Journal	Montreal	1860
Soirées Canadiennes	Quebec	1861
Continued as:		
Nouvelles Soirées Cana- diennes	Quebec	1882
British Canadian Review		1862
British American Magazine	Toronto	1863
British American	Toronto	1863
Foyer Canadien	Quebec	1863
Canadian Quarterly Review	Toronto	1863
Canadian Patriot	Montreal	1864
Revue Canadienne	Montreal	1864
L'Echo de la France	Montreal	1865
L'Echo du Cabinet de Lecture Paroissial	Montreal	1865
Saturday Reader	Montreal	1865
New Dominion Monthly	Montreal	1867
Canadian Illustrated News	Montreal	1869
Canadian Literary Journal	Toronto	1870
Canadian Magazine	Toronto	1871
Canadian Monthly and Na- tional Review	Toronto	1872
Continued as:		
Belford's Monthly Magazine	Toronto	1877
Continued as:		
Rose-Belford's Canadian and National Review	Toronto	1878
Maritime Monthly	St. John	1873
Nation	Toronto	1874
Foyer Domestique	Ottawa	1876
Revue de Montreal	Montreal	1877
Canadian Independent Maga- zine	Toronto	1879
Album des Familles	Ottawa	1880
Canadien Illustré	Montreal	1881
Grand Annuaire de Quebec	Quebec	1881

Week .....	Toronto.....	1883
La Lanterne .....	Montreal.....	1884
Arcturus .....	Toronto.....	1887
Canada Francais .....	Quebec.....	1888
Land We Live In .....	Sherbrooke ...	1888
Dominion Illustrated.....	Montreal.....	1888
Bystander.....	Toronto.....	1889
Canadiana .....	Montreal.....	1889
Canada .....	Benton.....	1891
Young Canadian.....	Montreal .....	1891
Dominion Illustrated Monthly.....	Montreal .....	1892
Lake Magazine .....	Toronto.....	1892
The Manitoban .....	Winnipeg .....	1892
Canadian Magazine ..	Toronto.....	1893
The Province .....	Victoria.....	1894
Bulletin des Recherches His-		
toriques.....	Lévis .....	1895
Revue Nationale.....	Montreal .....	1895
Courrier du Livre .....	Quebec.....	1896
Dominion Review .....	Toronto.....	1896
Massey's Magazine.....	Toronto.....	1896

With certain exceptions these periodicals averaged one, two, or three volumes. The *Literary Garland* was an exceptionally able journal and lived at least thirteen years. The *Revue Canadienne* was published during the years 1864-87. The *Canadian Illustrated News* was a weekly illustrated paper of considerable excellence which lasted until 1883 and promised at one time to permanently overcome the difficulties of Canadian publishing in this connection. The *Canadian Monthly*, under its different names and Editors—amongst the latter being G. Mercer Adam and George Stewart—lasted a decade and did splendid service to Canadian literature. Of the *Week* it is difficult to speak without regret. A literary paper of high character under its various Editors—Charles G. D. Roberts, Philip Robinson, J. H. Menzies, John G. Robinson, Mrs. J. W. F. Harrison, R. W. Arnot, T. E. Moberly and J. G. Carter Troop—it died at last from want of popular support after fourteen years of struggle and at a time when public opinion and development had reached the stage when such a journal might have been expected to meet with assured success.

Of the present *Canadian Magazine*—there have been at least three others of the same name—its eleven volumes show what can be done in Canada to promote a healthy, independent public tone, to

encourage native literature, and to help the study of Canadian history by the publication of a magazine which aims at a national character and success. Its founder and first Editor, Mr. J. Gordon Mowat, deserves therefore to be held in remembrance, while his successor, Mr. John A. Cooper, has proved himself able to greatly increase the value of the magazine and the prosperity of the undertaking. And this despite the intense competition of cheaper American magazines. Amongst other modern journals special reference must be made to two—*Stewart's Quarterly* and the *Maritime Monthly*. The former was established at St. John, N.B., in April, 1867, and was founded and edited by Dr. George Stewart. It commenced with the birth of the Dominion but lasted only until January, 1872. The chief contributors besides Dr. Stewart were James Hannay, Dr. Moses Harvey, W. P. Dole, H. L. Spencer, the poets McLachlan, McColl and Murdoch, A. A. Stockton, Hon. William Elder and J. M. LeMoine. D'Arcy McGee wrote his last article for this magazine. It was succeeded, practically, by the *Maritime Month'y*, first issued on January 1, 1873. This magazine was edited by the Rev. James Bennet until March, 1874, when it passed into the hands of the "Maritime Monthly Club," consisting of the late Lieutenant-Governor John Boyd, Hiram Ladd Spencer, John McMillan, A. A. Stockton, LL.D., Judge Ezekiel McLeod, the Rev. J. Bennet, J. N. Wilson and T. M. Robinson. Mr. Spencer was appointed Editor. Its publication was suspended in February, 1876, the patronage being inadequate. Among its principal contributors were Dr. Daniel Clark, of Ontario, Hunter Duvar, of Prince Edward Island, Dr. Moses Harvey, of Newfoundland, Dr. A. A. Stockton and Miss Mary Barry Smith. The *New Brunswick Magazine*, now (1899) in its second volume, is a high-class historical journal edited by Mr. W. K. Reynolds.

Of magazines or weekly journals devoted to special subjects something must be said about the comic papers of Canada. Canadians are a somewhat serious people—or were in earlier days—and their literature of this nature has not been large. Now, the wit and humour of the country comes chiefly from New York. Even *Punch* is neglected in favour of the peculiarities of Ameri-



can humour. Its namesake, however, entitled *Punch in Canada*, flourished in 1849 in Montreal. The *Flysheet* was an ephemeral production of 1858. In the same year the *Grumbler* was established in Toronto by Mr. Erastus Wiman. Its pages were contributed to by W. J. Rattray, James McCarroll, the clever writer of "The Terry Finnegan Letters," Clarke Tyner and other bright journalists of the time. In 1863 it passed into the hands of Mr. J. Ross Robertson, but only lasted until 1864 when its proprietor joined the staff of the *Globe*. A rival during about 18 months of 1859-60 was *Poker*, edited by the late Chief Justice Robert A. Harrison. James McCarroll at a later period started the *Latchkey*, and William Halley established the *Pick*, but neither outlived the *Grumbler*.

No distinctively and avowedly comic newspapers have appeared in Halifax, save a few ephemeral sheets devoted to electioneering lampoons. The *Bullfrog* (1864-5), a critical and literary weekly, controlled by some officers of the Garrison, had a number of caustic and witty contributions. The same may be said of *The Critic* in its earlier years, one of whose contributors ("Snarler") afterwards transferred his "Snaps and Scraps" to *The Dominion Illustrated*. But the funniest paper issued in Halifax was the *Mayflower*, which was started in 1871 as a specially serious and edifying paper and two years later was converted by its purchaser, F. H. Baker, into a flippant, caustic and rather *risqué* periodical. After attaining an exceptionally large circulation it suspended in 1881, its downfall being largely due to Mr. Baker's printing a series of argumentive articles against Christianity which disappointed the majority of his readers (who bought his paper for his quips alone) and which offended all who had any belief in or respect for the Christian faith. Among the many humorous contributors to the Halifax daily press have been David Faulkner, who wrote frequently for *The Herald* under the *nom de plume* of "Adam Smith"; S. D. Scott (while Editor of the *Mail*) and "Susie Kane" who parodied very laughably in *The Echo* the vanities and frivolities of the Halifax society writers.

In May, 1873, the chief of Canada's comic papers was founded in Toronto by Mr. J. W.

Bengough and, until 1892, was edited by him with distinct ability and success which, perhaps, would have been greater had the cartoons not been so one-sided politically. In 1894 the paper ceased to exist. Mr. Bengough's cartoons have since been a popular feature of the *Montreal Star* and *Toronto Globe*. Samuel Hunter of the *Toronto World* has of late years won a reputation of the highest in this connection, while R. F. Staples of the *Toronto Telegram* has exhibited a certain form of humour in his cartoons which is inimitable. In 1886 the *Arrow* was started in Toronto as a satirical journal, but did not last long. The same fate overtook *Tarot* in the year 1896. The *Free Lance* was founded in Montreal by George T. Lanigan. It had some clever contributors and lasted for two or three years following 1868. *Diogenes* was contemporary in part with the *Free Lance*, but lasted longer. It was actively supported by William Workman, Mayor of Montreal, who wrote for it under the name of "Grinchuckle." George Murray, Alfred Bailey, George Burden and others also contributed to its columns. In the capital of Manitoba the *Winnipeg Siftings* spent its day of passing brightness, and in far-away British Columbia the *Scorpion* and then the *Comet* had, in late years, a brief career under the initiative of Mr. John Fannin.

To give lists of medical, educational, religious, scientific, and other special journals of the last hundred years in Canada might be interesting to a few, but would be certainly difficult and hardly appropriate or necessary. Some of the best known of the religious journals still living in 1898 may, however, be mentioned here:

Christian Guardian.....	Toronto....	1829
Presbyterian Witness.....	Halifax....	1848
True Witness.....	Montreal..	1850
The Wesleyan.....	Halifax....	1850
Canadian Baptist.....	Toronto....	1854
Congregationalist.....	do. ....	1854
Canadian Methodist Magazine...	do. ....	1875
Canadian Churchman.....	do. ....	1875
Presbyterian Record.....	Montreal..	1876
Evangelical Churchman.....	Toronto....	1876
Catholic Record.....	London ....	1878
Canadian Freeman.....	Kingston..	1884
Catholic Register .....	Toronto....	1893
The Westminster .....	do. ....	1896

Some of the earlier religious journals were the

*Christian Recorder* at York (Toronto) in 1819; the *Christian Sentinel* at Montreal in 1827; the *Churchman's Remembrancer* at York in the same year; *The Catholic*, established at Kingston in 1830; the *Canada Baptist Magazine*, started in Montreal in 1837; the *Canadian Christian Examiner* at Niagara in the same year. The *Journal of Education* for Upper Canada, established in 1848, and that for Lower Canada, founded in 1857, lasted for a number of years with great benefit to that particular national interest. Similar journals still exist in Toronto, Halifax, St. John and Montreal. An early agricultural paper was the *Canadian Agriculturist*, established at Toronto in 1849, and which lasted till 1863, and perhaps later. Another was the *Farmer's Journal*, of Montreal, founded in 1847, and still in existence in 1889. The Upper Canada *Jurist* was started in 1844, the Lower Canada paper of the same name in 1868. The *Canada Law Journal* of Toronto was established in 1855. The "Canadian Journal of Medical Science" was first published in Toronto in 1876, and was continued as the *Canadian Practitioner* in 1883. The *Dominion Medical Monthly* was started in Toronto in 1893, and the *Montreal Medical Journal* in 1872. They are still living. A mass of other journals exist, dealing with mining, numismatics, architecture, electricity, engineering, entomology, natural history, Masonry, archæology, and a myriad of other subjects, but it would serve no useful purpose to mention them further.

Journalists of a special subject, rather than of the general press, have found a distinct place in Canada as have journals of the same type. The names of F. S. Spence and W. W. Buchanan in connection with the Temperance question; Edward Trout, James Hedley and M. S. Foley in financial journalism; Rev. Dr. E. H. Dewart, Rev. J. A. Macdonald, Rev. Dr. W. H. Withrow and many others in religious journalism; E. B. Biggar and J. J. Cassidy in the realm of industrial activity; are cases in point at the present time. In the journalism of other communities, as in general literature, Canadians have also been distinguished. James Creelman, the famous war correspondent; Joseph Medill, one of the great names in United States journalism—a founder, proprietor and present Editor of the Chicago

*Tribune*; Alexander Edwin Sweet, founder of the celebrated *Texas Siftings*; James Jeffrey Roche, Editor since 1890 of the *Boston Pilot*—perhaps the chief organ of Irish opinion in the Republic; the Hon. Stephen Stockwell, one-time Editor of the *Boston Journal*; Daniel Logan, the leading journalist in the Hawaiian Islands; Joseph Albert Wheelock, founder and Editor-in-Chief of the *St. Paul Press* since 1861; Alexander Slason Thompson, editorially connected with many American papers from time to time and one of the founders of the *Chicago Herald*; Andrew Miller, founder and proprietor of *New York Life*; E. W. Thomson, Associate-Editor of the *Boston Youths' Companion*; Henry Beckles Willson of the *London Daily Mail*; and P. G. McArthur of the *New York Truth*, are all Canadians by birth.

Summarizing the situation it is easy to feel satisfied with the position and character of Canadian journalism—easier perhaps than to point out the deficiencies already referred to and which may be generalized in the statement that there is at times an absence of refinement in style and language, of dignity in head-lines, typography, etc., and of strict regard for accuracy where a political point may be made. Beginning in many cases without satisfactory education or training the newspaper men of pioneer days in Canada had great difficulties to encounter. There is now, however, no lack of ordinary education and the position is steadily improving. Where the trouble does exist it probably comes from a natural inclination to imitate certain tendencies in the American press. Upon the whole, however, the press of Canada is a great influence for good citizenship and higher ideals. The leading journals are well written, increasingly moderate in tone, surprisingly non-sectarian for a country of divided religions, highly moral in principle, fairly free from external sensationalism. And it may be added that the material position of the press is steadily improving—to a degree which it is to be hoped will soon enable it to stand the expense of a Canadian news agency in London and a cable service distinct from that of the United States. The daily average circulation of the *Toronto Globe* in 1897 is given as 31,314 and that of the *Mail and Empire* as 23,020; while in Montreal that of *La Presse* is stated at 54,833 and of the *Star* at 45,911.

The past has been a long struggle against adverse circumstances and difficulties only possible in a new country bordering for three thousand miles upon the possessions of a great national competitor and alien influence. The present is

marked by almost every element of progress in a right direction. The future holds out the prospect of a press which shall more and more prove a lamp to light the way to the highest and best development of national and individual life.



The Hon. William Templeman.



William Wiltred Campbell.

**Literature and Journalism—Editor's Note.** To the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava Canada owes much, and not the least of his services was the contribution to its literature of those inimitable orations which have become classics to every student of Canadian development. Some of Lord Dufferin's poems have also found a fitting place in compilations of Canadian verse. The Marquess of Lorne has written much about Canada—notably his volume of poetry and reminiscences published shortly after he left its shores. In connection with our French literature the names of James Donnelly and William Chapman may be mentioned—French despite their names. Writers of occasional poems are, of course, innumerable. A few more might be mentioned here. M. l'Abbé N. Caron, J. H. Bowes, Mrs. W. N. Clarke, R. J. Devlin, Frederick A. Dixon, Eudore Evanturel, Pierre Falcon, L. J. C. Fiset, Achille Fréchette, W. H. Fuller, Alfred Garneau, J. H. Garnier, M. l'Abbé Appollinaire Gingras, M. J. Griffin, A. W. Gundry, Joseph Le Noir, J. K. Liston, R. Rutland Manners, M. J. Marsile, Mary J. McColl, Mary McIver, Dominique Mondelet, Hon. M. A. Plamandon, Francis Rye, E. Blain Saint Aubin, Samuel J. Watson, G. W. Wicksteed and Sir Daniel Wilson have all written poetry of more or less merit—some of it deserving a permanent place in our literature.

The recently retired Chief Justice of Ontario, Sir John Hagarty, wrote isolated poems in his younger days which rank with some of the best in our language—notably the "Funeral of Napoleon I." and "The Sea, the Sea". W. A. Stephens, of Owen Sound, is said by the Rev. W. Wye Smith to have written the first volume of poetry published (1806) in Upper Canada. In Canadian journalism a special place is held by the late John Maclean, both as one of the originators of the National Policy idea and as being a prominent newspaper man in Hamilton and Toronto. James Somerville, who established

the Dundas *True Banner*; Patrick Boyle, who so long edited the *Irish Canadian*; John Fraser, who as "Cousin Sandy" was so well and widely known on the Canadian press; and Alexander W. Wright, who, as Editor of the *Guelph Herald*, the *Orangeville Sun* and the *Stratford Herald* made a name for himself before he went into politics and the labour movement—should be also mentioned in any review of our journalistic history.

Canadian works of value are yearly increasing in number. Very recently the Thorold and Beaverdam's Historical Society issued a distinctly useful *Jubilee History of Thorold*. The Rev. Dr. George Bryce, of Winnipeg, in 1898, published a volume dealing with *John Black, the Apostle of the Red River*. Mr. Edward Marion Chadwick, of Toronto, who has devoted so much time and study to Canadian genealogical research and to the history of the Indians, completed in the same year his valuable work upon *Ontarian Families*; and issued also an interesting volume dealing with the Iroquois and entitled "The People of the Long House." The Hon. Archer Martin, a Judge of the Supreme Court of British Columbia, published an elaborate treatise upon the Hudson's Bay Company's Land Tenures; while Mr. John R. Cartwright issued the fifth volume of his important work describing the cases decided on the British North America Act of 1867, by the Privy Council, the Supreme Court of Canada and the Provincial Courts. Mr. R. E. Kingsford, of Toronto, published some years since an adaptation of Blackstone to Ontario Courts, and a work upon "Evidence"; and very lately one upon the Ontario law relating to Land and Tenant. Mr. J. G. Ridout in 1894 published his *Treatise on the Patent Law of Canada*. Dr. S. E. Dawson, of Ottawa, has recently issued a most valuable work upon Canadian Geography; and the Rev. Dr. T. A. Higgins has very lately published a *Life of J. M. Cramp, D.D.*

## SECTION III.

THE CHIEF CITIES OF CANADA.



## THE ANNALS OF QUEBEC CITY

BY

SIR JAMES MACPHERSON LE MOINE, F.R.S.C.

AS the seat of French Empire in America for a century and more; as the subsequent fortalice of English Dominion in British America; and as the key of the St. Lawrence; Quebec must ever possess interest of no ordinary kind. The *Grande Mère* of Canadian cities, her story from her birth, in 1608, to her mature years, is dear to her sons, and is alive with thrilling, dramatic incidents for the scroll of the historian, the lyre of the poet, or the magic pen of the novelist. For more than one hundred and fifty years the history of Quebec is the history of Canada. The mere annals of her five sieges—1629—1690—1759—1760—1775—would fill several volumes and still the secrets of her successes and reverses would not be all told. Hoary-crowned, erect on her sentinel hill, she still guards the portal of Canada. Pointing with one arm towards the mysterious decrees of a destiny which has associated her struggles with the international history of a whole continent, and with the other, towards the no less mysterious decrees of her future, she looms out in picturesque, solemn guise on the pages of Canadian history. The traditional rivalry of France and England in the New World of the past lives on every stone of her mural crown. I have stated she had to undergo five sieges, and will here briefly mention them. Unfortified, unprovided with a garrison, or military and other stores, Quebec, in her infancy was starved into submission by an English Admiral, in 1629, and afterwards, handed back to France by the English monarch, Charles the First, in order to propitiate his *beloved* cousin, the French King, and induce him to make good the balance of his Queen, Henrietta Maria's dowry—some 400,000 French crowns of which he seemed much in need. We then find Champlain's cherished fort struggling through endless Indian wars and suffering under dire colonial

misrule—denied civil and religious liberty, and a prey to grinning monopolies.

In 1690, her scanty population is again called to arms. Soon she finds she can depend less on her old guns and rudimentary fortifications than on her chivalrous sons, led on by an indomitable soldier—sturdy old Frontenac. Quebec proudly defies her formidable New-England foes and their thirty-four big ships of war at anchor under her battlements. Subsequently fighting her savage foes, the Redskins, New France, despite absolutism in church and state, thrusts her soldiers far beyond her border down the fertile Ohio valley—to reap glory where her enemy, England, meets with many early defeats.

Then we have the great siege of 1759 and many yet believe that had Quebec been suitably garrisoned and provisioned, Montcalm, the hero of a hundred fights, could have held out until succour came from oblivious France. In 1760, another siege, less protracted, followed: the fiercely contested second battle of the Plains of Abraham, generally known as the battle of Ste. Foye—a French victory. It enabled the dispirited French to shake hands with the lucky British before bidding adieu to the grand pageant of French Dominion, thus closed so suddenly on the shores of the St. Lawrence. What a loss it was!

“The French” as Francis Parkman well observes, “had claimed all America from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains and from Mexico and Florida to the North Pole—except only the ill-defined possessions of the English on the border of the Hudson Bay.” This illimitable vista of Empire suddenly collapsed. Had not the great statesman William Pitt vowed to eject France from the continent of North America? and was he not as good as his word? New Englanders would henceforth sleep in peace

--without fear of midnight raid and scalping operations from French Canada. The names of Hertch, Courtemanche, and Portneuf might yet cause nightmares at Schenectady, Deersfield, Salmon Falls—but their day of action was past. The conquest of Canada by England, as Lowell once said, had made practicable the American Republic by removing a powerful enemy and neighbour whom England alone was able to master. The English conquest was the grand crisis of Canadian history. It was the beginning of a new life. England, as Parkman says, imposed by the sword on reluctant Canada the boon of rational and ordered liberty. Struggling, starving, deserted, New France had at last been forcibly lifted from Bourbon misrule, and corruption, and the Bigot regime. With the brilliant biographer of Montcalm and Wolfe I may add “A happier calamity never befell a people than the conquest of Canada by British arms.”

The fierce sieges of 1759 and 1760 were indeed memorable epochs in the annals of Quebec, but the sturdy old fortress had yet other trials and other triumphs before her. The year 1775, which the French Canadians still designate as *l'annee terrible des Bostonnais*, had in store dark days—moments of supreme alarm followed by the welcome and victorious salute of the city guns in the streets and devious by-ways of the blockaded town. Count Frontenac, in 1690 was proclaimed the Saviour of New France. In 1775, Guy Carleton was awarded, and rightly so, the proud title of Saviour of Quebec. The Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, past President of the Royal Society of Canada, thus recalls the martial memories of this historical city and its picturesque environs: “History everywhere—around us, beneath us, from the depths of yonder valleys, from the top of that mountain, history rises up and presents itself to our notice, exclaiming, “Behold me!” Beneath us, among the capricious meanders of the River St. Charles, the Cahir-Coubat of Jacques Cartier, is the very place where he first planted the cross and held the first conference with the Seigneur Donnacona. Here, very near to us, beneath a venerable elm tree, which with much regret we saw cut down, tradition states that Champlain first raised his tent. From the very spot on which we now stand, Count de Frontenac

returned to Admiral Phipps, that proud answer as he said ‘from the mouth of his cannon,’ which will always remain recorded by history. Under these ramparts are spread the plains on which fell Wolfe, and where in the following year, the Chevalier de Levis and General Murray fought that other battle, in memory of which the citizens of Quebec are erecting (in 1854) a monument.

“Before us on the heights of Beauport the souvenirs of battles not less heroic, recall to our remembrance the names of Longueuil, St. Helene and Juchereau Duchesney. Below us, at the foot of that tower on which floats the British flag, Montgomery and his soldiers fell, swept by the grape-shot of a single gun pointed by a Canadian artillery man. History is there everywhere around it. She rises as well from these ramparts, replete with daring deeds, as from these illustrious plains, equally celebrated for feats of arms, and she again exclaims: ‘Here I am!’”

Turning to the more general and detailed annals of our historic city, we find that Quebec stands proudly enthroned on the lofty promontory which separates the River St. Lawrence from the St. Charles, in latitude 46° 48' 30", longitude 71° 17'. It was founded on the 3rd of July, 1608, by Samuel de Champlain, a native of Brouage, in Saintonge, France. Its site had been visited by Europeans long before this period, notably in 1535, by Jacques Cartier, an enterprising St. Malo mariner, who ascended the St. Lawrence and cast anchor on the 6th of September at the foot of Cape Diamond. As yet, however, all was a nameless barbarism, and a cluster of wigwams held the site of the rock-built city of Quebec. Cartier, on the 14th September, 1535, had ascended the river with one of his ships, and landed at a great Indian town 180 miles beyond—now the commercial metropolis Montreal—returning later on to Stadacona, where he spent the winter. The wintering of the venturesome Jacques Cartier on this spot in 1535, by its remoteness, is an incident of interest not only to Canadians, but also to every denizen of North America. It takes us back to an era nearly coeval with the discovery of the continent by Columbus, and much anterior to the foundation of Jamestown in 1607; anterior



even to that of St. Augustine in Florida. Quebec has therefore the right to call herself a very old American city.

No city on this continent is more famous in its annals than Quebec, and few on the continent of Europe are more picturesquely located. Here hotly contested sieges, memorable battlefields, historical monuments, old monasteries, vast and hoary educational institutions, commend her to the attention of the tourist, and the meditation of the historian, as well as to the inspiration of the poet. Apart from the scenery of this most picturesque city there are associations clustering about it which would make a desert rich in interest. The lofty precipice, along whose rocky front Wolfe and his brave companions climbed to glory; the Plains of Abraham, where he received his mortal wound; the fortress so chivalrously defended by Montcalm; and his soldier's grave, dug for him when yet alive by the bursting of a shell, are not the least among them, or among the gallant incidents of history. The Wolfe and Montcalm shaft in Governor's Garden is a noble monument too, and worthy of two great nations, which perpetuates the memory of both great generals, and on which their names are jointly written. Thirst for gold had brought out the avaricious early European explorers; little of the precious metal was found, but a lucrative trade sprang up in peltries. The fur trade soon became the absorbing attraction to the French, and for more than a century it yielded a golden return. Quebec, at first a trading post, a mart of commerce, and a religious centre, had soon to be transformed into an armed fort, a stronghold to shelter the sparse traders, settlers, and explorers against Indian inroads and Indian treachery.

Its commanding position pointed it out as the key to the Upper St. Lawrence, it became the bulwark of French dominion on the continent, it was indispensable to the expansion and consolidation of French power in this New France, it was the fulcrum which supported the grand but insecure pageant on its eastern outlet, whilst New Orleans was to do similar duty on its western outlet, and the whole intervening space was to be studded with a chain of French forts so as to effectually exclude the English and confine them to the Atlantic seaboard. Such was the fond dream of

the ambitious Cardinal de Richelieu, Prime Minister to Louis XIII. Such the resplendent vista conceived by the great king, Louis XIV. Later on the gorgeous fabric collapsed one murky September morning on Abraham's Heights. But for a century and more the history of Quebec was the history of Canada. During nearly all Champlain's career at Quebec the colony was in a chronic state of warfare with the Iroquois Indians, who kept the sparse settlements in a painful state of alarm for nearly a century. In 1608 Champlain began the erection of a residence and warehouses in the lower town, and in 1620 he began the raising of Fort St. Louis on the cape above.

The leading events which occurred during the twenty-seven years between 1608 and 1635, were a succession of conflicts with the aborigines, and the explorations by Champlain in the western section of Canada, now constituting the province of Ontario. In 1625 the Jesuit Fathers arrived, obtained land grants on the shores of the St. Charles near Hare Point, where, in 1627, their settlement took the name of Ferme des Anges. The poorly armed and insufficiently provisioned fort, on the appearance in port of an English fleet commanded by Admiral David Kirke, had to surrender on the 17th July, 1629, when Champlain and several of his followers were sorrowfully compelled to abandon the colony. The French families who chose to remain were tendered protection. Champlain and some of the friars and inhabitants took passage for England in one of the English ships. On July 20th, 1629, the British ensign was hoisted on the bastion of the fort amidst the roar of artillery from the British men-of-war and the fortress. Christmas Day, 1635, closed the career of the brave founder of Quebec—two years after resuming sway over his cherished foundation.

The years between 1635 and 1665 might be styled the era of religious foundation, missionary labour, and personal suffering. The Ursuline and Hotel Dieu convents date from 1639. A stream of colonists settled at Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, about 1660, coming from Normandy, Brittany, le Pays, d'Aunis, Perche, Isle de France, etc. An appalling earthquake took place in 1663, the shocks lasting for five months—from

February to August. In this year a Royal government was substituted by the French King for the charter of private companies. The fifty years following—from 1663 to 1713—was a period of fruitful progress. Louis the Great sent out some very able officials (Intendants Talon, Hocquart, Raudot) charged with the administration of justice, police, finance, and marine. A bishopric was created in October, 1674. The first titular was the scholarly, progressive, but rather absolute, Monseigneur Laval, Abbe de Montigny, and connected with the French ducal house of Montmorency. The King also created, in 1663, a Council of State, presided over by the Governor, and comprising the Bishop, the Intendant, the Attorney-General, a clerk, and five councillors. It was styled the Sovereign Council.

During 1713-1759 a long peace characterized the annals of Quebec. An important event occurred in 1713 in the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, which ceded the Hudson Bay Territory, Newfoundland, and Acadia (Nova Scotia) to Britain, France retaining Canada, as New France was now called. The town now breathed in peace. During the year 1717 the people were provided with a court of Vice-Admiralty. Mourning had to be put on at the end of the year, the news of the death of the French King having been wafted across the Atlantic. The population of the city was then 7,000, that of Montreal 3,000. A brisk trade had also sprung up with the West Indies in sugar, rum, coffee, and molasses. The period of peace ended, however, and the fate of one half of the continent was decided at Quebec on the morning of September 13th, 1759. The remains of the conquering British hero, Wolfe, were conveyed to England; those of his chivalrous rival rest in the vault of the Ursuline chapel. De Ramezay's capitulation, September 18th, 1759, brought about a momentous change for the city. Quarters had to be provided for the English forces of 7,313 men. The municipal government had to be looked after, military tribunals were organized. General James Murray became the first English Governor of Quebec. After spending there eight dreary months, a prey to smallpox, dysentery, and other ailments, his army, much diminished by death, was again summoned to face the enemy led by de Levis, and on April 28th,

1760, suffered a reverse, which had no particular result.

The military regime, as it was styled, lasted until 1764. On June 31st of that year the first number of the *Quebec Gazette* was issued, printed in English and in French, by Brown & Gilmore. The *Quebec Daily Mercury* was founded by Thos. Cary, January 5th, 1805. *Le Canadien*, November 22nd, 1806; *Quebec Star*, December 5th, 1829; *Quebec Morning Chronicle*, May 18th, 1847. Governor Murray was succeeded in 1766 by Sir Guy Carleton. In 1774, with the object of conciliating the French population of the colony, the Imperial Parliament passed what is known as the Quebec Act of 1774, which restored the use of the French language and French laws as to real estate, and has been since considered the charter of Roman Catholic freedom. In November, 1775, Brigadier-General Richard Montgomery and Colonel Benedict Arnold invaded Canada from the New England provinces but were routed, and 427 of Arnold's men surrendered as prisoners of war, while General Montgomery and thirteen of his followers met their death at Pres-de-Ville, just below the city, on the shores of the St. Lawrence.

On December 17th, 1792, the first Parliament was opened by Lieutenant-Governor Sir Alured Clarke, and met in the apartments of the Roman Catholic Bishop's Palace, then occupying the site where, in 1834, was built the first House of Assembly. The newly-fledged legislators, its inmates under the constitution drafted by William Pitt, and dividing Canada into two provinces in 1791, exhibit on their honoured roll many historic names amongst both elements of the population; De Salaberry, Panet, Taschereau, Duniere, Duchesnay, De Tonnancour, De Rouville, De Rocheblave, De Lotbiniere, De Bonne, Joseph Papineau, father of the famous Louis Joseph Papineau; David Lynd, John Richardson, James Walker, James McGill, Thomas Coffin, John Lees, William Grant, Robert Lester, etc.

The closing years of the century were disturbed by the news of the extraordinary success of French arms in Europe, Napoleon's war bulletins reaching from time to time the "Ancient Capital" and wildly raising the hopes of the French inhabitants—though never to the point of actual disloyalty to their English rulers. The capital of Lower

Canada, where its turbulent, restless Parliament met each year, however, acquired additional importance; and the closing of Continental ports to England by the French Emperor, especially those of the Baltic sea, had a most beneficial effect on Quebec. In 1808 it brought to the city hundreds of English ships in quest of the wealth of our forests, our square timber, pine and spruce deals, and masts for the British navy. Thus originated the lucrative timber trade, the immediate successor to the traffic in peltries. It lasted more than half a century, and British merchantmen of large tonnage continued to crowd the port—the annual arrivals from sea reaching some seasons to 1,350 square-rigged ships. Canadian ship-building received a healthy impetus, Quebec-built ships scoured every sea, and were sought for in European markets.

The Constitution of 1791, however, did not diminish but rather increased the friction between the two leading races. Parliamentary representation had placed the control of the popular branch of the Government in the hands of the discontented French majority. Grave dissensions sprang up between the head of the Executive—the Governor-General—and the restless Parliamentary party led by able and patriotic French-Canadians. Imperial ignorance and neglect of colonial matters, aided by a powerful and educated but grasping and irresponsible oligarchy, which claimed all official patronage, made the breach between the representative of the Crown and the nominees of the people irreparable. Quebec society was much distracted by the raging parliamentary agitation. Later on the agitation ripened into an open insurrection, which led many of its most ardent abettors to a premature grave, and some to the gallows. Quebec City, by its moderate stand, escaped this part of a painful tragedy which, however, amongst other benefits, brought Canada into notice before the metropolitan authorities, and gave it responsible government a few years later.

On the 18th of June, 1812, war was declared by the United States against England, and the Canadian territory was invaded at different points. It was not an unmitigated evil. It brought out in bold relief the patriotism and loyalty of all classes in Quebec: and amid the

paean sung in the old Capital to her brave son, Colonel de Salaberry, for his splendid feat at Chateauguay, and to General Brock—long a denizen of Quebec—for his dearly bought victory at Queenston Heights, it emphasized the people's loyalty and attachment to the ruling State during the time of this unprovoked conflict with a big neighbour. In 1818 a new era in mercantile affairs seems to have dawned, and the necessity of providing a more extensive circulating medium for commerce led to the founding of the Quebec Bank, which has continued to flourish to this day. War alarms had now ceased, and the Treaty of Ghent, in 1814, had brought us greatly enlarged trade relations. Immigration from the United Kingdom also assumed larger proportions.

In 1824 an enlightened and progressive administrator, the Earl of Dalhousie, aided by cultured residents, founded at the Chateau St. Louis a scientific association, subsequently provided with a Royal charter, which, under the name of the Literary and Historical Society, exists still in our midst. The year following witnessed the launching, at the Island of Orleans, of two ships, considered for their size leviathans at that period—the "Columbus," 3,090 tons, and the "Baron of Renfrew," 5,888 tons, both built by Scotch companies for the lumber trade. In 1827, under the auspices of the Governor-General, the Earl of Dalhousie, there was erected the stately monument to Wolfe and Montcalm, to which Dr. John Charlton Fisher, one of the founders of the Literary and Historical Society, contributed a well-known Latin inscription. A notable incident occurred in 1831, of incalculable results for the future. The pioneer steamer of the Atlantic, the "Royal William," was launched at Anse des Meres, and crossed the ocean propelled by steam alone—tonnage, 1,370 tons. The summers of 1832 and 1834 were seasons of gloom and despondency, when the city was cursed with the Asiatic scourge, cholera.

Quebec was incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1833—its first mayor being a well-remembered barrister of the Queen's Bench, Judge Elzear Bedard. The city continued to be a focus of political agitation during the annual sittings of Parliament, the outcome of which were the famous ninety-two resolutions embodying the

many grievances of the colony and adopted by the House of Assembly in 1834. Three years later the armed revolt, already referred to, broke out in the Montreal district against the King's authority, but Quebec, though in sympathy with the movement, refused to resort to armed resistance, and kept within the bounds of the constitution. In May, 1838, the Earl of Durham arrived at Quebec, escorted by twelve frigates, and charged with the mission of reporting on colonial grievances, and of administering the colony. His humane but unconstitutional policy of deporting the political prisoners to Bermuda, instead of having them tried by court martial and executed, having been bitterly assailed by the Imperial Parliament, he threw up his commission without waiting to be relieved by his Sovereign and hurried back to London to meet with disfavour—the Queen refusing to receive him. The end for Canada was responsible government, a re-union of Upper and Lower Canada into one province; and for the high-spirited, clever Earl humiliation and an early death in 1841.

Quebec was visited on May 28th, 1845, with great fires which left homeless 16,000 souls and proved a crushing blow at the time, but in the end led to a much-needed transformation in the class of buildings. The innumerable and small one-story wooden tenements disappeared, and substantial stone and fire-brick dwellings took their place. The ocean mail line of steamers, subsidized by Government, was started in 1853. The enterprising English railway contractors, Jackson, Peto, Brassey, and Betts, gave us the Grand Trunk Railway. About that time the telegraph and city water-works were introduced, as well as gas a few years later. In September, 1864, took place, in the House of Assembly building at the head of Mountain Hill, the ever-memorable Quebec Conference, which laid the basis of Confederation and was presided over by Sir E. P. Taché. To the hostile, disunited provinces of 1864 succeeded, in 1867, the Dominion of Canada and an enlarged national life. Confederation brought to this province its old name, and to the Ancient Capital its former prestige as the seat of the Provincial Government. An improved and more costly style of construction in private dwellings and public buildings gradually sprang up; the leather and shoe industries, and others of a

lucrative nature, took the place of shipbuilding and the waning timber trade. The working classes were thereby greatly benefited. The removal from Quebec, in 1870-71, by the Imperial authorities, of the two British regiments—the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers—left unoccupied several large buildings hitherto owned by the Ordnance Department, as well as the historic citadel, which had been built at such heavy cost with British money. Provincial corps of artillery, cavalry, and Batteries A, B, C, were then formed and commissioned under the Queen's War Regulations to take the place of the British regulars, leaving us to do garrison duty in their stead on the Citadel and elsewhere.

A happy incident took place in 1872, in the arrival of the Earl of Dufferin, and his sojourn during the leafy months of summer in the lofty Citadel erected in 1820-30 on the original plans of the French engineer, DeLery, and approved of by the Duke of Wellington when Commander of the Forces. Lord Dufferin had been struck by the unrivalled view opening out from the King's Bastion, and with the assistance of his own engineer, and of the city engineer, plans of city adornment and embellishment were prepared and adopted under Lord Dufferin's eye. Some necessary changes were made in the city's approaches, without detracting from the historical character of the fortress. Her Majesty herself was asked to contribute from her own private purse to the erection of the new gate which bore the name of her esteemed father, the Duke of Kent, who was for four years, while commanding the 7th Royal Fusiliers, an inmate of Quebec. Thanks to our fortifications and to the enlightened views of the great statesman whose memory is perpetuated in the noble boulevard he gave us (Dufferin Terrace) Quebec is still styled "The Walled City of the North."

We may now glance briefly at the more modern progress of the city. The restoration, by the Confederation Act of 1867, to the ancient capital of its former prestige as the seat of the Provincial Government, and the construction of its new and stately legislative halls, where the collective wisdom of the province meets annually as of yore, were noticeable events in its new era of development. In 1852 a Royal charter had been granted

by Her Majesty the Queen to the Laval University, brought into existence by the Quebec Seminary, which was founded in 1668. Later on a generous citizen, the late Dr. James Morrin, left a money grant (supplemented quite recently by a bequest of the late Senator James Ross) which gave us Morrin College in its present enlarged form. The opening by Government of the city Normal Schools was another measure conducive to the dissemination of popular education and the improvement of Quebec. Though the decay of the square timber trade was a disaster to its port, depriving 5,000 or 6,000 able-bodied labourers of very remunerative employment during the summer months, recent changes have been made in connection with labour organizations, and the port of Quebec, with its unrivalled facilities for trade, may yet, as heretofore, be sought by the largest ships from European ports.

Quebec is bountifully provided with churches, hospitals, asylums, universities, and educational and charitable institutions for every denomination of Christians. The Hotel Dieu, recently much enlarged; Jeffrey Hale Hospital, Le Bon Pasteur, Hospice de la Maternite, Finlay Asylum, Ladies' Protestant Home, St. Bridget's Asylum, etc. It can boast of one of the most ancient fanes on the continent, the Basilica Minor, dating back to 1647. Bishop Laval's diocese in those earlier days extended from Acadia to the Gulf of Mexico. The Anglican church, a handsome temple of worship, dates back to 1800-4; the St. Andrew's church was built in 1810; the Congregational, French Protestant, and Baptist churches, St. Patrick's, St. John's, and St. Matthew's churches, and a Jewish synagogue are more recent in construction. There seems to be a plethora of banks and banking institutions, including the Bank of British North America, the Bank of Montreal, the Quebec Bank, the Banque Nationale, the Merchants Bank, Union Bank, Halifax Union Bank, Jacques Cartier Bank. A want for the Quebec trade had long been felt—a back country settled by prosperous tillers of the soil, and requiring the necessaries as well as the luxuries of life. Such has recently been met by the numerous settlements and back parishes, with churches, in the fertile valley of Lake St. John, to which a ready access is had by the Quebec

and Lake St. John Railway. This vast territory intersected by more than one hundred lakes and limpid streams, is also invaded each summer by myriads of sportsmen from other parts of Canada, the United States, and Europe, eager to fill their creels with the trout and land-locked salmon which swarm in every lake and river. More than sixteen fish and game club houses stud the shores of the St. John Lake district. In addition to the shoe and leather trade which has helped so materially to build up the flourishing suburb of St. Roch,



Hope Hill, Quebec.

other industries are gradually finding their way. Cold storage premises are now being prepared for the opening of navigation, and a capacious grain elevator built on the Louise embankment to load the products of western wheat fields on Atlantic steamers.

The most conspicuous modern buildings are those of Parliament, the new post office, the new court house, the handsome city hall, the stately and splendid hotel, Chateau Frontenac, erected at a cost of \$500,000, and south of the ornate

shaft now recently erected in honour of Champlain, the founder of the city. The total estimated value of the real estate in the city of Quebec is about \$36,500,000, whilst the city's bonded debt is \$5,368,808. The net revenue of the municipal corporation for 1894-5 was \$627,000. The annexation of the suburb of St. Sauveur since the last census was taken brings the population of the city up to about 80,000 souls. One

fond dream of Quebeckers awaiting realization is the spanning by a bridge of the River St. Lawrence between Quebec and Levis, which would welcome the entrance into the city proper of the Intercolonial Railway, the Grand Trunk, the Quebec Central, and other lines in process of construction, and would undoubtedly make the Ancient Capital a railway centre of great importance.



Sir James Macpherson Le Mome.

## SKETCH OF THE CITY OF OTTAWA

BY

L. A. MAGENIS-LOVEKIN Editor of the *Ottawa Free Press*.

THE City of Ottawa may be looked upon as the child of two bad parents—War and Political Faction. Its magnificent situation, favoured in so many ways by nature, would, however, in the course of time, have insured the growth of a city upon the present site. It lies on a natural route between the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. It was the route utilized in ages past by the various tribes of Indians in their journeyings east and west at a time when none but the aborigines and the wild beasts inhabited the “forest primeval.” Over its course passed Champlain in the early part of the seventeenth century, on his way *via* the Ottawa to Lake Huron—the first white man it may be assumed who ever gazed on the matchless scenery which for so many a day’s journey delighted his eyes. Missionaries, some of them like De Brébeuf and L’Allemant passing to win the crown of martyrdom, and traders intent on the pursuit of Mammon followed the same course, and to-day, when steam has revolutionized the carrying trade and distance has lost much of its ancient significance, there are those who contend that the skill of the engineer and the capital of the old world will in combination yet make the waterway of the French River and the Ottawa a route of prime Imperial and commercial importance.

The events connected with the war between Great Britain and the United States in 1812-14; the defence of Canada and the story of heroic deeds which will live in golden letters upon the national escutcheon as long as time shall last, need not be entered into here. They are adequately dealt with in another place in this series of volumes. But it was out of the movements of the British and Canadian forces and the difficulties attendant thereon that the present City of

Ottawa sprang into a, perhaps, premature existence. The military and naval commanders of the period were not slow to learn from the lessons taught by the war that the line of communication between the east and the west, in the event of hostilities such as had recently ended, was not only insufficient for tactical purposes, but unsafe and open to the danger of being attacked in flank and probably barred by a hostile force—so close was it to the frontier and, for a very considerable portion of its line, easy of access to an enemy. An internal line of communication between the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes had therefore to be established and the matter was made the subject of most careful study by the military engineers. The cartography of the country was, at the time, necessarily defective and the opportunities its geographical features, by land and water, presented for the purpose sought were not fully known or appreciated by those to whom was committed the task of deciding what was, at the time, a most momentous issue. Very varied were the plans suggested and the archives show how confused were the ideas which prevailed.

But an interior line of communication, as projected by the War Department in Britain, had to be found, and in 1824, after the question had been carefully considered in London, and the opinions of the Duke of Wellington, Sir John Burgoyne and others obtained, the Provincial Government of Upper Canada was offered substantial aid by the Imperial authorities if it would undertake the construction of a projected canal by way of the Rideau River and internal waters to Kingston. It declined to do so, deeming—and rightly from the commercial standpoint—that the St. Lawrence route was the best, and sufficient for existing local interests. The Imper-

ial Government therefore determined to carry out the work itself, which had, in fact, been commenced as a part of the general plan five years earlier, at Grenville, between Montreal and the Rideau River. In 1826 the Canal was commenced and the seed of what is now the political capital of the Dominion sown. Into the wisdom, or the reverse, of the measure it is now needless to enter. The scheme was purely a military undertaking and intended for nothing else, and to-day, without being utterly useless, it plays an unimportant part in the commerce and traffic of the country.

It may be stated at this point that the Canal is  $126\frac{1}{2}$  miles in length between Ottawa and Kingston, with a lockage of  $446\frac{1}{2}$  feet. From Ottawa it ascends  $282\frac{1}{4}$  feet by 34 locks, in  $87\frac{1}{4}$  miles to Rideau Lake, then descends 164 feet by 13 locks in the remaining  $38\frac{3}{4}$  miles, which carries it into Lake Ontario, under the guns of the forts at Kingston. In order to convey some idea of the ponderous character of the work, it may be noted that the locks are all of splendid construction, in solid masonry, and that there are 24 stone dams, two of which are 24 and 68 feet high respectively. Its cost will also convey a similar idea. For land, £44,807 was expended; for stations, £625,545; for gates, £23,141; and for the payment of the establishment, £110,279—a total in round numbers of £807,774, or in currency about the handsome sum of \$4,038,871. Up to the present date (1898), including the expenditure on the Tay Canal, the outlay has been \$4,560,285. That the Canal has not been of commercial value for many years has already been stated, and for the year 1896 the total tonnage carried was only 88,000. The cost of maintenance and staff was for the same period \$34,052.77, and the total revenue \$6,149.14, exclusive of hydraulic rents. The Canal was commenced in 1826 and opened in 1833. Such in brief is the story of the Canal which, as has been said, was the immediate cause of the commencement of what is to-day the City of Ottawa.

In 1826 Colonel By and his staff arrived on the scene—up to that date a wilderness, there being but three or four scattered residences in the vicinity. There was, we are told, one Caleb

Bellows who had kept a small store and a dock at what was known as Bellows' Point for some five years previously. A tavern was also kept by Isaac Firth at the Slides Bridge, and Nicholas Sparks, a name which remains to this day, resided, according to tradition, on the site of what is now the principal market place. This pioneer had arrived in the vicinity some ten years previously and, engaging as a farm-hand with Philemon Wright, a pioneer of a yet earlier day, in what is now the County of Ottawa in the Province of Quebec, had by dint of thrift and industry acquired land in the township of Nepean. This, although despised at the time, subsequently increased in value as the accidental events briefly touched upon above caused first a village, then a town and latterly a city to grow up. Much might be said concerning Philemon Wright, who came here from the United States. His history is most intimately associated with the vicinity of what is now Ottawa. The curious may find the history of his efforts as told by himself in the Journals of the Assembly of Lower Canada eighty years ago. This is indirectly both interesting and important in any consideration of Ottawa and its history.

An extraordinary change was witnessed in the previously secluded locality within a year from the coming of Colonel By. A village was established in what is now known as the Lower Town, and what was for many years in reality "the town," and it rapidly spread its feelers westward. By slow degrees little residences began to appear upon the grounds west of Barrack Hill, on which the stately Parliament House now stands, along what is now Wellington Street and reaching to the Flats. A sketch of "society" as it existed in the locality at the time would perhaps be more interesting to the antiquarian than to anyone else. Here and there under the houses on the chief business streets, there are places which are now pointed out as the burial places of the dead. But the majority of the earlier workers, it is said, folded their tents and stole away when their work was done, and of the names which are remembered in the pioneer period, and some years after, but few can be found to-day. An idea of the early condition of the community under consideration may be



gathered by those interested from some lines giving a description of the village of Bytown, written by the late William Pittman Lett, who, in the year 1874, collected some recollections of the place and its old inhabitants and enshrined them in a most interesting *brochure*.

The Canal completed, the locality seems to have had rest for a time. Those whom the works had brought to the site of the village dispersed, and it is said by some who speak from memory that a land fever followed, the people settling in the country around. The descendants of those whose brawny arms then cleared the forests and converted the trees into lumber to be floated to Quebec, or were the pioneers in the tillage of the splendid land which stretches throughout the district, are yet found in the adjacent counties. Many of the names of those who remained in the infant settlement and for some years figured in its progress are yet on record, though scarcely any of them are found in the city Directory of the day. But pluck and industry were laying the foundations of the "rough hewn beginning" of the city and sowing where others now reap in forgetfulness of the pioneers. There is a ward or division named after Colonel By, and that is all, although visitors have a pedestal at the end of the Sapper's Bridge pointed out to them as that upon which his statue is to stand. Among the names of the pioneers, that of Nicholas Sparks calls for further notice. He was, the records say, a Wexford man who came to Canada in 1816, and, after working for a time for Philemon Wright, acquired a certain plot of land on which the principal part of the city now stands. The growth of the place changed his position from that of a poor labourer to one which has earned for him the title of "founder of Ottawa," and he became one of the richest men in the vicinity. He was a worthy and generous man, and lived until the year 1862 generally respected in the community. The main business street of the city—up to a recent period—is fitly named after him. It may be noticed that there were far-seeing people seventy years ago, who anticipated the growth of the then almost unpeopled place. It is recorded by Vigne that Philemon Wright expressed the opinion as far back as 1831 that

the new settlement would in the future be the capital of Canada. Mr. Charles Pope, again, tells us that in 1827 there were not wanting those who predicted that it would be what it is to-day. He names Sir John Franklin and Colonel By as the prophets, the former on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of the locks. "Sir," said Colonel By, later on, to a Mr. Burke, who asked for a larger portion of land than that officer thought proper, "this land will be very valuable some day; it will be the capital of Canada."

Traditions as to the early settlement of the place obtained verbally from "old inhabitants" are conflicting and untrustworthy, but it is recorded by a traveller that, in 1832, at the time of the completion of the canal, there were not fewer than 150 houses in Bytown, "mostly built of wood and in a style of neatness and taste reflecting great credit upon the inhabitants." The state of the society which then existed may be imagined. It was decidedly "rough, raw and democratic." It is, in fact, known that it was very rude indeed. There were rough, but ready, stores supplying a coarse plenty, from a needle to an anchor, together with forges, taverns, clothing and provision shops. "The people," says a contemporary writer,\* "were rude and unlettered, and the ensuing generation were even worse than their fathers, who had, at least, the benefit in early youth of being brought up under the influence of an advanced civilization. Necessarily the young men growing up in the village of Bytown, who could not be sent to Montreal or Quebec for means of education, became roughs. They were being brought up, or rather were growing up, as it were, beyond the influences of civilization, and their manners were such as might be expected from such training. They had but little respect for the fifth commandment."

In 1852, once more, according to the record of a traveler, the town had so far developed as to be divided into the upper and lower towns, some distance apart, with a gap which he stated would take many years to build over. There were some sixty stores, seven lesser schools, a grammar school, three banks, three insurance offices, three

\*NOTE. Roger: "Rise of Canada from Barbarism to Civilization."

newspapers and a telegraph office. The town was represented in the Legislature. Although it appears that the growth of the place was rapid, at the same time there seems to have been much fluctuation, as it is stated that in 1845 there was 8,000 of a population, but, at the time of the incorporation of the town of Bytown in 1847, the figures are given at 6,000. The first public census in 1851 showed a population of 7,000. It was about this time that a sense of isolation seems to have been aroused amongst the people of Bytown. Up to this period the only means of communication with the outer world had been by the canal, the river and the road. But a great and progressive step in breaking away from their shut-in condition was made, and the Bytown people, in 1851, witnessed the commencement and rapid construction of the Bytown and Prescott Railway—afterwards the St. Lawrence and Ottawa. This naturally worked a great change in the status of the place, and, in 1854, the population had swollen to 10,000 souls and in the same year the City of Ottawa was incorporated. But it stood on the threshold of a still greater dignity.

It was said at the commencement of this sketch that one of the parents of the capital had to be named Political Faction and to this feature in its career I now come. It is a matter of domestic history that the Parliament of Canada for some years followed the perambulatory system. After the attack upon Lord Elgin, and the burning of the Parliament House in Montreal, the Legislature met alternately at Quebec and Toronto, an arrangement obviously inconvenient and provocative of much sectional feeling. Patriotic efforts failed to allay this, but no understanding could be arrived at, and at last, in 1857, an address to the Queen was passed by the Legislature asking her to exercise her prerogative and designate some city to be selected as the permanent capital of Canada, then consisting of what is now Ontario and Quebec. In the following year it became known that Her Majesty had selected Ottawa as the Seat of Government. The intelligence did not cause general satisfaction. The older cities, not perhaps without reason, considered that they had a prior claim to the honour of being named as the political capital of United

Canada. The experiment of years has, however, proved that the selection was, from the geographical standpoint, good. Our wonderfully developed railway facilities have made it a satisfactory mustering point for members who now annually assemble from the Atlantic and Pacific coasts as the representatives in Parliament of that great Dominion which, when the disputes referred to were at their keenest, was to the majority but a dream almost beyond the prospects of realization. It became quickly evident that the Queen's choice was going to open the flood-gates of party and individual feeling, and, in 1858, when Parliament met, a fierce contest ensued; one that stands as a chapter in the country's history.

A motion was made by Mr. C. Dunkin, seconded by Mr. A. A. Dorion, that an address to the Crown be passed asking for a re-consideration of the Royal decision and that Montreal be named instead of Ottawa. To this Mr. George Brown, seconded by Mr. Chapais, moved an amendment to the effect that no action be taken towards the erection of buildings in the City of Ottawa for the permanent accommodation of the Executive Government and the Legislature, etc. To this a further amendment was moved by Mr. E. U. Piche, seconded by Mr. J. O. Bureau, asserting that the City of Ottawa should not be the permanent Seat of Government. On the question being taken this motion was carried by a vote of sixty-four yeas to fifty nays. Thereupon Mr. Brown asserted that this vote was expressive of a want of confidence in the Government and moved the adjournment of the House. The Premier, Mr. (Sir) John A. Macdonald, and Mr. (Sir) George E. Cartier as the leaders of the Government accepted the challenge and another contest ensued, this time resulting in a victory for the Government—Mr. Brown's motion being defeated by a vote of sixty-one yeas to fifty nays. The Government, however, determined to resent the affront the Assembly had offered the Crown by carrying Mr. Piche's studiously offensive motion, and forthwith resigned their portfolios. Then followed an interesting episode but one which, as it belonged more to the political history of Canada than to that of Ottawa, need only be casually referred to. The Governor-General,

Sir Edmund Head, sent for Mr. Brown, who undertook the task of forming a Ministry and the Brown-Dorion Administration was sworn in on August 2nd, only to be promptly assured by a vote of Parliament (71 yeas to 31 nays) that it did not "possess the confidence of the House and country." The farce soon became a political tragedy, for Sir Edmund Head refused a dissolution and the abortive Ministry resigned after having held the seals of office for exactly two days.

The Governor-General, having first sent for Mr. (Sir) Alexander T. Galt, who declined to accept the responsibility of forming a Government, called upon Mr. George E. Cartier, who formed the Cartier-Macdonald Administration—eventually and practically the same as that which had so recently resigned. By taking advantage of an apparently sound interpretation of the Independence of Parliament Act the members of the former Ministry did not again offer themselves for re-election, but, taking portfolios other than those they previously held, executed what their political foes nick-named the "double shuffle," a course, however, sustained by Parliament on two successive occasions and declared to be in due and proper order by the Courts. Parliament, when it met in 1859, was reminded in the Speech from the Throne of the antecedent circumstances and His Excellency Sir Edmund Head stated that the selection made by the Queen was binding and that consequently it was the duty of the Executive to carry it into operation. Another party fight ensued. Mr. Sicotte, who had previously resigned his portfolio, moved, seconded by Mr. (Sir) H. L. Langevin, an amendment to the effect that the vote of the House in the July previous was in every respect an exercise of its constitutional privilege. This was defeated by a narrow vote of 59 yeas to 64 nays, and, after certain other motions (one having for its object the adoption of the City of Montreal as the capital and the others designed to expedite matters in various ways), the original address passed.\*

Immediately after this satisfactory termination of the agitation, the construction of the noble pile of buildings, which are of more than contin-

ental fame, was commenced, and on September 1st, 1860, the corner-stone was laid by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, who was then paying his historic visit to this continent. Messrs. Thomas Fuller (R.C.A.) and Chilion Jones were the architects of the Parliament House. The Eastern and Western Departmental blocks were designed by Messrs. Stent and Lavers, and the "Langevin" block by Mr. T. Fuller. In 1865 the first Session of Parliament was held in the new buildings. Two years later came Confederation, and from the year 1867 to the present the progress of the capital has been both materially and socially phenomenal. In 1867 the assessment amounted to \$5,011,840. In 1898 it amounts to \$23,713,725. In 1867 the population was returned at 18,700, and in 1898 it is officially estimated at 55,386. The expansion of the city has been correspondingly great. Prior to 1887 it covered an area of 1,828½ acres. Annexation and other growths have extended it to over 3,365 acres. The St. Lawrence and Ottawa Railway was long the only means of gaining access to the city from the front, and not under the most favourable conditions. To-day the Canada Atlantic and Arnprior and Parry Sound—a splendid undertaking, which connects the Georgian Bay with the sea-board, and has made Ottawa a commercial point of first-rate importance—has recently been completed. The Canadian Pacific has two lines to Montreal, a new route being opened on September 5th, 1898, and a connection with the main lines west. A new line connects the capital with Cornwall, and connecting, with the New York system, the Atlantic Coast. The Pontiac and Pacific Junction, the Gatineau Valley Railway, etc., also contribute their share in making Ottawa the centre of a radiating system of railways which is rapidly increasing, while a superb electric plant and good management have made the Street Railway of Ottawa a pattern for other cities.

But a very brief period has elapsed since a solitary bridge was the only means of crossing the river from Ottawa to Hull, in the Province of Quebec. To-day this is changed for the better and a magnificent structure, designed to connect the two Provinces, and known as the inter-provincial bridge, for rails, carriages, and pedestrians

\*Journals of Assembly 1858-9.

is under construction. Ottawa is the seat of a University, a Normal School, and possesses all the necessary minor public educational establishments. The city also contains a branch of the famous Congregation of Notre Dame, of Montreal, in which is conducted a first-class school for girls. The Grey Nuns, also, and the Ladies of the Sacred Heart have similar institutions on a large scale, and the Ottawa Ladies' College (Presbyterian) and the Church of England Ladies' School are also important establishments. Ecclesiastically the Capital is well favoured. It is the seat of a Roman Catholic Archbishop, whose Cathedral ranks as a Basilica. Recently a Bishopric of the Church of England has been established as an offshoot of the Archbishopric of Ontario. Numerous hospitals, asylums and charitable institutions prove that Ottawa is not behind hand in "doing good." The chief hospitals are the Carleton General Hospital, St. Luke's Hospital and the Roman Catholic General Hospital. The gradual expansion of the city has necessitated the construction of water works on a large scale, and the adoption of everything that modern ingenuity has devised for the improvement of civic government. Commercially, Ottawa may be regarded as one of the chief Canadian ports of entry. An idea of its growth in this respect may be gathered from the facts that in 1869-'70 the duties collected amounted to \$98,622. In 1895 they had expanded to \$295,166; in 1896 to \$334,277, and in 1897-'98 to \$446,286. The exports also are large. Both in exports and imports a great deal of the trade of the port is not shown at the local custom house, as many of the entries are made at Montreal and Quebec. This is especially the case in connection with the output of lumber.

The first newspaper published in Bytown was the *Independent*, a weekly, which made its appear-

ance in 1836 under the direction of Mr. Johnston. The *Bytown Gazette* was presented to the public in the same year. The *Ottawa Advocate* was established in 1841 by Messrs. Dawson & Kerr, its Editor being Mr. W. Pittman Lett, subsequently the City Clerk. The *Packet*, a bi-weekly, was published by Messrs. Riel and R. Bell in 1844 and in 1851 this became the *Citizen*, which is the Conservative morning daily at present. In 1869 the *Ottawa Free Press* made its appearance, published by Mr. C. W. Mitchell, its present sole proprietor, and Mr. Carriere, who retired in 1873. The *Journal*, a Conservative and occasionally independent paper, was established in 1885 by Mr. Woodburn, and *Le Temps*, a French daily paper directed by Mr. F. Moffet, completes the list of papers now existing, though there have been many others whose existences have been more or less short.

It may be noted that the motto on the Civic Arms of Ottawa is "Advance Ottawa." Thus far she has lived up to it, and presents the appearance to-day of a quietly progressive city. For some years the place was little more than an enclosure for the Government buildings and *employés*. Remote and inaccessible, Ottawa for years lived a somewhat artificial existence under very enervating social, and depressing material conditions. The railways have, happily, broken in upon her solitude and the dormant life which she evidently possessed has been formed into an energetic and progressive existence which takes advantage of every opportunity afforded and is likely to make Ottawa a capital worthy of the great Dominion and a first class city in every sense of the term. Seventy years have covered her growth from a hamlet, accidentally called into existence, to Bytown and Ottawa, the fourth city in the Dominion. The future may be anticipated with confidence and hope.

## HISTORY AND PROGRESS OF ST. JOHN, N.B.

BY

I. ALLEN JACK, Q.C., D.C.L.

THE beautiful river known to Indians as Woolastook, but named by De Monts and Champlain because it was discovered by them on the 24th of June, 1604, as Saint John (after the patron saint of the day), reaches the salt water where it washes the shores of the chief city of New Brunswick. Confined within the rocky bounds of a narrow pass, the river, if the tide is low, dashes down the gorge. If, however, the tide, which in the harbour rises about thirty-five feet, is near to its extreme height, such is its power that the down-flowing stream recedes for the time before the impetuous incoming flood. From the easterly side of this fall or rapid, which is crossed by two handsome bridges, the margin of the basin of the port trends for a mile or so easterly, past what was once the City of Portland and then southerly, along the western shore of the promontory on which stands the older and most important portion of the City of St. John. The westerly boundary of the harbour runs nearly parallel with the general courses indicated, the maximum width from shore to shore being about one half of a mile. On the easterly side of the promontory Courtenay Bay, a narrow estuary, which is very shallow and for some hours of each day without water, separates the city from the parish of Simonds. The promontory is elevated where it is furthest from the mouth of the harbour and it may be stated generally that the greater portion of the entire city is built on hills. These elevations not only facilitate drainage and help to render the city healthy but also serve to make it as a whole exceedingly picturesque. There are many points, especially in the glow of one of the splendid sunsets which prevail in this locality, when, through a tracery of masts, spars and rigging, a view may be obtained of distant

heights crowned with a martello tower or some other quaint or striking structure.

The climate is eminently agreeable, zero being rarely reached in winter and seventy-five degrees of heat in the shade being exceptional in summer. Sometimes, indeed, the fogs from the bay linger longer than is desired but, in view of the benefits which they confer, the visitation is rarely the subject of serious complaint. It is almost if not quite certain that for centuries before the coming of Europeans the Indians, temporarily or permanently, used some portion of the shores of the Harbour of Saint John as a resting or dwelling place. The French, almost from their discovery of the locality, occupied one or more sites contiguous to the harbour, partly for commercial or missionary purposes, but mainly for military reasons. Of all the Frenchmen who lived there, the Sieur La Tour, whose noble wife once heroically defended, and afterwards heroically failed in the defence of, the Fort at Saint John bearing her husband's name, was probably the only one who possessed true commercial instincts and capacity.

In 1758 the Fort standing on the western side of the harbour was taken, and all the French inhabiting the locality were driven away by British forces. There are many interesting and romantic records of the period of occupation by the French, but it cannot be claimed that their rule in any way affected the subsequent character or development of the place. During the interval between the last mentioned event and the landing of the Loyalists there was a small but not inactive settlement at Saint John, of which the principal persons were Messrs. Hazen, Simonds and White, who obtained large grants of land in or near the city. As they supported the Crown, and with both judgment and

energy opposed the efforts of the revolutionary agents who sought to secure aid as well as sympathy from anti-British settlers on the upper parts of the river and elsewhere, they certainly fairly deserved some Royal recognition and reward. The first attempt at ship-building was made at Saint John in 1775, but the chief industry of the locality was the export of masts for the King's ships. Fishing and the peltry trade, however, were not neglected. Saint John became a port of entry in 1782, but it can scarcely be claimed that it at once achieved a commercial reputation inasmuch as only eleven vessels of 144 tons in all were entered, and thirteen vessels, aggregating 165 tons were cleared, in that year.

The real history of the city may be said to commence with the landing of the American Loyalists, numbering about 5,000, in 1783, by what were called the spring and autumn fleets, upon its shores. That part of Saint John which has been herein described as the promontory was originally called Parr-town, while the part lying to the west of the harbour was distinguished as Carleton, a name still retained for sectional descriptive purposes. In 1784 a Royal charter, subsequently confirmed by the Legislature of the newly created Province of New Brunswick, was granted to the city under its present name. This charter, which Ward Chipman, who was thereby appointed Recorder and who probably was its sole or principal draughtsman, claimed to have been modelled from that of the City of New York, is very quaint and interesting. To the Mayor, for instance, is given the office of garbling of spices and the right to appoint the bearer of the great beam, while the words employed in conferring most extensive rights of fishing and fowling are such as one might expect to find in the Letters Patent of the Hudson's Bay Company. With all its singularities, however, it has admirably answered its purposes in many important respects without legislative aid, and is treated with peculiar reverence by the older city fathers and officials.

The leading personages among the pioneer citizens were largely of marked ability, distinguished for their mental acquirements, and also readily admitted, when this was considered more important than at present, to be of the very best

Colonial stock. To many of them their new conditions involved a transition from affluence to something very much like penury, and to all the closing years of the century brought many hardships and, only slowly and partially, the removal of discomforts and the supply of necessities. There is, however, little evidence of discontent among them, but rather of persistent and generally successful efforts to make the best of their circumstances, even to the extent of providing amusements as a means for dissipating care. Ward Chipman, to whom reference has been made, although not the most distinguished, was a typical citizen amongst those of the highest social position, and, as he and his relations were closely connected with the early civic annals, a brief reference to a few matters with which he was concerned may be considered essentially historical. As Recorder he ranked next to the Mayor, for whom he acted as Deputy. He married a daughter of William Hazen, previously mentioned as one of the earliest settlers of English blood and an extensive local grantee. He was concerned as Counsel for the Crown, or otherwise, in the Commissions appointed to determine the boundary line between the State of Maine and New Brunswick. He was Counsel for a negro slave on whose behalf he questioned the validity of slavery in 1800 before the Supreme Court of the Province, and his brief, or rather his argument, as written in advance and used on that occasion (in the possession of the present writer) exhibits a degree of careful research and accumulation of authorities, and a profundity and extent of argument truly marvellous considering all the disadvantages under which he must have laboured. Although a majority of the Court decided against his contentions the reasons urged on behalf of the slave by counsel and the dissenting Judges were so convincing that practically slavery ceased to exist in New Brunswick from that time. This incident is a most conspicuous example of the true quality of a much abused loyalty. The so-called adherents of despotism took the earliest opportunity to remove a galling burthen from a feeble minority, but it was not till sixty years afterwards that the people of the United States abolished negro slavery. Among the ties connecting parts of Canada with

each other it may be mentioned that Jonathan Sewell, who became Chief Justice of Lower Canada, and his brother Stephen, each studied law with Ward Chipman. The latter eventually became a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court and his son, bearing the same name, who was born and always lived in Saint John, became Chief Justice of New Brunswick and a recognized authority upon the application of British statutory and English common law to the Colonies.

St. John is not wholly exceptional in having had periods of lucrative progress followed by stagnation and depression, hopes deferred or extinguished and sources of profit destroyed or seriously affected. Living memory scarcely goes back so far, but there certainly was a time when there was a brisk interchange of commodities between the city and the West Indies and when the Saint John grocers kept Jamaica rum on draft for customers who had then scarcely learned to even suspect that water would be better for them. Again, comparative fortunes were realized from lumber exported from Saint John to the British Isles until the termination of the Crimean War and the exemption from duty of the products of the forests on the Baltic. This indeed, and the repeal of the Navigation Laws, severely tried the loyalty of the people whose fore-runners fought for the Crown, but who were not over-willing to concede that their personal interests should be sacrificed to a free-trade policy which they esteemed more than sufficiently generous to aliens. Then there was a period when trade under a system of reciprocity between the United States and the British American Provinces was profitable to the people of the commercial metropolis of New Brunswick until it was greatly diminished by a change of policy on the part of the Republic. Nor can it be forgotten that there was once a long and happy time when numbers of vessels, noted everywhere for their speed and beauty, were annually built in Saint John, destined to take a prominent part in the carrying trade of the world and, in many instances, to yield to local owners rich returns, till wood and sails were supplanted by iron, machinery and steam. Even when the Confederation of the Provinces was accomplished the hopes that a route favourable to the city's interest would be

adopted for the Intercolonial Railway were not realized, and some local manufacturing industries were unable to contend with rival establishments more favourably circumstanced in other parts of Canada.

In noting the disheartening influences encountered by its people some reference must be made to the serious conflagrations which have occurred in St. John. Not including the fires which harassed the citizens in the second year of the city's existence, there have been at least five of these which may properly be classed as dire calamities—the first in 1824 and the last and most severe of the series in 1877, when 13,000 people were deprived of their homes, and property to the estimated value of \$27,000,000 was consumed. It is, perhaps, not a matter of surprise, under all the circumstances, that inducements of other places, especially to the westward, have, at times, drawn many of its inhabitants away from Saint John. And yet there has never been a time in its history when there have not been those who sincerely entertained an intelligent, well-grounded and perfect confidence in its ultimate achievement of victory over all obstacles. Faith and courage indeed and a by no means reprehensible stubbornness have encouraged the citizens cheerfully to submit to the necessary taxation to suitably provide for the city's services and requirements and to properly equip the port for all present and prospective requirements.

There is a large output of lumber and fish, and to a less extent of manufactured cotton from Saint John, and boilers and mill and other machinery, carriages, and various wooden, metal and miscellaneous goods are manufactured there. But it is not so much to manufacturing as to its commercial advantages that the city looks for its future. The aspirations of its citizens, in brief, have been and are to make Saint John the chief point for distribution of imported goods for Eastern Canada, and the principal port of export during all seasons, for the Dominion. It is interesting to follow the sequence of conditions which have aided the gradual fulfilment of these aspirations. The original and natural means of communication with the city were by the River Saint John and its affluents with a small portion of Lower Canada and the State of Maine and the

Counties of Madawaska, Victoria and Carleton (then including the two former), York, Sunbury, Kings and Queens in New Brunswick, and by the Bay of Fundy and its estuaries with the Counties of Westmoreland, Albert, Charlotte and Saint John in New Brunswick and a large and important portion of Nova Scotia. With the construction of railways these facilities were in some instances increased, in others superseded. The first sod of what was then known as the European and North American Railway, but which so far as this particular section is concerned is now a part of the Intercolonial Railway, was turned in 1853, and within seven years railway communication was established between the city and Shediac, thus facilitating trade with Prince Edward Island and the Counties of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Albert and Kings in New Brunswick. When the Confederation of the Canadian Provinces was accomplished, and the Intercolonial line completed, Saint John was brought into communication by rail with Quebec and Halifax and the intervening country along the Gulf and River St. Lawrence. This also secured the advantages of connection with other important railway systems, and so great has been the activity in railway construction in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia since then that there are now but few places of importance in either Province that do not have the use of trunk or branch lines.

From a Saint John point of view, however, the completion of connection between Saint John and Montreal in 1885 by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, partly by construction and partly by the acquirement of existing lines and rights which secured for that Company an outlet, available at all seasons for freight destined for trans-Atlantic ports, must be regarded as, in every respect, the most important event in the local history of Canadian railway enterprise. The following statement of entries of arrivals and clearances of vessels at the port for 1897 and three next preceding years will give some idea of the present commercial condition:

ARRIVALS.		CLEARANCES.	
	Tons.		Tons.
Steam,	275—254,614	Steam,	243—219,735
Sail,	1,422—258,682	Sail,	1,495—290,624
Total,	1,697—513,296	Total,	1,738—510,359

ARRIVALS.		CLEARANCES.	
	Tons.		Tons.
1895.			
Steam,	295—283,766	Steam,	256—243,175
Sail,	1,258—226,040	Sail,	1,305—239,493
Total,	1,553—509,806	Total,	1,561—482,668
1896.			
Steam,	338—364,003	Steam,	293—309,009
Sail,	1,348—193,848	Sail,	1,216—189,567
Total,	1,686—557,851	Total,	1,509—498,576
1897.			
Steam,	359—393,450	Steam,	331—355,430
Sail,	1,128—168,608	Sail,	1,068—182,202
Total,	1,487—562,058	Total,	1,399—537,632

The policy of the United States has been such that Canadians largely abandoned for a time the hope, once entertained, of establishing satisfactory business relations between the neighbouring countries. In consequence, efforts have been and are being made, and by no means without success, to find new markets or increased demands for Canadian products elsewhere than in North America. This being the case, it can readily be understood that interest in Saint John, as a port possessing many advantages, is very general and that its increased importance is generally assumed. Reverting to two industries already mentioned—the lumber trade and the fisheries—the following statements will serve to indicate their local values: The average yearly export of lumber from Saint John for the past ten years has been 158,000,000 feet, the produce of the Province of New Brunswick, and 53,000,000 feet, the produce of the adjoining State of Maine floated down the River Saint John. The fisheries of the Province have been steadily increasing in value. The Departmental returns for 1895, which are the latest available, place their value at \$4,403,158 for that year. It is not possible to follow the disposal of the annual catch but it is sufficiently certain that a large proportion of this product is handled by the merchants of Saint John and distributed through all parts of Canada and elsewhere. In 1889 the contiguous City of Portland, with a population slightly exceeding 15,000, was united to Saint John and the census returns for 1891 gave the population of the latter, thus enlarged, as 40,179.

After the fire of 1877, thoroughly substantial structures were erected in the burnt district and



this, combined with the formation of an effective brigade and system for the prevention of fires, and the enactment of laws and regulations as to the construction of buildings, renders the recurrence of a like disaster improbable. Each of the principal religious bodies represented in Canada has more than one and, in some instances, several handsome stone churches in Saint John. In Trinity Church there is an interesting memorial of the old Colonial days in the Royal coat of arms which was at one time in the Council Chamber of the Town Hall of Boston and removed thence by expatriated Loyalists. Besides the places of worship, the Intercolonial Railway Station, the Custom House, the Post Office, several Banks, and a large number of other buildings, public and private, possess great architectural beauty. The streets are wide and well laid out and the city has the advantage of a tramway system, operated by electricity, whose excellence it would be difficult to surpass. In the suburbs there are many attractive places of residence, enclosed by gardens and shrubberies, and a spacious park, rich in natural charms and varied but always pleasing vistas, not indeed, abounding in trees of the largest size but well supplied with such as are graceful and umbrageous and with very many winsome plants growing in wonderful and spontaneous profusion.

A number of the citizens have gained distinction in connection with Canadian affairs since the

union of the Provinces. Without referring to the living, it is only necessary to mention Sir Leonard Tilley and the Hon. Isaac Burpee, who held important Dominion portfolios, the Hon. T. Warren Anglin, who was Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir William Ritchie, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada, Messrs. Charles W. Weldon and Samuel R. Thomson, members of the Bar, and the Hon. William Elder, who, like Mr. Anglin, was a journalist. Although not absolutely an ideal community, Saint John, in some respects, approaches the conception entertained by many of the ideal. Notwithstanding the fact that its most influential founders were aristocrats and members of the Church of England, the community is in social respects essentially, but not aggressively, democratic, and ecclesiastically is divided though not generally polemically.

There are but few really wealthy citizens, but there are many possessed of means sufficient to enable them to live in comfort and but few, except such as are incorrigibly lazy or vicious, who are very poor. In conclusion, it certainly speaks volumes for the self-control of the inhabitants, although those in authority deserve some credit for the fact that, while there is not one policeman for every thousand persons, and the port is generally filled with foreign sailors, it is rarely that serious crime occurs in Saint John.

## SKETCH OF THE CITY OF HALIFAX

BY

ALEXANDER H. MACKAY, B.A., LL.D., F.R.S.C.

**H**ALIFAX, capital of the Province of Nova Scotia, chief Atlantic seaport of the Dominion of Canada, and headquarters of the British naval forces in North America, is situated on a pear-shaped peninsula about five miles long by three broad, rising in the Citadel Hill to a height of about 250 feet above the waters of the investing harbour which is one of the largest, safest, and best fortified in the world. The harbour is situated near the middle of the Atlantic seaboard of the Province, with its axis running into the land northwesterly some fifteen or sixteen miles at right angles to the southwesterly trend of the coast. For four miles the deep channel runs to the west of Chebucto Bay, which at last contracts to a breadth of three miles, two-thirds of which is closed by the irregular island known as McNab's, between whose lighthouse-capped beach on the right, and York Redoubt which frowns from the crest and the breast of the granite cliffs, rising 150 feet as a sea wall, on the left, there is the gate of the outer harbour, nearly a mile in width, with water a hundred feet deep. Two miles further in, the sheet of water is divided by the point of the peninsula, which here forms one of the finest city parks in the world, containing within its two hundred acres of labyrinthine forest drives, picturesquely masked, the three forts (Ogilvie, Cambridge and Point Pleasant) which with Forts McNab and Ives' Point on the island to the east, and York Redoubt on the west, completely encircle the outer harbour and cover its entrance.

The western branch, known as the Northwest Arm, is a picturesque fiord about three miles long, a quarter mile wide, and about fifty feet in depth. Its channel is plainly seen to have been eroded during the glacial age out of the Cambrian slates and quartzites which underlie

the peninsula and the adjacent regions to the east and north. This explains the general uniform depth of all parts of the harbour up to the shore in most places. The eastern branch from a breadth of two miles gradually contracts, enclosing George's Island as it skirts the five miles of the eastern or city front side of the peninsula, until at the Narrows it is only about one-third of a mile wide, with a depth of about seventy feet, when it suddenly expands in the rear of the peninsula into Bedford Basin, a magnificent pear-shaped sheet of water of the same size and general shape as the peninsula itself but with its point directed towards the north, five miles long, three broad, and over 200 feet deep in the centre. It comes within two miles of the head of the Northwest Arm at one point, and can accommodate, as a third or rear harbour, a whole navy, with room to manœuvre.

The city proper occupies the middle three miles of this five-mile eastern frontage on the middle harbour, the extensive fortifications of Citadel Hill, with its signalling paraphernalia, rising high over its centre. Dartmouth, which is a virtual suburb of the city, lies on the opposite side, with a population of 7,000 and some important manufacturing establishments, and the fine Provincial Hospital for the Insane. South of Dartmouth lies Fort Clarence on the east of the harbour, within McNab's Island, and in line with Fort Charlotte on George's Island and the Citadel, which form the inner line of fortifications, as well as cover the outer harbour and its entrance, three miles or more distant. George's Island, in the middle harbour, is surrounded by water from seventy to ninety feet deep, and the position of its light is given as Lat.  $44^{\circ} 38' 30''$  N., and Long.  $63^{\circ} 33' 25''$  E. The geological formation has already been referred to as the

Cambrian, which extends back into the country for about thirty miles in fifteen or sixteen more or less faulted anticlines which, having been denuded by geological agencies to the extent of several thousand feet, expose as many belts of productive gold-bearing rock. The exposed rocks in numerous places exhibit most beautiful and instructive illustrations of glacial action. Across the Northwest Arm, and generally on the west side of the outer harbour, the more or less ferruginous Cambrian argillites and quartzites are in contact with the intrusive granite which occupies the western portion of the country from Chebucto Bay to St. Margaret's Bay. The soil of the city, which in many places fails to cover the polished rock, is formed principally from debris of the more northern Cambrian rocks, with occasional pebbles from the very distinctive triassic formations in the mountain ranges on the northwestern coast of the Province.

The history of the city dates from the arrival of the sloop of war *Sphinx*, under the Hon. Edward Cornwallis, on the 21st of June, 1749 (old style). It was in convoy of a fleet of thirteen transports carrying 2,516 settlers, the last of whom arrived by the first day of July. The Board of Trade and Plantations, of which Lord Halifax was the energetic President; was the promoter of the colonization. Hence the name of the city. The small town was at first stockaded as a defence against the surprises of the Indians, who were hostile on account of the special incitation of French emissaries. In the fifties and sixties it was very often the scene of special activity in connection with the concentrations of British and Colonial forces against the French, more particularly the French of Louisbourg. In the seventies and eighties the special cause was the American Revolution. Then into the next century it was the hostility of the French, aided from 1812 to 1815 by the ungenerous and treacherous conduct of the United States, when the city was often crowded with prisoners and the harbour with prizes of war. Only once after was there another serious warlike flurry, when in 1838 an interesting debate in the House of Assembly was interrupted by the report of the invasion of the Province of New Brunswick from the State of Maine, the British being

involved in the trouble connected with the rebellion in the Upper Provinces. Within a few hours the House, postponing all other considerations, unanimously voted £1,000,000 and ordered 8,000 militia to be at once mobilized to aid the sister Province, amid the enthusiastic cheers of the multitude which crowded all the avenues of approach to the scene.

The resident population of the city appears to have fluctuated as indicated in the following table of contemporary estimates, or reports of census takings :

Year.	Population.
1749.....	2,516
1752.....	4,249
1756.....	1,755
1763.....	1,300
1783.....	1,200
1791.....	4,897
1800..... (Estimated)	9,000
1802.....	8,532
1816.....	11,156
1821..... (Estimated)	15,000
1861.....	25,026
1871.....	29,582
1881.....	36,100
1891.....	38,556
1895..... (Estimated, including Dartmouth)	50,000

The floating population was especially large during the years from 1756 to 1783, so much so as to throw serious doubts on the correctness of the figures in the tables which have been repeated in Akins' History. For, in 1758, the city appears to have accommodated 12,000 of the land forces of General Amherst, as well as the men of Boscawen's fleet of twenty-three ships of the line, 18 frigates, and 120 transports. And, in 1776, General Howe, after evacuating Boston, asked the city to provide accommodation for 200 officers, and provide 3,000 troops and 1,500 Loyalists and their families with fresh supplies. Halifax was the general point of distribution of refugees coming to settle in the Province or to leave the continent. The division of the population of 1891 into the principal religious Denominations was as follows :

Roman Catholic... 15,658.	Churches .....	4
English Church ... 9,964.	“ .....	12
Presbyterian .....	“ .....	8
Methodist .....	“ .....	7

Baptists .....	2,854.	Churches .....	6
All others.....	1,032.	Universities...	1
Total.....	<u>38,381</u>		<u>38</u>

In 1758 the first representative Assembly was elected from the various districts of the Province to form an embryo Parliament. It consisted of "six esquires and twelve gentlemen"; but it was not until the year 1848 that it became necessary for the Government to have the confidence of this branch of the Legislature, in which at that time Joseph Howe was the most eminent popular reformer. The management of the city affairs was from the first very directly under the control of the Provincial Government. But the efforts for the self-government of the city, which commenced to be made as early as 1785, were not successful in securing a charter of incorporation until 1841. Six aldermen and twelve common councillors were then annually elected by the people, and these representatives elected the Mayor. In 1850 this constitution was so changed that both the Mayor and the eighteen aldermen were elected, the former by a plurality of the votes in the city, the latter by the votes in each of the six wards into which the city is divided.

The municipal revenue for 1895 was estimated at about \$320,000, assessed on the valuation of over \$23,000,000—\$3,000,000 of city property, churches, charitable institutions, etc., being exempt. The funded debt, which is represented in the various public works of the city (water supply, \$1,000,000; school and city buildings, \$300,000; sewerage, public gardens, etc.), is about \$2,900,000. The first steamship to cross the Atlantic by steam power was the *Royal William*. It was built and owned entirely in Canada, and left a Nova Scotian port on that historic trip in 1833. The Hon. Samuel Cunard, of Halifax, shortly after became the pioneer of the present great steamship lines. The *Britannia*, the first of the "Cunard Line," left Liverpool, England, on the Fourth of July, 1840, for Halifax and Boston, where it was greeted with great public demonstrations. Halifax has now one of the most strongly fortified as well as one of the most commodious harbours in the world, and the water is so deep that the slight change of tide

level has never to be considered in the movements of shipping, as a general rule. It has always been the chief British naval station in the North Atlantic, and the dockyard, which began to date from 1758, covers fourteen acres. The dry dock, which serves the purposes of the mercantile as well as the Royal navy, is the largest and most costly upon the continent.

There is superior railway and water communication with the rest of the continent, so that it is not surprising that the port should stand next to Montreal as the second in the Dominion in the magnitude of its exports, which in 1894 were returned as \$6,337,331; and the third in the Dominion with respect to its imports, which were for the same year \$7,180,940, exceeded only by Montreal and Toronto. The number of vessels arriving and departing from the port during the same year was 2,194, with a tonnage of 1,329,677. Its trade with the West Indies and other tropical countries is important, fish, field and forest products being exchanged for raw sugar and other hot climate produce. The manufacturing industries of the city, which in 1891 numbered 348 establishments, have invested in land \$364,000; in buildings, \$1,021,000; in machinery, \$1,069,000, and in capital, \$2,842,000. They paid \$1,160,000 in wages, utilizing raw material to the value of \$4,412,000, and producing material to the value of \$7,198,000. The largest of these industries is that of sugar refining, which produces over \$2,000,000 annually, and "rope and twine making," which produces over \$700,000. The school-master came out with the first settlers. From an early time the Government aided education, especially from the year 1789, when the city Grammar School was established, and more especially after the year 1864, when the free school system received the assent of the Provincial Legislature. The schools are now graded according to the prescribed Provincial course of study, eight years in the common school grades and four years in the high school grades giving a free course of education from the kindergarten to the entrance into the University. School attendance is compulsory under certain restrictions. The school buildings and appliances compare favourably with those of other cities, more particularly the newer buildings. The fol-

lowing table outlines the development of the educational system during the three decades of its existence:

Year.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Expenditure.	Cost per Pupil.
1866	35	2,670	\$21,294.62	\$ 7.97
1875	94	5,175	69,363.69	13.40
1881	98	6,247	69,405.91	11.11
1895	125	7,241	91,298.55	12.60

The University, the corner stone of which was laid in 1820 by the Earl of Dalhousie on the site of the present City Hall—which is constructed out of the original freestone of the College—was removed to its present site in 1886, when the modern building was erected in brick and granite at a cost of about \$80,000. To the original Faculty of Arts there have been since added those of law, medicine and science. The annual attendance of students is above three hundred. There are also two theological colleges—the Presbyterian College at Pine Hill, situated within the picturesque environment of the Park; and the Roman Catholic College of the Eudist Fathers on Quinpool Road. In addition to the County Academy and the St. Patrick's High School, forming the higher grades of the public school system, there are also the following institutions connected with the Provincial system: The Halifax School for the Blind and the Halifax Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, both equal in equipment to the best in any country, and free to all in the Province requiring such instruction. Some of the other institutions doing educational work are the Halifax Ladies' College, the Convent of the Sacred Heart, the Victoria School of Art and Design, the Halifax Commercial College, La Salle Academy, and several Industrial Schools.

There are five daily, three tri-weekly, and seven weekly newspapers, and two or more published at longer intervals. There are Libraries in connection with the several Colleges, with the Young Men's Christian Association, with some of the schools, and with such institutions as the Nova Scotia Institute of Science and the Historical Society. The library of the latter is consolidated with the Parliamentary Library. In the City Hall there is also the Citizens' Free Library. Among the philanthropic and charitable institutions may be mentioned the Victoria General Hospital, the Mount Hope Hospital for the Insane (in Dartmouth), the County Poor-

House, the Halifax Dispensary, and the Young Men's Christian Association. Among the Churches St. Mary's Cathedral (Roman Catholic), with its splendid gothic front in white granite, stands first as an architectural monument. The Province Building, Dominion Building, Government House, and the City Hall represent some of the finest freestone structures. Among the six banks, the club houses and institute buildings are also very creditable structures, as also among the many newer business blocks and private residences.

The climate is not subject to the extremes of temperature characteristic of inland and more southern localities. The annual rainfall (including snow) averages 56 inches, the greatest minimum and maximum recorded being 46 and 66 inches approximately. The mean temperature for the year 1889 was about 55° Fah. Of each season of three months during the year it was: winter, 29°; spring, 52°; summer, 63°; and autumn, 40°. The coldest day was on the 24th of February, 8° below zero; the hottest the 3rd of September, 87° Fah. But in the hottest weather the evenings are pleasantly cool, and the salubrious air contributes to make it one of the most healthy of cities at all seasons, and specially attractive in summer. The well-wooded labyrinthine park of Point Pleasant, with the stilled waters of the Atlantic bathing its three sides, has already been alluded to. In the centre of the peninsula the Citadel Hill is flanked on its rear to the south by the Public Gardens, which have the reputation of being the finest of their kind in America. On the rear, and to the north of the Citadel Hill, from the flanks of which a hundred thousand spectators can look down upon it, lies the "Commons", now surrounded by the city—the Champs de Mars of Halifax, where from earliest times military reviews of all arms, and sham battles with the most spectacular thunder of artillery and smoke-clouds of war, time and again delighted the native holiday-taker as well as the foreign visitor. Another large park is now being laid out towards the north of the city, while a number of smaller parks are distributed in many places. The water supply, drawn from lakes in the elevated granitic region beyond the Northwest Arm, is abundant and good. The sewage system is not excelled anywhere.

## HISTORICAL SKETCH OF MONTREAL

BY

The REV. J. DOUGLAS BORTHWICK, LL D.

**B**Y the first missionaries sent out to Canada from France, it was soon perceived that the occupation of the Island of Montreal was an object of the greatest importance. Several persons formed themselves into a Society, for the purpose of colonizing the Island. The greater part of it had been granted to Messrs. Charrier and Le Royer de la Dauversière, though whether disposed of by them or forfeited to the Crown does not appear from any official record that has been preserved. The King, however, ceded the whole of it, in 1641, to this Society, which took formal possession, and in the following year M. de Maisonneuve, one of the Associates, brought out several families from France, and was appointed Governor of the Island. The ceremony of the founding of Montreal was celebrated on the 18th of August, 1642, a number of French and Indians being present, and nothing was omitted which could give to the natives a lofty idea of the Christian religion. Thus a "few houses," as Bouchette observes, "built close together in the year 1642 on the site of the Indian village of Hochelaga," was the commencement of the City of Montreal, or, as it was first named, "Ville Marie." Parkman thus speaks of this interesting event :

"Maisonneuve sprang ashore and fell on his knees. His followers imitated his example ; and all joined their voices in enthusiastic songs of thanksgiving. Tents, baggage, arms and stores, were landed. An altar was raised on a pleasant spot near the landing and Made-moiselle Mance, with Madame de la Peltrie, aided by her servant, Charlotte Barré, decorated it with a taste which was the admiration of the beholders. Now all the company gathered before the Shrine. Here stood Vimont in the rich vestments of his office. Here were the two ladies with their servant ; Montmagny, and Maisonneuve, a warlike figure, erect and tall—

his men clustering around him. They knelt in reverent silence as the Host was raised aloft ; and, when the rite was over, the priest turned and addressed them : ' You are a grain of mustard seed that shall rise and grow till its branches overshadow the earth. You are few, but this work is the work of God. His smile is on you, and your children shall fill the land.' "

The Indians proved continually a source of great trouble, anxiety and danger to these early settlers. In the year 1644 the whole Island became the property of the St. Sulpicians at Paris, and was by them afterwards conveyed to the Seminary at Montreal, in whose possession much of it still remains. The Lachine Massacre took place in the year 1689. The Indians burned 200 persons and as many more were reserved by them for future suffering and death. To avenge this massacre M. de Frontenac started from Montreal, July, 1696, with 1000 men. Embarking at Lachine, he passed a considerable way into the Iroquois country, but met no resistance. The expedition was of little value or result, the Indians having retired before him. He shortly afterwards returned to Montreal and died at Quebec. In the year 1710 Montreal was again in danger, as General Nicolson, the British Commander in the English Colonies, prepared to move on it with a force of 4,000 Provincials and 600 Indians. This expedition failed, however. The year 1759 will ever be memorable in the annals of Canada. The French, perceiving that the English were in earnest, sent strong re-enforcements to their garrisons. The campaign opened with great vigour. Canada was to be invaded at three different points under Generals of great talent. The forces intended to act against Quebec were under the command of General Wolfe, who had taken Fort Louisbourg and subdued the Island of Cape Breton the preceding year. Wolfe's army,

amounting to about 8,000 men, was conveyed to the vicinity of Quebec by a fleet of vessels of war and transport, commanded by Admiral Saunders, and landed in two divisions on the Isle of Orleans, on the 27th of June. The battle on the Plains of Abraham was fought on the 13th of September, 1759; and five days afterwards, on the 18th, Quebec surrendered. Fighting continued more or less for several months till in the following year hostilities finished by the surrender of Montreal. By the terms of this capitulation, signed by both Generals Amherst and de Vaudreuil, protection was promised to the inhabitants. The free use of their religion, laws and language was guaranteed them. In October of 1763 an important proclamation was issued in the name of "George III., King of England." Officers and men by its terms were offered free grants of land in Canada, and "all persons resorting to the said colonies might confide in His Majesty's Royal protection for enjoying the benefit of the laws of England." More than 400 Protestants of British origin now became residents in Canada—the French population of the Province being a little over 75,000. In November, 1763, the military form of government was brought to an end by the appointment of General Murray to the office of Governor-General. His instructions were as far as possible to introduce the laws of England. Another thing required was that the inhabitants should comply with these conditions, viz.: "To take the oath of allegiance, to make a declaration of abjuration and to give up all arms in their possession." It was found impossible to procure compliance with these orders, and the General modified them as much as possible. The oath of abjuration could not be taken by the Roman Catholics, as it involved a fundamental principle of their religion, and therefore no Roman Catholic was sworn in as Justice of the Peace; that about arms was extremely distasteful; whilst that of allegiance to the English Throne was taken readily and cheerfully. It took a little over a year to regulate all these matters, and on the 11th of January, 1764, letters patent under the Great Seal of the Province were executed and sent to Moses Hazen, J. Grant, John Rowe, Francis Mackay, Thomas Lamb, F. Knife, John Burke, Thomas Walker

and others, making them Justices of the Peace of Montreal and vicinity. The first general Quarter Sessions of the Peace were held on the 27th December, 1764, and "there were present Moses Hazen, J. Dumas, F. Mackay, Thomas Lamb and Francis Knife, and the Court adjourned to January, 1765."

Among the first regulations of this period is that for the bakers, in which the white loaf is called "a brick," and sold at eight coppers for 4 lbs. weight and the brown of 6 lbs. for ten coppers. Another shows that there were slaves



Paul Chomedey de Maisonneuve.

in Montreal in those days, who were bought and sold like other merchandize. The rule was: "No tavern, ale house or innkeeper to receive, harbour or entertain any bond or servant, slave or slaves, drinking, gaming or loitering in their houses, under a penalty of £5." When the establishment of English rule was perfected by the Treaty of Paris, in February, 1763, a strong tide of emigration set in towards Canada, and in the persons who arrived the bad were mixed with the good. It is remarkable that in the records of the

Court of Quarter Sessions in Montreal, for years after the conquest of the country, there are very few French names before the magistrates for those crimes for which punishment by whipping, the stocks, the pillory, or branding on the hand was meted out. This shows how thoroughly they obeyed their Curés in respecting the laws and being faithful in their allegiance. In 1765 a fire took place, resulting in an estimated loss of £116,773 worth of buildings, etc., and much suffering to the people. Large subscriptions were sent out from England, headed by one of £500 from King George III.

During the years 1775 and 1776 the inhabitants of Montreal saw many changes and vicissitudes. No doubt to some of the French population it had at first been galling to be under the Union Jack instead of the Lilies of France, but the fifteen years of British rule had greatly changed their opinion. They had better markets, better crops in these days of peace, and securer privileges every way, and now to be subjected to the sway of the New England Puritanic Colonists would be ten times as bad. Joy spread over the city when the last of the invading American army passed St. Johns on their retreat to their own country. It had been a busy time, not only in Montreal, but in the Fort of Chambly, which was then the principal station of British troops and munitions of war during the continuance of the struggle between the Mother Country and her revolted Colonies. Troops were arriving and troops were departing, and preparations were being made to follow up the retreating Americans under General Arnold. On the 24th July, 1776, the distribution of the troops and the order of marching were announced in general orders. Quite a number of recruits had joined the regulars, and the volunteers and militia were daily drilling in Montreal. All the recruits at Chambly were drafted into the 47th and 53rd Regiments, and two Companies of the 21st set out on the march to St. Johns. Thus commenced the ill-fated Burgoyne expedition. General Arnold, on his retreat from Quebec in the spring and early summer of 1776, did an enormous amount of harm to the country, in breaking down bridges, burning houses and barns, destroying fences and culverts, and ill-treating the inhabitants generally because

of their fidelity to the British Crown. When, in 1781, rumours were rife of another attempted invasion of Canada by the Americans, spontaneously, from both Quebec and Montreal, came addresses from the French-Canadians to the Government, expressing indignation at the renewed attempt and their determination to oppose it.

Slavery was abolished in Upper Canada by an Act of the Legislature held at Newark, May 31st, 1793. In Lower Canada a Bill for the same purpose was brought into Parliament in 1793, but not carried. It was again brought up in 1799 and 1800, but nothing was accomplished until 1833, when slavery by an Act of the British Parliament, sanctioned August 28th, 1833, was abolished throughout the British Empire. But in 1803 Chief Justice Osgoode had already declared at Montreal, that "slavery was incompatible with the laws of the country." In 1780 Patrick Langan had sold to John Mittleberger, a negro named *Nero*, for £60, and the last slave was publicly sold in Montreal on the 25th August, 1797. The name of the slave was Emanuel Allen, aged 33 years; price £36. The sale was afterwards set aside by legal proceedings.

The Quebec Act, or, as it was designated, "An Act for making better provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec in North America," was passed in 1774 by the Parliament of England, but on account of these troublous times had never been carried into effect. Sir Guy Carleton brought it into active effect by creating the new Council, which held its first meeting in the spring of 1777. Five of its members were French Canadians. The Courts of law were reorganized so as to conduct their business according to the spirit of the Act, and in Montreal the Court was opened on January 9, 1779. At the March term I find several French names as Justices of the Peace, viz., Hertel de Rouville, Joseph Longueuil, Nevue Sevestre, Pierre Mezure, and Pierre Fortier. The first time James McGill appears as a Justice was in this year. The merchants of Montreal must have received permission soon after this to have a Custom House of their own, as the first case of seizure by the Customs is recorded on the 22nd May, 1783, when John Beck, "Surveyor of His



Majesty's Customs for the Port of Montreal," obtained "a monition admonishing all persons to appear and show cause, if any they can, why four cases of gin seized at Montreal on the 28th April last should not be condemned as forfeited." No person appearing the Court granted the monition.

The principal citizens or firms of Montreal in 1801 were Alex. Henry, B. Gibb, N. Graham, John Dillon, Dr. Arnoldi, J. Brown (stationer), Hon. J. Richardson, Simon McTavish, T. Poirier, J. W. Clarke, James & A. McGill, D. Davids, H. Synes (auctioneer), Judge Davidson, Forsyth, Richardson & Co., G. Gauche, R. Hoyle, John Platt, Burton & McCulloch, J. Brown (auctioneer), J. Fisher, P. Barsalou, Auldjo, Maitland & Co., Logan & Watt, Woolrich & Cupper, R. McClements, Jas. Dunlop, John Lilley, S. P. Leprohon, John Shuter (crockery), Colonel de Longueuil, Henderson and Wingfield, E. St. Dizier, John McGill, Samuel Gerrard, Gerrard Ogilvie, A. Scott, John A. Gray, R. Dobie.

Montreal was the great objective point of the American forces in the War of 1812-13. To forward this aim the United States Government collected a large force on Lake Champlain. In the summer of 1813 about 6,000 men were collected at Burlington and Plattsburg. During all this time, and for the previous year, drilling had gone on incessantly in Montreal. Men of all ranks and nationalities eagerly pressed forward for service. To the honour of our forefathers they had determined to defend their country with their lives, leaving the rest to God. We know the result, when Colonel De Salaberry and his brave troops completely overthrew the invaders at the memorable Battle of Chateauguay.

After the country had quieted down from the War a movement was made towards getting more light for the city. In 1801, the manner of lighting the city had been suggested, but no definite conclusion had been arrived at up to the year 1815. A curious inducement for the successful carrying out of the street lighting at the time was "that ladies might be induced to visit their friends much more frequently." In November, 1815, entirely through the exertions of Mr. Samuel Dawson, part of St. Paul Street was lighted by

twenty-two lamps, costing \$7.00 each. They were distant from each other fifty-four feet. This was the west end of St. Paul Street, and by Christmas, same year, the east end of the street was similarly lighted. Notre Dame Street followed, and thus began the lighting of Montreal—now in this year, 1897, lighted by gas and electricity. An Act passed in 1818 provided for the erection of street lamps and also for night watches consisting of twenty-four in number—their duties being to trim and attend to the lamps, and act as police guardians of the city.

On 17th July, 1817, the Lachine Canal was begun, the first sod being removed by the Hon. J. Richardson. During the same year, Citadel Hill was turned into a Square, and as the Governor had donated it to the citizens, it received the name of Dalhousie Square. A great fire occurred in 1825. But for the efforts of the men of the 70th Regiment the conflagration would have been much greater. This year was also remarkable for the exertions that the merchants of Montreal made towards improving the navigation between Quebec and Montreal. Very modest was their petition to Parliament, "that steps should be taken to deepen the channel of the river, particularly at Lake St. Peter, and thereby render it navigable throughout the season for vessels of two hundred and fifty tons fully laden." The year 1832 will be remembered for the first appearance of the Asiatic cholera, by which 4,420 citizens were attacked, from which 1,904 died. The Bill incorporating Montreal took effect in 1833, and Jacques Viger was appointed the first Mayor. On July 23rd, 1840, the Bill to unite Upper and Lower Canada became law, being then sanctioned by the Queen. It did not, however, come into operation till February 10th, 1841.

In 1844 the Government was transferred from Kingston to Montreal. In the summer of 1846 Montreal was visited by the dreadful pestilence which has come to be known as the "Ship Fever," and from which 6,000 persons died. In January, 1847, Lord Elgin arrived in Montreal as the newly-appointed Governor-General of Canada. On the 18th of June, 1848, the largest bell in Canada was christened in the presence of an immense congregation of citizens at Notre

Dame Cathedral. Among the public buildings erected during this year were the Reid Wing to the General Hospital, the St. Andrew's Church, and the Protestant Orphan Asylum. The burning of the Parliament Buildings, and the accompanying riots over the Rebellion Losses Bill, occurred on April 25th. In March, 1855, an Industrial Exhibition was held in the City Concert Hall for the purpose of selecting articles to be sent to the Paris Exhibition. It was publicly inaugurated by His Excellency Sir Edmund Head, the Governor-General, who visited Montreal, for the first time for that purpose, on March 5th. This visit was celebrated in the most enthusiastic manner, and every possible effort was made to render it agreeable.

In August, 1857, Montreal was visited by the most distinguished company that had ever met in the Province. On the 12th of that month the American Association for the Advancement of Science assembled in the Court House, and continued in session for one week. On Thursday evening, a *soiree* was given by the Natural History Society, in the City Concert Hall, and was numerously attended. On Saturday, by invitation of the officers of the Garrison, the party visited St. Helen's Island. On the Monday following, a *Conversazione* was given by the Governors, Faculty and Fellows of McGill College and was a magnificent affair. At the closing meeting of the Association, addresses were given by ex-President Filmore of the United States, Professors Henry, Swallow, Ramsay, Caswell, and other celebrities. One of these speakers congratulated the people on possessing such a city, and stated that there was "a power stored up here upon the shores which, within less than one hundred years, will probably result in making this the greatest city in America. This immense water power, being directed to the manufactures which might be established here, will make it one of the great cities of the globe."

In July, 1862, the Governor-General, Lord Monck, paid his first visit to the city, and was hospitably entertained by the Corporation, who presented an address of welcome, and provided every possible means to render his visit pleasant. The formal opening of Victoria Bridge was, in Colonial importance, the chief feature in the

visit of the Prince of Wales to Montreal in 1860. As an engineering triumph over natural difficulties of the most stupendous kind it has had few equals. Lately it has been enlarged to meet the increased business of the Grand Trunk Railway. While the city was in the midst of excitement on account of the seizure of Mason and Slidell, an event occurred which tended to throw a sadness over its inhabitants. On Tuesday, December 24th, 1861, the news arrived that the Prince Consort had suddenly died. A large meeting of the citizens was held at the City Concert Hall, and adopted an address of condolence to Her Majesty.

In the early part of 1868 the mutterings of Fenian excitement were heard on our borders, and we were threatened by an armed invasion. But, fortunately for Canada, the resources of the "Brotherhood" were not sufficient to enable it to make good its foothold in the country, although the spirit aroused caused the death of the Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, a representative of the City of Montreal in the Dominion Parliament, who was assassinated on the morning of April 7th, 1868, while returning from the Parliament Buildings to his lodgings in Ottawa. The funeral, which took place on the 13th of April, will be long remembered. The streets were filled with mourning flags and festoons of black, giving the scene a striking and funereal aspect, and those through which the procession passed were lined on either side by soldiers, regulars and volunteers. On the 21st of November, 1872, the ceremony of formally presenting to the city the statue of Her Majesty the Queen was performed by Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General. In 1873 Sir George E. Cartier died in London, and his funeral in Montreal was the largest ever seen in the city. The expenses of his obsequies were borne by the Dominion Government. In 1875 the Guibord burial case occasioned some ill-feeling in Montreal, but by the energetic action of Dr. (now Sir William) Hingston, the Mayor, to whose wisdom and tact all praise is due, the trouble was settled without any actual disturbance. On the 8th of October, 1869, H.R.H. Prince Arthur, arrived in Montreal to join for a time the P.C.O. Rifles, there stationed, and in which he held

a Lieutenant's commission. In November, 1878, the Marquess of Lorne and H.R.H. the Princess Louise arrived in the city, and great was the welcome which every one gave to the Queen's daughter.

During the years which have followed Montreal has steadily increased in size, wealth and population and its boundaries are extending in every direction. Among the principal events of these years may be mentioned the Riel Rebellion in the North-West, when two Montreal regiments were sent to the scene of the uprising—the Garrison Artillery and the 65th. The first was an English, the second a French-Canadian, corps. During the summer of 1885 the small-pox epidemic was of such magnitude that several thousands fell victims to its scourge, the most noted being the well-known politician, Sir Francis Hincks. The execution of Louis Riel, after the close of the Rebellion, caused great excitement in Montreal, happily without any serious result, although thousands met on the Champ de Mars and passed condemnatory resolutions. A great bridge, built by the Canadian Pacific Railway, was erected at Lachine and the magnificent gift of the Jubilee Victoria Hospital by Lord Mount Stephen and Lord Strathcona must also be mentioned. Fine buildings of all kinds have been put up in Montreal within the past few years. The following has been the growth of Montreal, including suburbs, since it was founded in 1642 by 18 persons:

Year.	Inhabitants.	Year.	Inhabitants.
1667.....	766	1858.....	80,000
1689.....	2,000	1871.....	107,225
1703.....	3,000	1881.....	155,237
1790.....	9,000	1891.....	240,000
1842.....	50,000	1897.....	300,000

Of course there are cities on the continent which have progressed at a greater ratio, but the locality has been different from Montreal, the advantages greater, the difficulties to be overcome immensely less, and altogether the effects infinitely easier. Let me give only one example—the deepening of the channel of the St. Lawrence from Montreal to Quebec. About the year 1850, when the writer landed in Montreal, the depth of the channel to Quebec was only 11 feet, and he well remembers being in the beautiful Clipper *Three Bells* for three days in Lake St. Peter, as the vessel could go no farther with her heavy load. This ship was the first iron vessel ever moored at the wharf of Montreal and was consigned to the firm of Edmonstone, Allan & Co. Lighters had to come from Montreal to take part of her cargo to enable her to reach her port of destination. In 1853 the channel was deepened to 15 feet 2 inches and the *Glenora* was the first ocean steamer to arrive in Montreal as a result of this depth. This tight little steamer, the *Lady Eglinton* and *Sarah Sands* were the pioneers of the grand array of ocean monarchs which now steam up St. Lawrence. In 1854 the river channel was deepened to 16½ feet. By 1865 it had deepened to 18 feet and by 1875 to no less than 20 feet, when the wharfage had attained a length of 3.17 miles. The depth in 1888 was 27½ feet and the wharves were extended for no less than 4.7 miles, and to the credit of Montreal electric lighting was adopted for its harbour. The deepening of the channel still goes on and the increasing tonnage of the ocean steamers still advances. It must be added that Montreal possesses some of the wealthiest, and the most generous, private citizens in Canada.

## THE CITIES OF VICTORIA AND VANCOUVER

BY

MRS. F. G. HENSHAW—"JULIAN DURHAM."

**V**ICTORIA.—The Queen City of British Columbia, and the oldest established town in the Province, is situated at the southern end of Vancouver Island, some forty miles distant from the mainland, and is one of the most beautiful residential spots in Canada. Early in the present century Fort Camosun, as the place was first called, was a busy Hudson's Bay and trading post, and in the year 1849 Vancouver Island was formally proclaimed a British possession open for colonization. During the same year Mr. R. Blanshard was nominated as first Governor of the new Territory, but declined the responsibility, and in 1851 Mr. James Douglas (afterwards Sir James Douglas), the Senior Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, was appointed to the position. On the 16th of June, 1856, Governor Douglas founded the Parliament of British Columbia by calling for the election by £20 freeholders, or £300 property holders, to a House of Assembly, which met on August 12th of the same year in an old room in the Fort, and there confined its attention to matters of immediate import, such as schools, roads, etc. The clergyman who read the opening prayers on this memorable occasion was the Reverend, now Right Rev., Bishop Cridge, a most highly esteemed clergyman of Victoria.

Up to the time of Confederation, in 1871, Victoria remained a free port. When in 1858 the gold discoveries on the Fraser River and in the Cariboo country attracted thousands of Californian miners and prospectors to the north, the old Fort, which in 1842 had changed its name to Victoria, was the scene of great activity and excitement. But after a time the tide of gold seekers flowed on, and the Queen City settled down to the steady quiet life of the

ordinary modern business town. Many persons of wealth came to reside in the neighbourhood, for the beautiful natural surroundings and the great commercial advantages offered by the port, together with a very temperate climate, tempted a large number of families to settle permanently in and near Victoria. During his long tenure of office Sir James Douglas built many excellent roads, not only opening up the island in all directions but also commencing schemes of great magnitude to connect Hope with Okanagan and the Kootenays, and the coast from Edmonton by means of first-rate colonization roads; and the portions of the Cariboo Road in use to-day are a monument to his skill and determination in carrying out so gigantic an undertaking. It was Mr. Edgar Dewdney, the late Lieut.-Governor of British Columbia, who in 1865 carried the Dewdney Trail down the Similkameen to Osoyoos, and thence by Kootenay Lake into Fort Steele, and thus gave to the world an entrance into the wonderfully rich mining districts of the Kootenays.

Even the briefest sketch of Victoria would be incomplete without a mention of the late Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie, the first Chief Justice of British Columbia, a man of sterling qualities, and an unflinching dispenser of justice, who preserved law and order throughout the length and breadth of the Province at a time when it was swarming with all sorts and conditions of men, and when across the border every form of liberty and license, murder, theft and vice were rampant. On August 20th, 1850, the Mainland of Caledonia was christened British Columbia, and on September 2nd, 1858, Sir James Douglas was made Governor of the new Colony, though it was not till November 19th, 1866, that the mainland and the Island were united under the same name, and

the capital of the whole Crown Colony finally fixed at Victoria. In the year 1871 British Columbia was admitted to the Canadian Confederation under the provisions of the British North America Act.

As the capital of one of the most progressive Provinces in Canada, Victoria is a place of considerable importance. The magnificent Parliament Buildings recently erected, at a cost of about \$1,000,000, are worthy of all admiration, and surpassing in architectural beauty and equipment those of many other Provincial centres, compare most favourably with the Dominion Government Buildings at Ottawa. Situated on a beautiful site overlooking the harbour, the stately pile of stonework is surrounded by spacious grounds, and presents a particularly imposing appearance backed by the Olympian Mountain range, flanked by beautiful residences, and with the blue waters of James' Bay flowing in the foreground. It is composed entirely of grey stone, with slate roofing and granite steps and landings, all of these materials having been obtained in the Province. A dome-roofed Central Hall, ornamented with marble pillars, wrought-iron and stained glass windows, forms a splendid entrance to the building, whilst the Legislative Chamber, a room sixty feet long by forty feet wide is panelled in Italian marble, with great monolithic columns of green Cipolino. This Hall is oak-finished, and the adjoining committee-rooms are all panelled in various British Columbian woods, such as Maple, Alder, Cedar, Fir, Pine, Spruce, Cypress, etc. The electric lighting and fire-proof arrangements are of the best, and the tiled floors and walls, exquisite stained glass windows, and artistic fittings of the entire building simply superb. The Provincial Museum, which is situated in a wing connected with the main edifice by means of colonnades forming a facade over five hundred feet long, contains a most excellent collection of British Columbian animals, fish, birds, fossils, Indian curios, etc.

Lying on Vancouver Island, off the extreme western boundary in Canada, the Port of Victoria is the first port reached by all in-coming ocean vessels, and, as the shipping trade has increased, so have the city's commercial interests advanced.

Then, again, the lumber, mining, salmon-canning, and deep-sea fishing industries have all largely contributed to local business importance and prosperity, and a glance at the customs returns of last year amply testifies to the solid commercial position now enjoyed by the Queen City. In 1897 the total imports at the Port of Victoria amounted to \$2,754,979 and the exports to \$2,610,794, whilst collections added up to \$731,506.

The sealing industry is almost entirely confined (as far as British Columbia is concerned) to Victoria, and the following statistics gathered from the Year-Book of 1897 (Mr. R. E. Gosnell) will convey a brief idea of its magnitude. There are sixty-five schooners of a net tonnage of 4,292 registered, valued at \$614,500. Eight hundred and seven whites and nine hundred and three Indians are employed. The annual cost of outfitting is about \$135,000, and some \$350,000 is paid in wages. The value of the skins has averaged \$750,000 per annum for the past three years, of which \$500,000 is the product of Behring Sea.

Amongst the fine stone and brick buildings in Victoria may be noted the Jubilee Hospital, the new Custom House and Post Office, the Drill Shed, City Hall, and Board of Trade Building. In addition to these the city boasts of many admirable churches, schools, hospitals, orphanages, exhibition buildings, shops, warehouses, etc., and the various places of business of such firms as E. J. Prior & Co., the Victoria Roller Flour and Rice Mills, the *Colonist* and *Times* newspapers, etc., are deserving of special mention. The immense warehouses and docks of R. P. Rithet & Co., which is one of the largest exporting establishments in the Province, and represents numerous influential British, Canadian and American firms, and also the enormous premises of the Hudson's Bay Company, Turner, Beeton & Co., Ames Holden & Co., Robert Ward & Co., Simon Leiser & Co., and others far too numerous to mention, all testify to the large and substantial wholesale trade carried on in Victoria. The commercial enterprises of the Queen City are too great in number to mention individually, but amongst the most progressive concerns are the Albion Iron Works, the Okell & Morris Fruit

Preserving Co., the Brackman & Ker Mills, the Chemical Works, the Victoria Phoenix Brewery, etc., whilst the list of industries successfully carried on in the town includes boot, shoe and trunk making, soap factories, powder works, pickling and spice factories, chemical and metallurgical works, furniture and biscuit factories, flour, feed and rice mills, iron foundries and machine shops, etc., and what is more, all of these are now running on a paying basis.

There is no doubt that the splendid location of Victoria has largely contributed to its progress, and the original settlers were most wise in their generation when they chose this particular spot, close beside the great Songhee Indian Reserve, as the site for a fort and trading post. No wonder that in the course of time warehouses and docks, wharves and offices have replaced the shacks of earlier days, and now cover the shores of the almost land-locked harbour, for where ships come and go, there will prosperity invariably follow. As the West has developed and demand increased, so has Victoria enlarged her borders, and catered to a steadily increasing trade.

The Canadian Pacific Navigation Company, the Victoria and Sydney Railway, and the Esquimault & Nanaimo Railway are all important factors in the passenger and freight traffic of the place, whilst the Canadian Pacific Steamers to China, Japan and Australia make it a port of call. Victoria is also connected by excellent steamship service with San Francisco, the Puget Sound ports, Vancouver, the Fraser River ports and Alaska. The Esquimault & Nanaimo Railway, which was finished in 1886 at a cost of \$3,000,000, connects Victoria with Nanaimo and Wellington, the centres of the great coal-mining industry of Vancouver Island, and is controlled by the Dunsmuirs. The export of coal from Nanaimo last year (1897) amounted to \$2,445,397. Victoria has a capital electric Street Railway, lighting and telephone service, water works and a new system of sewerage now in course of construction. The banking facilities, too, are admirable, as the Bank of Montreal, Bank of British Columbia, Bank of British North America, the Molson's Bank, and the Merchants Bank of Halifax, all operate flourishing branches

in the city. Two excellent Clubs, the Union and the Badminton, afford first-rate *cuisine*, reading, smoking, and billiard rooms. As an illustration of the steady advance in the worth of city property, it may be stated that the total valuation, which in 1886 was placed at \$5,178,800, has increased to an assessed value of \$23,067,420 in 1887.

Two things which make Victoria particularly notable are first the fact that Esquimault is the headquarters of the British Pacific squadron and secondly the numerous and beautiful residences in the locality. Esquimault Harbour affords magnificent anchorage for the vessels of the Royal Navy, and all the way from the dock-yard out to Oak Bay, a distance of about six miles, may be seen some of the finest houses in Canada. Large residences standing in immense private grounds, gardens full of tropical growth, and flowers that bloom from February to November, tennis courts and golf links, all unite to render Victoria a very lovely place. Indeed, as a residential locality, it is unequalled in British Columbia, for there one can obtain all the comforts of modern civilization combined with the picturesque elements of country life. Three large, and many smaller, hotels afford ample accommodation for travellers. Beacon Hill Park is a great addition to the city, for in its confines are a menagerie, pretty walks and drives, a tiny artificial lake bordered by oaks and elms and first-rate grounds for foot-ball, cricket, etc., together with an open space sufficient for the holding of large naval and military reviews—a most necessary adjunct, the local Militia forces being extensive, and the First Battalion of the Fifth Regiment C.A. an exceedingly popular corps. Lacrosse grounds lie close to the Park, and all along the western shore the sandy bays form a splendid play-ground for young Victorians and a capital bathing place for everyone.

In 1855 the Hudson's Bay Company established free public schools on Vancouver Island, and in 1865 a free school system was inaugurated by the House of Assembly, but it was not until the year 1872, after the union of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, that the educational system of the Province was administered by a proper Board presided over by the Sup-

intendent of Education. At the present time the Minister of Education is the chief executive officer of the Department, and he is assisted by a Superintendent of Education, Boards of Trustees and Examiners, and Inspectors of Public Schools. The climate of Victoria is superb. In summer the days are warm and the nights cool; in winter the average temperature is moderate, the thermometer only varying from 33 to 70 degrees all the year round. A few lumber statistics may here be given with advantage, Vancouver Island comprising some fine timber limits. In 1896 the eighty-five mills at work in British Columbia cut 112,957,106 feet of lumber, and of this total the Port of Victoria shipped 13,092,261 feet, valued at \$101,791.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain correctly the present population of the Queen City; probably it is in the neighbourhood of 26,000. This figure, of course, includes Indians and Chinese. The Chinatown of Victoria is a large settlement, densely populated, and containing the same sort of shops, shacks, joss house, and theatre that characterize all the other Mongolian quarters on the Pacific coast. Victoria is Canada's great defended western outpost, for, in addition to being an important naval station, a detachment of Royal Marine Artillery, also one of the Royal Engineers, for the express purpose of constructing and keeping in order the splendid fortifications at Esquimaux Harbour, are stationed at the Macaulay Point Barracks. The local Militia force, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. E. G. Prior, as commander of the Fifth Regiment C.A., and Lieutenant-Colonel Gregory, commander of the First Battalion thereof, are exceptionally fine corps.

VANCOUVER.—The City of Vancouver is to-day the principal shipping port of British Columbia, the terminus of the great transcontinental Canadian Pacific line of railway, and one of the most important commercial and trading centres on the western coast of Canada. A truly wonderful record this for a twelve-year-old city, even out on the Pacific slope, where towns spring up like mushrooms in the night, and population increases with proportionate rapidity. To go back to the very beginning of the history of the

Terminal City (as Vancouver is frequently called) is not a difficult task, for as recently as the year 1885 the town partook largely of the nature of Margery Daw—"there wasn't any"—its existence only dating from the spring of 1886, when what we now know as a thriving business centre was chiefly standing forest, the few wooden shacks originally dubbed Gastown and subsequently called Granville, being first incorporated as a city in February, 1886, under the now widely-known appellation of Vancouver—so named by Sir William Van Horne, President of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, in honour of Captain Vancouver, the noted British naval explorer who in 1793 discovered the waters of the Burrard Inlet, which now forms one of the largest and most magnificent harbours in the world.

During the spring of 1886 considerable work was done in the shape of forest-clearing, and gradually the little town site began to grow apace and spread out its arms in every direction. Then came a sudden check. On the morning of June 13th the place was almost completely swept away by fire, nothing of it remaining save the Hastings' Mill and Store, the Regina Hotel, Mr. R. H. Alexander's residence and a few cottages on False Creek. It is estimated that at that time about two thousand people had already settled in the locality, and those who were present on the spot speak most feelingly of the distressing scenes enacted during the conflagration. Fanned by a high wind, the blaze raged fiercely for six consecutive hours, and by four o'clock in the afternoon the town site, with the exception of the above-mentioned houses, was a mass of blackened, smoking *débris*. With indomitable energy the inhabitants settled down to work, and on New Year's Day, 1887, no less than three hundred and fifty buildings had been put up, some stone, some brick, and the majority of wood, at a total cost of about \$500,000—a capital showing for six months' work in the wilderness. It is amusing to note that one of the first purchases made by the new City of Vancouver was a fully-equipped fire engine. Prevention, they thought, was better than cure, and they had no desire to rebuild their houses a second time.

The Hastings and Royal City lumber mills

greatly increased their business about this time, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company commenced to erect an excellent hotel on Granville Street. During the year 1887 immense strides were made by the young city. Numbers of public buildings and private residences were put up, and a public school opened in the east end for the benefit of the rising generation. Street grading and the clearance of building land did much during that summer to turn Vancouver into a respectable looking town, and it is interesting in the light of the present anti-Mongolian agitation to look back upon the hostility exhibited towards the Chinese as early in the history of the Terminal City as September, 1887, when the prompt establishment of an efficient local police force alone prevented serious disturbances.

On the 23rd of May in the same year occurred one of the greatest events in the annals of the coast, and also one that opened up direct communication for the first time across Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The pioneer trans-continental train of the Canadian Pacific Railway arrived at its western terminus and thus by an unbroken line the East and the West were united. What the Canadian Pacific Railway has done for Vancouver is already well-known to the world, the Company having practically made the place what it is to-day—a prosperous shipping and commercial centre. About the month of July Vancouver was made a Customs port of entry, and within a very short period the local returns bade fair to show how important a maritime place the town was soon to become. A Board of Trade organized about this time has ever since done good work in the interests of the Terminal City, being to-day one of the most respected and able local institutions. Before the year had run to a close branches of the Bank of Montreal, Bank of British North America, and Bank of British Columbia were established, showing how strong was the belief in the financial world that the growing community would soon require extensive banking facilities.

Perhaps the most progressive year Vancouver has ever experienced (when one considers how many permanent works were begun and well-nigh completed in it) was that of 1888, when the late Mr. David Oppenheimer first took the reins of

municipal government into his hands, and accepted the office of Mayor. Local improvements went on apace under his guidance, industries sprang up and population increased rapidly. Saw mills, iron works, factories, breweries, shipyards, and numerous other enterprises were started, and the general condition of the streets (now one of Vancouver's proudest boasts) was vastly improved. One of the greatest attractions Vancouver offers to the traveller at the present day reached completion at that time, namely, the beautiful drive around Stanley Park, which was laid out and graded in an admirable manner, and very soon afterwards the whole Dominion Government reserve came to be regarded in the light of a valuable addition to the town. Since then the Park has been much improved; trails have been cut, traversing the denser portions of the almost impenetrable forest; the Brockton Point Athletic Grounds have been made on the eastern slope; and the natural masses of gigantic pines and exquisite fern-carpeted glades have been intersected by means of excellent roads and paths that take one close to (yet detract not from) the wild beauties of this vast natural park, where some of the largest trees in British Columbia are to be found.

The Capilano Water Works system meanwhile progressed steadily. The supply from it is absolutely inexhaustible, and starting from a point seven miles up in a mountain valley the water itself is always cold and as clear as crystal. Brought down the hill in a huge main, then on across the Narrows and Stanley Park, it was no easy engineering feat to accomplish, and recently a reservoir was also constructed on the top of Prospect Hill at great expense to the city, so that should the mains at any time get out of order the water supply will not be cut off at all. The city acquired the Capilano Water Works in 1892 from the Company who originally owned them.

Simultaneously with the increase of the place the maritime industries grew and flourished, and an Imperial subsidy was granted to the C.P.R. mail service between Vancouver, China and Japan, which the Company richly deserved, if only on account of the great impetus its steamship line has given to the foreign trade. The Customs returns for October, 1888, showed



an increase of  $112\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. over those of the same month in the previous year. The municipal list for 1888 also proved conclusively the marked increase in population, showing 1,536 voters' names as against 889 in the year 1887. The city assessment for 1888 amounted to \$3,463,605 and had increased to nearly double that sum, namely, \$6,005,623, by the year 1889. Deep sea fishing received marked encouragement during 1888; the Board of Trade taking up the matter quite energetically. The resources of British Columbia in connection with the halibut and seal fisheries were therefore extensively advertised. Agriculture also was helped on by the export of farm and orchard produce, and the horticultural and other samples sent from Vancouver to the Toronto Exhibition attracted a good deal of favourable attention. A first-rate market building was erected in the same year at a cost of \$20,000 on the corner of Hastings Street and Westminster Avenue, which comprised an admirable public hall in addition to the necessary accommodation for trading purposes, cold storage, etc.

Before the end of 1888 the civic authorities determined to inaugurate a public system of electric lighting, and a local Company agreed to supply the requisite number of lamps at sixty cents per light for each 2,000 candle power. This somewhat exorbitant cost has since been much reduced, and to-day the British Columbia Electric Railway Co. supplies the same power at twenty-seven cents a light per night. The electric tramway by-law passed the City Council Board in November, and a capital telephone system became an established reality; thus three very important adjuncts to the business life of the sea-port were obtained. Vancouver enjoys the distinction of possessing the first electric street railway ever employed in Canada. Then came the building by the Dominion Government of a magnificent stone block for the Custom House and Post Office, and the City Hospital, costing \$8,182, and the Seymour Street Fire Station, costing \$18,837, were erected and equipped about the same time.

The material progress of Vancouver at that date was simply amazing, and within three years thirty-six miles of streets were graded, nine miles

of Park roads made and twenty-four miles of sidewalks and 5,280 feet of bridging built. A splendid permanent sewerage system was also commenced, which in this year, 1898, is the best constructed and laid system in British Columbia. These excellent sanitary conditions, an unrivalled water supply, and a temperate climate render the city exceptionally healthy and an eminently desirable place of residence. The Brockton Point Athletic Association and the Jockey Club were formed in 1889, boating clubs were organized, and the plans of the C.P.R. Opera House finally drafted. The B.P.A. Association Grounds are today one of the greatest attractions of the city, comprising as they do lacrosse, football, cricket, hockey, tennis, baseball and golf grounds, a splendid cinder bicycle track, and a large "grand stand." They are situated on one of the most picturesque points in Stanley Park.

With the following year came the establishment of the Sugar Refinery, the new Court House was built, and the B.C. Iron Works commenced operations; but 1890 was signalized chiefly by the sharp contest that took place over the election of the first Vancouver members chosen to represent the city in the Provincial Legislature, and in which Messrs. F. Carter-Cotton and J. W. Horne came out at the head of the polls. The Y.M.C.A. Building was erected and opened in that year, as was also the West End School; whilst among the business enterprises started were the B.C. Fruit Canning concern and the Vancouver Tannery. In the month of April, 1891, R.M.S. *Empress of India*, of the C.P.R. Steamship Line, anchored in port, and was followed in due course by the *Empresses of Japan* and *China*, thus connecting Vancouver regularly with the Orient by means of a first-class line of steamers in place of the old chartered boats. Hospitals, orphanages and churches had for some time been well established in the city, also other charitable organizations too numerous to mention.

The inauguration of the New Westminster and Vancouver Electric Railway took place in July, and thus an immense step was taken towards uniting the Terminal City with the Fraser Valley country; the line also opened up Central Park, where the Dominion Rifle Range is situated, and

it has ever since contributed largely to inter-urban communication. The following year, that of 1892, saw a great advance of rateable property value, which enabled the city to reduce the local taxation from sixteen to ten mills, and that, too, in the face of extensive municipal expenditure upon civic works. The town itself improved rapidly in appearance and a number of fine buildings were put up, such as the Vancouver Club, the Banks of Montreal and British North America, the Court House, the Hudson's Bay Company Buildings and other blocks; and the C.P.R. permanently established a large railway industry by erecting machine shops and engineering works of considerable value.

On November 1st, 1892, an event occurred that marked the growing importance of the Terminal City, namely, the holding the first of a series of Courts of civil and criminal assize, and ever since then Vancouver has enjoyed the full legal facilities that rightly belong to a flourishing commercial and shipping centre. Unfortunately, with the summer of 1892 came the epidemic of smallpox, which temporarily interrupted the trade prosperity of the city. It was a brief scourge, however, for the authorities exercised extreme caution and took stringent measures to stamp out the noxious disease before it had gained a strong foothold, and by the autumn matters had gradually resumed their accustomed routine. The wave of commercial depression that swept over the whole world soon afterwards struck the Pacific Coast, and 1893 saw a sad falling off in business development; but Vancouver bravely struggled on through the crisis, and has now emerged into the sunshine of better times. To-day all the talk runs to mining and mines, and, if "half the tales they tell be true," a more brilliant future is before the seaport town than even the most sanguine "eighty-sixer" ever dreamed of.

But to return to the year 1893, when the mining industry lay comparatively dormant, and the Kootenay country was only just beginning to be opened up. The *Miwera*, the pioneer vessel of a second large line of steamers plying to the Orient, entered Vancouver Harbour in June. The Canadian-Australian service was thus successfully consummated, and the line has ever since

been the means of establishing increasingly valuable commercial relations with the Australian Colonies. With May, 1894, came the news of the floods in the upper country and down the Fraser Valley. These inundations temporarily interrupted trade intercourse with the farming districts and caused serious inconvenience and loss to the C.P.R., delaying the trains and entailing damage to bridges and low-lying sections of the track. Time, however, rapidly cured these ills; the Company with ready activity repaired the breaches and the express trains ran as regularly as before. July then turned the current of public thoughts into an even more exciting channel, and Vancouverites plunged heartily into the hot Provincial Election campaign, returning three Opposition candidates to the Local House. During the summer many distinguished strangers visited the seaport, amongst them His Excellency the Governor-General and Lady Aberdeen and the Hon. Wilfrid Laurier; and Sir Hibbert Tupper also came to Vancouver late in the season of 1894.

In 1895 the Consolidated Company became the owners of Vancouver's Street Railway and electric lighting services, and have run them to the complete satisfaction of the public. For a town of its size Vancouver is now exceptionally well-covered by the tramway lines, the cars run on a ten-minute service, a double track is laid down the principal streets, and all through the summer months excellent open cars run alternately with the closed ones. Additional extensions are being contemplated, notably one to English Bay, where it is proposed to make large, free recreation grounds. The year 1895 saw great mining developments in British Columbia. The Kootenays, Slocan, the Okanagan and Cariboo all came prominently into notice, with the consequence, that Vancouver being the commercial distributing centre for all the mining districts, local trade increased enormously. The salmon pack of that season reached the high total of 600,000 cases, valued at \$3,000,000, and largely benefited the Terminal City. Then followed another wave of trade depression, so serious that all the cities on the Pacific Coast suffered more or less from it, but Vancouver still fought bravely on, and as a matter of fact maintained a more

solid front during those exceedingly trying months than any other western centre. Owing to the bad times which preceded it, the Klondike "boom" struck the Terminal City with tremendous force. In June, 1897, the great reaction set in, and as one of the chief places for the purchase of outfits and supplies, and the only necessary trans-shipping point between Eastern Canada and the Northern Gold Fields, the city sprang with one bound from the depths of business depression to the heights of good times. And so things have gone on ever since. Though the first great rush to the Yukon has subsided, the trade to Vancouver stands firm, based, not on the fluctuating market of a mining excitement, but upon the solid bed-rock of commercial enterprise backed by capital.

At last we come to this year of grace 1898—and what is Vancouver to-day? A city of some thirty thousand inhabitants thriving apace under the progressive rule of Mayor Garden and an energetic Board of Aldermen. Over two million dollars' worth of buildings are going up, chief amongst them being the magnificent new Canadian Pacific Railway Station, the Molson's Bank, the Bank of Commerce, the Fairfield Syndicate block, the Prior block, De Beck block, Leckie block, and many other fine stone and brick structures too numerous to mention. The streets

are excellent, bituminous rock paving, wooden block paving and macadam being used; the sewerage and water systems, fire brigade, electric street railway and lighting systems, the telephone service, hotels and opera house compare most favourably with those in old established Eastern cities; whilst the shops are admirable, the residences beautiful, and the Park, Harbour and recreation grounds quite unsurpassed in Canada. And Vancouver is only twelve years old!

British Columbia possesses the finest and most compact reserve of timber limits in the world to-day, the 524,573 acres of forest lands leased to mill owners containing approximately 20,000 feet of timber per acre. As the centre of the lumber trade of the Province, the distributing point for the salmon canning industry and of supplies for the Coast mines and Kootenay camps, and as the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Vancouver is destined to become a second San Francisco. Most exquisite is the natural location of the town site, for, surrounded on three sides by water, with the Harbour and mountains lying to the north, the Gulf of Georgia to the west and south, and Stanley Park with its tall fir trees at the western boundary of the city, the situation of Vancouver may well be termed an ideal one, possessing all the scenic advantages of mountain, wood and water.

# HISTORY OF THE CITY OF WINNIPEG

BY

CHARLES N. BELL, F.R.G.S.

AS early as 1736 a party of French adventurers from Quebec, under the command of La Verendrye, who had permission from the French authorities to penetrate into the interior of the country to the west of Lake Superior, arrived at the mouth of the Assiniboine, where it merges its waters with those of the Red River. The Assiniboine, so named from a tribe of Indians living in its vicinity, was re-christened the St. Charles, and afterwards the Upper Red River. At the junction of these two rivers a post was established, with the name of Fort Rouge. In 1763 occurred the conquest of Canada by Great Britain, and, some fifteen or twenty years after, fur traders from Canada began to seek the North-West for the purpose of trading with the Indians. The trade of the Red River country, however, seems to have been almost neglected till toward the close of the century, when posts were established on the upper waters of the rivers. The point between the Red and the Assiniboine Rivers was known to the traders at that time, and for many years after, as "The Forks." The Hudson's Bay Company had long confined their trade to the neighbourhood of Hudson's Bay; indeed, from 1570 to 1774 they had not established posts on the banks of the streams flowing into Lake Winnipeg, and it is most likely that their first post on the Red River was established as late as 1796.

About 1803 Alexander Henry, of the North-West Company, who was in charge of the Red River district for his concern, sent a party of men to build at The Forks the post afterwards named Fort Gibraltar, and which at first probably consisted of but one or two log houses. By the erection of Gibraltar, the foundation of the future commercial greatness of the town was laid as

well, for ever since that date mercantile business has flourished within what are now the limits of the City of Winnipeg. That the present site of Winnipeg was early recognized as a central one for the distribution of supplies is proved by the custom pursued by the traders of landing here to assort and repack their outfits for distribution south and west. The Hudson's Bay Company began to push up the Red River about 1796, and during the next decade had placed posts in the vicinity of their rivals, with the exception of at The Forks. In 1811 Lord Selkirk, after controlling a large share of the stock of the Hudson's Bay Company, secured from it a grant of land along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, covering an area of some 116,000 square miles, under the claim that the Company's charter gave them control of the country, which claim was contested by the Canadian fur traders. Lord Selkirk issued a most glowing description of the land, climate and general advantages to be gained by persons joining with him in settling in this tract of country, and induced a number in Scotland and Ireland to come out. The party sailed in the spring of 1811 for York Factory, but had to winter at that place, and reached the Red River during the next year. Other parties were sent out in 1813 and 1814 to augment the colony, or what was termed the Selkirk Settlement.

A struggle for supremacy at once began between the rival fur companies, which resulted in bloodshed on more than one occasion, and the total destruction of the property of the Selkirk settlers, who were generally merely onlookers. On March 17, 1816, the Hudson's Bay Company people, who then had a fort at Point Douglas, about three-quarters of a mile below The Forks, attacked Fort Gibraltar, razed the buildings to the ground, and carried the timbers to Point

Douglas. In the following spring the *employés* of the North-West Company came into collision with the Hudson's Bay Company people under Governor Semple, a short distance north of the present limits of Winnipeg, with the result that the Governor and some twenty of his men were killed in a few minutes. Then matters were in a very disturbed state until the coalition of the two powerful Companies in 1820-21, when the Hudson's Bay Company, after absorbing its rival, established a fort at The Forks and opened stores to supply the settlers, traders and Indians with goods. And so another era in the trade of Winnipeg was entered upon. Fort Garry, of which only the ruined back gateway now stands, was erected in 1835 by Governor Christie. The people, who from time to time came to the settlement, took up land along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, those of the same nationality generally settling in localities by themselves.

Owing to dissatisfaction in the settlement and to reported American intrigues, a body of British regular troops were sent out from England to Fort Garry in 1846, under command of Colonel J. F. Crofton, consisting of 383 soldiers from the Sixth Foot, Royal Artillery, and Engineers. These troops returned to England in 1848 and in that year were succeeded by a corps of fifty-six pensioners, many of whom afterwards settled in the country with their Commander, Lieut.-Colonel Caldwell as Governor of the Colony. Again, in 1867, 100 men of the Royal Canadian Rifles were sent *via* York Factory and were quartered at Fort Garry before the Riel Rebellion of 1869-70, when what is termed the "First Red River Expeditionary Force", composed of regulars and volunteers from Ontario and Quebec, was dispatched from Eastern Canada and arrived in August, 1870, to find that Louis Riel had fled, and his "provisional government" had evaporated into thin air. It was from this date that Winnipeg, as a place distinct from Fort Garry, became known.

On the arrival of the troops in 1870, the village consisted of a collection of about thirty log houses, centering about the site of the present Post Office, the population numbering about 150 persons. In the spring of 1871 the Ontario and Quebec volunteers were disbanded, the greater

number of them returning to their homes, though many remained in Manitoba to cast in their lot with the Canadians who began to flock into the old Settlement. Winnipeg, which was incorporated as a city in 1874, rapidly increased in population for a time, but, as the supplies were brought through the United States and down the Red River in steamboats, the cost of removing from eastern Canada and the high values placed on all necessaries of life, proved a check to the settlement of Manitoba until 1879, when the railway from Winnipeg south to the international boundary opened for business, in connection with the American line to St. Paul. In 1880 came the beginning of the great land "boom," when settlers and money for investment came pouring in, and within a year the population of Winnipeg had increased from about 6,000 to 12,000. In the spring of 1881 the Canadian Pacific Railway Company commenced active operations, and within a short time the population numbered fully 20,000. Since the close of the boom period the city, in keeping with the settlement of the Province, has steadily progressed, and is regularly adding to its population, which now numbers about 37,000.

The geographical position of Winnipeg may be briefly described as follows: It is situated at the juncture of the Assiniboine River and the Red River, and along the west bank of the latter. It is about forty miles south of Lake Winnipeg, and sixty-six miles north of the international boundary line between the United States and Canada. Practically speaking it is on the eastern edge of the great prairie country which extends, in this latitude, from the line of the Red River west to the Rocky Mountains. It has been aptly expressed that "Winnipeg is the neck of a double funnel whose mouths gather the traffic of an empire and three oceans, the Atlantic, Pacific and the Great Lakes. With the growth of the west and ever-increasing wants of the east, who will set a limit to prairie products when the iron, coal, oil, salt and other products of near tributary districts are developed, and the fertile Province of Manitoba be under grain and cattle?" To the east are the mining and timber districts of the Lake of the Woods; to the north the mineral deposits, timber areas and great fisheries of

Lake Winnipeg; to the north-west the timber, salt deposits and fisheries of Lakes Manitoba and Winnipegosis; to the west and south the fertile grain lands which stand unrivalled in producing the finest of all wheat known in the markets of the world. In all these directions are even now to be found large numbers of cattle, horses, sheep and other live stock.

Thus it will be seen that, independent of the fact that Winnipeg is the great central mart for Canada between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains, within the limits of a circle described at a distance of 150 miles from the city she is the objective point for all the trade arising from the development and cultivation of varied industries and natural productions. Railways strike out from Winnipeg like branches from the parent stem of a tree. Those actually constructed are: East and West, the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, from Atlantic to Pacific; the Emerson branch, running to the international boundary on the east side of the Red River, and connecting with the United States systems of railroads; the Pembina branch, also running to the international boundary on the west side of the Red River and extending through the south-western portion of Manitoba; the Glenboro' branch supplying all the needs of the country south of the Assiniboine River, and on through the Souris country to connect with the "Soo" Railway in Assiniboia; the Selkirk branch, down the west bank of the Red River to near Lake Winnipeg; the Stonewall branch, through a good section of the country to the north-west of the city; the main line of the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railway, south to the international boundary, and branches west to Brandon and Portage la Prairie. Nearly all these lines have sub-branches tributary to them which act as feeders, and give access to Winnipeg from all parts of the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories.

A railway is projected south-easterly to the international boundary, where connection can be made with Duluth and Fort William by the extension of roads already partially constructed. The Winnipeg Transfer Railway is in operation from the south to the north ends of the city, along the water front. Probably no other com-

mercial city in the world, of its size, has such a complete railway system as the above is shown to be. While the Red River in ordinary seasons gives a sufficient depth of water to permit of navigation by large river steamers from the international boundary to Lake Winnipeg, some improvements are necessary at extreme low water to enable lake vessels to ascend to the city, but the character of the obstructions is trivial, and the Dominion Government has lately taken steps to remove them. Unlimited supplies of iron ore of rich quality are on the lake in juxtaposition to immense tracts of timber suitable for the production of charcoal. Lumber and firewood are now brought to the city from the lake. It is only a question of time when the great coal fields of the two Saskatchewan will send their products down stream to Lake Winnipeg and thence direct to Winnipeg. The Assiniboine River at one time was navigated by steamers which ascended that winding stream for a distance, along its course, of fully 500 miles. A canal of a few miles' length, through alluvial soil, will connect Lakes Manitoba and Winnipegosis with the Assiniboine River.

Naturally, Winnipeg is the centre for the wholesale and jobbing trade of the Canadian North-West. Immense stocks of goods and merchandize, covering all varieties required to supply the wants of the districts devoted to grain production, stock breeding and cattle ranching, mining, lumbering and fishing, as well as the more diversified demands of the city, town and village people, are to be found in the handsome warehouses, supplied with all modern conveniences and appliances, which are a marked feature of the city's edifices. Shipments are made daily to points over 1,000 miles distant, so extensive a range of country is supplied from this well-stocked central market. The ample railway systems radiating from Winnipeg afford facilities to the merchants of the Province and Territories for the securing of goods at short notice, and experience has shown that they take full advantage of the situation. The railway corporations recognize Winnipeg as one of the principal wholesale depots of Canada and deal with the wholesale trade on that basis. Without giving here any detailed statistics of the volume of trade, it will

suffice to state that the Winnipeg bank clearing-house, for the volume of business, stands third on the list of Canadian cities, taking immediate place after Montreal and Toronto. The actual figures for the year ending 31st August, 1896, were \$61,000,000.

A large number of English and Canadian loan and investment companies, representing an enormous amount of capital, have general agency offices in the city. The leading fire and life insurance companies of Great Britain, Canada and the United States have offices as well. An active Board of Trade, incorporated by the Dominion, exercises all the functions usually undertaken by such bodies, and closely watches over the business interests of the city. The headquarters of the Manitoba grain and flour trade are to be found in the rooms of the Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange, which comprises in its membership the principal millers, grain dealers and exporters of the Province, as well as many of the leading exporters of Eastern Canada. The North-West Commercial Travelers' Association, with a city membership of 300, is one of the city's business organizations which illustrates the extent of the wholesale trade conducted with the western country. Over 900 telephones are required to meet the wants of the people. Two electric and one gas-light company supply both street and house lighting. Street cars run on the principal streets, there being fifteen and one-half miles of track in service. Many miles of water mains distribute water for public and domestic service.

The Corporation has at the present time 146 miles of sidewalks, 102 miles of graded streets, twelve miles of paved streets, thirty-nine of underground sewers, fifty-six fire tanks, sixty-seven public wells, and 124 arc electric street lights. A complete and well managed fire brigade system is in force. The police force is a very efficient one, the men being intelligent and of good character, and having a minimum height of six feet. Postal and telegraphic arrangements are provided to meet every requirement, and the daily newspapers rank with the best in Canada. Winnipeg is not only the commercial capital of the vast extent of country lying between Lake Superior and British Columbia and north of the

United States, but it is the centre for the Federal Government offices situated therein. The head land and timber offices of the Dominion Government for the west are located here. The principal Custom House, Registry of Shipping, Excise, Weights and Measures, Food Products Examiners, Oil, Gas and Electric Inspectors, Post Office, Grain, Flour and Hide Inspectors, Intelligence Office, Emigration Agents, Receiver-General, Government Savings Banks, and many others are situated in Winnipeg on account of its importance and central position. Winnipeg is also the Provincial capital, and in consequence the Manitoba Legislature, with the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Departments of Agriculture and Statistics, Attorney-General, Public Works, Treasurer and Provincial Secretary, with the Registrar-General of Lands, have their official headquarters in the city. The Superior Courts of the Province are held here, which entails the attendance of the principal barristers and attorneys of the country. With the other Government institutions, the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb is placed in Winnipeg.

The regular troops on duty in Manitoba are in barracks at Fort Osborne in the city, and the volunteers with headquarters here include the corps of cavalry, field artillery and infantry. The head offices of the Hudson's Bay Company (in America), the great land companies, and in a word all the great corporations doing business in this country, find it not only convenient but necessary for the proper transaction of their affairs to have offices in what has been termed by a Governor-General, "the heart city of Canada." The Winnipeg General Hospital is an institution which the city may well be congratulated on maintaining, for the great part, by her own contributions. The poor and suffering receive here the most careful and humane treatment, in well-appointed buildings, at the hands of skilful and experienced medical men and nurses. A maternity Hospital and Nurses' Training School are attached to the parent institution. The Women's Home and Children's Home are other instances of how the charitable people care for the poor and homeless. Night schools for children and free kindergarten schools for poor children are maintained by private subscription. The general free Pub-

lic Schools of the city number fifteen, including a Collegiate, which requires a staff of over 100 qualified teachers, the number of pupils enrolled on the monthly average during the year 1896 being 5,000, and the average attendance over 4,000, showing an increase in the enrolment and attendance over the preceding year of 17 per cent. The value of the School buildings, sites and furniture is \$404,000.

Winnipeg is justly proud of her athletic associations. The senior four of the Winnipeg Rowing Club have been twice amateur champions of America. The Hockey Club held the championship of the world. In curling, skating, snowshoeing, lacrosse, golfing, cricket, football, bicycling, lawn tennis, and rifle shooting, the young men of Winnipeg are prominent, the best element of the people controlling these sports and encouraging and aiding the young men to keep them free from the taint of professionalism which is dragging down and stifling clean sports in so many American cities. Social clubs of all kinds are a special feature of Winnipeg's private life, while of secret and fraternal associations there is a plethora. The National benevolent societies are well organized and do much good and useful work. Several musical and dramatic associations flourish. The Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society maintains a library and museum, and has published a large number of valuable papers, dealing with subjects coming within the scope of its operations. The city has a Free Public Library, recently re-organized and enlarged. Five Colleges and Manitoba University are situated in the city or its immediate vicinity. Churches are to be met with in every corner of the city, and Sunday is indeed a day of rest, in strong contrast to the state of affairs in the western cities of the United States.

A few words may be written as to the future prospects of Winnipeg. Year by year it is found that Manitoba's natural resources are greater and more varied than has been supposed, and just in proportion to such revelations does the probable future growth and importance of Winnipeg appear to increase. At one time Manitoba was supposed to be a purely wheat country, and now it has been proved beyond all doubt that it is a dairy country of the first class. Creameries

and Cheese factories are in operation all over the Province, their output being sent to Winnipeg for disposal by local consumption and export. Train loads of the fattest and best of cattle are shipped regularly to Eastern Canada and Great Britain; oats, barley and flax-seed are exported in large quantities; in addition to the many millions of the famous "Manitoba hard" wheat. The gold-mining districts about the Lake of the Woods, now being developed and producing from several stamp mills rich returns, are so close to the city that most of their supplies are drawn from it.

The fishing grounds of Lakes Winnipeg, Manitoba, Winnipegosis, and hundreds of smaller bodies of water, have scarcely yet been touched, and already the exports of fish to the United States alone amount to nearly 2,000,000 pounds annually. Building stones and brick clays are found in unlimited quantities near the city, and the handsome and stately edifices lining the streets bear testimony to their appearance and quality. The coal mines of the west and southwest are being worked and the product supplies, to a great extent, the wants of Winnipeg and the rural districts, and yet a few years ago it was thought that the fuel supply was the great question to be solved. So vast are the deposits of coal that thousands of square miles of territory are underlaid with them. In the early days of Manitoba's existence as a Province, practically all the salt consumed in the western country was obtained from deposits near to Lake Winnipeg. The extension of railways is bringing these deposits into prominence again and enabling them to be worked at a profit. From every point of view, therefore, the future prospects of Winnipeg appear to be bright and encouraging.

**Sketch of Winnipeg, by Lady Schultz.** \*The capital of the Province of Manitoba and "Gateway City" of the North-West stands at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers in 49° 56' latitude and 90° 7' W. longitude, and 764 feet above the level of the sea. It is famous in

\*NOTE. This brief sketch affords a further and interesting view of Winnipeg. Especially valuable is the quoted extract from the speech by a late distinguished pioneer and Governor.—THE EDITOR.



Canada for its broad streets, healthy climate and pure atmosphere. The city was named by the late Sir John Schultz, one of its earliest pioneers, after the lake which the Red River reaches forty-five miles farther north, and the name has proved a distinctive and characteristic appellation. The word is from the Ojibway and signifies muddy water, but the poetical rendering of which the Indian language so happily permits is "shadowed water." The plain on which the city is built is as level as a floor, and stretches to the west as far as the eye can reach, an unbroken prairie without tree or obstacle of any kind to break the view until the horizon blends with the sky. The soil is rich to a high degree, and of such a nature that when unbroken it beats into a hard compact surface perfectly level for many miles in every direction, entirely free from dust and most delightful to drive or ride over, the prairie being very pleasant to the horses' feet.

It is not so many years since the tracks of the buffalo could be distinctly seen where they had come down to the river to drink, which last occurrence must have been as late as sixty years ago. The water of the Red River is of a rich reddish brown; the river takes its rise from Elbow Lake in Minnesota, U.S.A., about 455 miles to the south of Winnipeg; it is very winding, in many cases almost returning upon itself. The poet, Whittier, has made it and the Town of St. Boniface (which is opposite to Winnipeg on the eastern bank of the river) famous by his poem "The Red River *Voyageur*." The Assiniboine River, which meanders leisurely from the North-West for many hundreds of miles, is also very winding, and joins the Red River at Winnipeg. It is the present water supply of the city, but is fast giving place to artesian wells, for which there is an almost limitless subterranean supply, furnishing sparkling and pure water of the finest quality and most agreeable to the taste. Winnipeg has many handsome and imposing buildings. Most of them are of brick and present a creamy-grey colour, which the clay of the country furnishes, and, as the fuel principally used heretofore has been wood, the fresh and perfectly clean appearance of the buildings has been preserved. In 1871 there was a population of about 250; in 1873 the place was incorporated as a city, having

previously been known as Fort Garry, or the Red River Settlement. The census of 1881 claimed 7,985, while this year, 1898, Winnipeg is said to have 40,000 inhabitants. It is the healthiest of cities as its death rate shows. Its suburbs are amongst the best kept in the world, and its churches are many and beautiful. The city is widely spread as there is no lack of space, though it does not seem too scattered. Its Main Street is 132 feet wider than Broadway, New York, while Portage Avenue, which is also the same width, is unique, from the fact that any one looking along it to the glowing west is interested by learning that the path it marks has stretched in an unbroken line westward for nine hundred miles, almost to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, as being the old trail of the Plain Hunters. Main Street, also, has its measure of historic incident, and was referred to in the following terms by the late Sir John Schultz in the year 1894, when, as Lieutenant-Governor, he was called upon to unveil the monument at Seven Oaks:

"I have said that this road, whether as Indian trail or King's highway, in old or more recent times, is indeed historic. Over it, in the dim past which antedates even Indian tradition, must have passed those aboriginal inhabitants whose interesting sepulchral remains near St. Andrew's Rapids (sixteen miles north of Winnipeg) and elsewhere, excite wonder and stimulate conjecture, and show them to have been of a race superior in many respects to those who succeeded them. Over this road and near this spot must have passed the war parties of the Assiniboines in their futile effort to oppose with arrow, tomahawk and spear the invading northern and eastern Crees, who had, doubtless, when similarly armed, envied in vain the warlike "Stoney" his possession of what was later known as the Image and White Horse Plains, with their countless herds of bison; and when the earlier possession of fire-arms gave the Cree the ascendancy he sought, and that dread scourge, the small-pox, had thinned the Assiniboine ranks, it must have been along this great trail the latter retreated towards the blue hills of Brandon and to the upper waters of the river which still bears their name. La Verendrye, the first white man who looked on this fair land, must have seen this spot and passed by this trail, and while it was yet a bridle path or cart track, and long before it was known, as it afterwards became, as the King's Highway, men who were great in their day and generation and are deservedly still remembered

for their important discoveries and their administrative abilities have trodden the path which lies at our feet. Over it has passed discoverer, courier, missionary, arctic voyager, chief, warrior, and medicine man, governor, factor, judge, councillor and commander; along it has been carried wampum and tomahawk, messages of peace and war. It has heard the rumble of artillery and the steady march of the Sixth of the Line, the Royal Canadian, and the 60th Rifles; and along its course the hard-pressed founders of the Selkirk settlement alternately struggled southwards in search of food, or hurried northward for safety with steps of fear. Over it have travelled the pioneer priests, ministers and Bishops of the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian and Wesleyan Churches. The Governors of the Hudson's Bay Company have, as well as the lieutenants of the Governors of the Dominion of Canada, all passed this way. Truly this is an historic place; and from the spot where I now

stand could once have been seen nearly all the old historic strongholds of the Hudson's Bay, the North-West and the X.Y. Companies. From it may still be seen places made memorable by the good works of the Rev. Mr. West, Bishops Anderson and Provencher, the Rev. John Black, and other devoted men; within view are the residences of the Hon. John Inkster, the father of our worthy Sheriff, a member of the old Council of Assiniboia, and that of my brave and valued old friend, Hon. Robert McBeth, also a member of the Council, and the father of the President of our Historical Society (Hon. John McBeth, M.P.P.), whose instincts of hospitality were not to be thwarted by the knowledge that confiscation and worse might follow his shelter (during the first Riel Rebellion) of a hard-hunted friend; and I see all around me here worthy children of such worthy sires, the descendants of those pioneer Selkirk settlers, whose tale of sorrow, suffering and danger always evokes sympathy."



The Hon. Hugh John Macdonald, Q.C.

# HISTORY AND PROGRESS OF THE CITY OF TORONTO

BY

JAMES BEATY, Q.C., D.C.L., Ex-Mayor of Toronto.

**T**ORONTO is beautiful by situation. It is not a "city set on a hill," but is, nevertheless, very picturesque and attractive. It looks not out from the summit of a mountain, nor from the crags and juts of a frowning rock, but, on the contrary, is located on plains or plateaus rising from the northern shore of Lake Ontario and the Bay of Toronto in easy grades, until it reaches the northern limit of the city. There the elevation is 220 feet higher than the lake level. Standing on a vessel coming into port, the view of the city is striking and agreeable. The grades of the streets are comparatively level, without abrupt breaks, yet rising sufficiently to afford facilities for an excellent system of drainage. The principal streets, avenues, and parks are all lined with fine old trees, or young ones planted long enough to present a beautiful foliage, affording in the summer months, at the same time, both shade and beauty.

The site is about forty miles from the western end of Lake Ontario, and was originally a camping ground of the Indians. The name given to the lake is said to have been of Indian origin, attributed to the use of a word sounding like Ontario, and meaning "beautiful." In the year 1793 the location was made the site of a town intended to be the capital of Upper Canada, now the Province of Ontario. It was first called York, and the bay was also known as the Bay of York. On the 6th of March, 1794, the name "Toronto," an Indian word, the meaning of which is not clear, although said to be "place of meeting" was substituted for York. "Trees arising out of the water," or "trees in the water," have been suggested as meanings without strong warrant. This latter idea might have arisen from the appearance of the Island in front of the city, which

at first sight would look as if the trees grew out of the water.

In what is the western part of the present city, a trading post had been established in 1749, known as "Fort Rouille" and sometimes "Fort Toronto," and as the "Old French Fort." It was burnt down in 1759, and a new one was erected which stood until 1878, when the site of "Fort Rouille" became the grounds of the "Industrial Exhibition Association of Toronto," which now occupies it, and as of old becomes "a meeting place" once a year for an immense gathering of the farmers of the Province of Ontario and other countries, to see the display of horses, cattle, grains, and other natural products of the Province; the implements of husbandry and of practical utility in farming; and various manufactured products.

The location was described in 1793 by the surveyor, Bouchette, as "the untamed aspect which the country exhibited when I first entered the beautiful basin. Dense and trackless forests lined the margin of the lake, and reflected their inverted images in its glassy surface. The wandering savage had constructed his ephemeral habitation beneath their luxuriant foliage, and the bay and neighbouring marshes were the haunts of immense coveys of wild fowl. Indeed they were so abundant as in some measure to annoy us during the night." The city started into reality in 1794, near the Don River, where the first public buildings were erected.

The Island opposite Toronto to the south, lying out in the Lake across the Bay, has not only a pleasant aspect but was in fact one of the chief factors in the making of the city. It contains about five hundred acres, and is a long stretch of sandy land running from below the Don River in a southerly and westwardly direc-

tion, and again northerly towards the shore in the shape of a reaping sickle, the handle being at the mouth of the Don, the point, formerly known as Gibraltar Point, being the same as that now called "Hanlan's Point"—named after Hanlan, the champion oarsman of the world for several years.

The Island was originally a peninsula, only cut into two parts by a sort of canal, through which a portion of the Don River flowed into the marsh and through to Ashbridge's Bay. Eighty years ago and for many years afterwards, citizens could drive from the mainland over a bridge crossing the cut and around the whole Island to the western point. This point reached the shore so nearly that only a passage for not more than two vessels at a time was left. The sand from this passage has to be dredged yearly. Fine old trees were then growing on each side of the Island along its whole length, and proved natural breakwaters which kept the Island intact. For some inexplicable reason the early municipal government of the city allowed these trees to be cut, and also allowed sand to be carried away to the city, which prepared the Island for the inroads of the currents over what was then its widest part, but which ultimately formed what is termed the "Eastern Gap." The writer has been told by the late Chief Justice Spragge, Rev. Dr. Scadding, and the late James Beaty, M.P., that they have driven, or walked, and hunted from the Don to the western Gap on dry land. Vessels run not only through the western Gap as always, but now also through the eastern Gap. This latter breach in the Island first occurred seriously in January, 1853, and completely in the winter of 1858. It has been somewhat arrested since by breakwaters, which were commenced by the Dominion Government about fifteen years ago at the instance of the members for Toronto in Parliament, Messrs. Robert Hay, John Small, and the writer—who obtained nearly half a million dollars for that purpose.

The Island has now a large and healthful park, about two hundred and fifty acres, which was laid out in 1880 by order of the City Council. It has since been much enlarged, improved, and beautified by subsequent Councils, led notably by two aldermen, John Irwin, and John Hallam. The

two somewhat sluggish, though deep and narrow rivers, the Don in the east and the Humber in the west, are now the only streams of any importance left near the city. Smaller streams, such as the Garrison Creek and the stream near St. James' Cemetery, and others, are now sewers or rivulets only to carry off the floods of spring when the snow is thawing. The writer has been told by a long resident of the city that in spring-time he has "canoeed" from the corner of Yonge and College streets through the present Normal School grounds, down past the present English Cathedral site into the bay. The ravine through which this stream ran is unknown now except to the oldest inhabitants, it being filled up and built over.

The City of Toronto was long ago known as "Muddy Little York." It was not a bad description, although at the present time few would recognize the fact. It was in many places marshy and dotted with quicksand pits. The writer's father lost his shoes in the mud, about 1820, crossing King street at the junction of Yonge. There was a quicksand pit on King street just opposite the English Cathedral, which was filled up many feet by throwing in logs and brush before a roadway could be formed. About that time the acre on the south-west corner of King and Yonge streets was offered to be exchanged for a pair of boots, and the corner acre on Wellington and Yonge was offered in exchange for a bottle of whiskey. Both the boots and the whiskey were thought to be worth more than the acres. They were both then more difficult to get than the land, and paid better in their use to the owners.

The Toronto Bay is about two and one-third miles in length from east to west, and is about one and a half miles in width at the widest point from north to south, and its greatest depth is thirty-two feet. Toronto itself is now about seven miles in length on the shore line of the bay and lake, and runs north about two miles and a half. The city limits include an area of 10,391 acres, or about sixteen square miles. In 1803 the area was 420 acres. A large addition was made to the city front by the construction of the Esplanade, commenced in 1860. It has afforded room for the tracks of the various railways, the water-lots being filled out from the ridge of land

on the front to what was termed the Windmill Line. The Windmill was a structure built in 1830 by Mr. J. G. Worts, and was the starting point of the immense distillery now carried on by the Gooderhams.

The history of the city covers substantially a hundred years. It commenced with a population of a dozen householders, and now contains a population of nigh two hundred thousand. Its progress has been almost continuous, although suffering occasional depressions, serious reverses, and temporary shocks. It always revived, however, and pursued its steady course of enlargement and expansion. It has had varied and chequered experiences during that period. It has felt the devastating and ruinous effects of regular warfare, and the disturbing and injurious consequences of a trivial and spasmodic revolutionary outburst. It started into existence after the separation of the United States from England. It was not of sufficient importance then to demand national consideration, but it became an object of attention in subsequent embroilments with our neighbours.

The first Provincial Legislature which met in Toronto convened on the first day of June, 1797. A weekly public market was formally established by proclamation of the Government on the 5th November, 1803. The present St. Lawrence Market is on part of the four acres then set apart for market purposes. In 1803, the Legislature authorized the selection of certain gentlemen to practise in the Law Courts, notwithstanding the absence of legal training. Dr. W. W. Baldwin, D'Arcy Boulton, Wm. Dickson, and John Powell were thus proclaimed lawyers. They had first to be examined by the Chief Justice. They were popularly termed "Heaven descended" Barristers-at-law. There are some people who would not admit that their successors could be aptly described by those words.

Dr. Baldwin and his son, the Hon. Robert Baldwin, were leading men in their day in medicine, law, politics, and social life. The latter was Attorney-General of Upper Canada, and the promoter of Municipal, School, and other important measures. At this time the Hon. Wm. Hume Blake was Solicitor-General, and afterwards Chancellor. He and his two sons, the Hon.

Edward Blake, M.P., now of the English House of Commons, and the Hon. S. H. Blake, Q.C., formerly Vice-Chancellor, have been notably connected with the history of Toronto. The firm of Baldwin & Son, under different names, has continued in direct succession until the present firm of the writer, which is the tenth. The Hon. Robert Baldwin Sullivan, Sir Adam Wilson, at one time Mayor, and afterwards Justice of the Court of Appeal and Chief Justice, the Hon. C. S. Patterson, Dr. Larratt W. Smith, Q.C., John Hector, Q.C., and others were members of the various firms. It is related of Dr. Baldwin, that when he was practising at the Bar, and engaged in legal cases, he would be frequently sent for in cases of emergency from sickness, and having informed the Court of the demand upon him, the Court would adjourn until his return. He would then take up the matter and proceed as if there had been no interruption.

In 1803 the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, visited Toronto. Royal visits have not been very numerous. The Prince of Wales visited Toronto in 1860, Prince Arthur in 1869, Princess Louise (Marchioness of Lorne) and Prince Leopold in 1880, Prince George of Wales, now Duke of York, in 1883, and Prince Arthur (Duke of Connaught) again in 1889, when he was entertained with his wife, the Princess Louise Margaret of Prussia, at "Glen Edyth," by Mr. S. Nordheimer.

The first election for town and public offices was held on the 3rd of March, 1806. In 1806 President Peter Russell offered for sale by advertisement two negro slaves, a woman and her son. The woman was valued at one hundred and fifty dollars and the son at two hundred dollars. He was fifteen years of age. This is the same official of whom it is said that he granted many hundreds of acres of land to himself. The grant commenced with the words, "I, the Hon. Peter Russell, grant to you, Peter Russell, Esquire," the land intended to be disposed of. A remarkable incident in the history of this city was the fact that early in the year 1813, during the war with the United States, the ensign of Great Britain no longer flew to the breeze, while the star-spangled banner floated in its place. For eleven days York was held by the enemy. The

brick buildings of the Legislature and the Library and papers were destroyed in July following, when the enemy took possession for one day only. Colonel (afterwards General) Winfield Scott was the American officer who sacked the town this second time. In 1817 a duel was fought between two young gentlemen (Messrs. Ridout and Jarvis) over a trivial love affair, it is said, which resulted in the death of the former. The duel was fought on Clover Hill, west of Yonge Street. In 1824 the new Parliament Buildings were destroyed by fire after being built only five years. The first Orange procession held in Toronto, possibly in Canada, was in the year 1820, by a dozen Orangemen, of whom three were the late James Beaty and his two brothers, John and William. John carried the open Bible, William the flag, and James the sword. In 1829 what are now the old Parliament Buildings were erected on Front Street. A new and very substantial and imposing building was erected in 1893 in its place, and now covers the Legislative wisdom of the Province, represented by ninety-three legislators.

In 1832 the city suffered a serious scourge from cholera. From 1832 to 1837 the agitation was carried on against the then rulers of the Province, termed derisively the "Family Compact", from the number of officials engaged in the administration of public affairs and selected from a few of the leading families of the period. This agitation resulted in what is known as the "Mackenzie Rebellion", its leaders being chiefly citizens of Toronto, although there were many active men in the country districts, as shown in the persons of Samuel Lount and Peter Matthews, who were convicted of treason in Toronto, and after imprisonment in the Toronto Gaol were hung in the gaol-yard on the south side of Court Street, near Toronto Street, on April 12, 1838.

Toronto was incorporated on the 6th March, 1834, so the name "York" thereafter disappeared. A Common Council was immediately elected and William Lyon Mackenzie was chosen the first Mayor. There have been twenty-nine Mayors since. G. D'Arcy Boulton, John Baxter, John McGillivray, P. G. Close, John Shaw, D. B. Read, *q.c.*, and John Carr have been Presidents of the Council. A feature of the early city financ-

ing, which would be a good one to continue if practicable, as it would save the city from extravagant expenditure, was to obtain a loan for the construction of side-walks on the personal guarantee of the Aldermen and Councilmen. The Council consisted of the Mayor, Aldermen and Councilmen. The Councilmen were afterwards abolished. The first Council was composed of ten Aldermen and ten Councillors, expressed in official terms: "The Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty." Punishment by placing offenders in the stocks was still in force in 1834, and, although a woman punished in that way by the Mayor was the last, yet many had previously been exposed in the stocks to the public gaze. Mackenzie designed the city arms, and selected the motto, "Industry, Intelligence, Integrity."

Upon the passing of the Union Act between the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, a proclamation was issued on the 5th of February, 1841, whereby it was declared that the Union should take effect from the 10th of that month. This Union did away with the two separate Provincial capitals and was a matter of concern to the citizens of Toronto. Kingston was chosen as the capital of the United Provinces. The last Legislature that sat in Toronto before the Union closed on the 10th February, 1840. Kingston was the capital for only three years. Then Montreal had the privilege, and in 1849 Toronto became the alternate capital with Quebec for periods of four years. At Confederation, in 1867, Toronto became the permanent capital of Ontario.

In 1847, a Gas and Water Company which had been formed not long before, sold out its gas works to the Consumer's Gas Company, which has supplied the city ever since. Mr. Charles Herczy was the first President, followed by Richard Yates and N. Whittemore and E. H. Rutherford, who was a long time President. He was succeeded by James Austin, and then for some years Dr. Larratt W. Smith, *q.c.*, was President. The Company started with twelve lamps, and gas was charged for at the rate of five dollars per thousand cubic feet. It is now ninety cents per thousand. At first the gas was only twelve candle power, while now it is twenty-one. Mr. Alexander East, on 18th May, 1861, procured

a charter to run a street railway by horse-power. A tramway was constructed, the first in Canada, and conveyed passengers for a number of years in a limited way through the chief streets of the city. On the 18th of November following, by agreement with the Toronto Roads' Company (James Beaty, President), it was extended north beyond the then city limits. Then the Toronto Street Railway came under the control of the late J. G. Bowes, for several years Mayor of the city. Subsequently it was managed by Mr. C. E. English, a lawyer of the city, in the interests of the Bowes family. In 1869 it came into the control of the Messrs. Kiely, and afterwards Sir Frank Smith, Senator of the Dominion, joined them. Sir Frank was President for ten years, and Mr. James Gunn was connected with the Tramway as Secretary or Superintendent from 1869. On 1st September, 1891, in consequence of the expiring franchise of the Company, it became the policy of the city to buy it out. This was done. The franchise and property were then sold to capitalists. In 1891 the franchise was transferred for thirty years, William McKenzie being President of the new Company. In 1892 the trolley or electric system was commenced, by which means the cars are now propelled. A Sunday car agitation proceeded for years, and in 1897, at a third election, and upon a vote of 32,000, a majority of 320 was obtained, authorizing cars to be run on Sunday. There were in that year eighty-five and one-quarter miles in operation.

In 1842 Mr. Albert Furness undertook to supply the city with water. In 1851 he sold the works to the Metropolitan Water Company, Hon. William Kilally, President. They were afterwards re-transferred to Mr. Furness, who, in April, 1873, sold them to the city. In 1872 Commissioners were appointed to construct and enlarge the works. Large expenditures have since been made, and at present there is a fairly good system in working order. The water is obtained from Lake Ontario, south of the Island, through a conduit, by pumping up to a large reservoir on Gallow's Hill, north of the city, and 270 feet above the lake level. The City Hall still owns the waterworks, as it should all the public franchises—Gas, Electricity, Street Rail-

ways and other revenue-producing works. On the 7th of April, 1849, the city suffered a great calamity by a fire which destroyed half a million dollars' worth of property, chiefly situated along King Street, east from Church and north to Duke Street. A malignant fever, and subsequently cholera, in the summer of that year was brought in by emigrants, and raged until 527 citizens had died from the epidemic. William Lyon Mackenzie returned from the United States in 1848, after an exile of eleven years, having taken the benefit of an Amnesty Act, and a considerable riot was the consequence. There were those who could not appreciate the wisdom of pardoning one whom they termed a "scoundrelly rebel."

Up to 1859 the Mayor was elected by the Council from their own members. In 1858 an Act was passed requiring the Mayor to be elected by the citizens at large. This system continued until the year 1866, when the election of the Chief Magistrate reverted by law to the Council. In 1873 this mode of election was changed, and the citizens again directly controlled the election of the Mayor—a system which has continued ever since. The office of Common Councilman was also abolished and the number of Aldermen increased to three in each ward. They were to hold office for three years. This term was afterwards reduced to one year. This was a serious retrogression which has impaired the efficiency of the Council ever since. There are now six Wards with four Aldermen elected for each.

In 1860 the Prince of Wales visited this country. He came on the 7th of September to Toronto, accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary, and a numerous suite. In consequence of the condemnation by the Duke of Newcastle of certain displays by Orangemen, in which he was joined by Sir Edmund Head, the effigies of those distinguished gentlemen were burnt on Colborne Street. The Prince and party were received by the Mayor, Mr. Adam Wilson, q.c., afterwards the Hon. Sir Adam Wilson, Chief Justice, and at one time M.P. and Solicitor-General. A great demonstration was given and a brilliant and appropriate reception accorded to the Prince, such as has seldom greeted any visitor to this continent. Mr. (afterwards Sir David

L.) Macpherson in a princely manner entertained His Royal Highness at Chestnut Park, near Toronto. It was in this year that John Sheridau Hogan, M.P., was murdered at the Don Bridge. His body was thrown into the Don River and was not discovered until 1861. Some of a gang of ruffians, known as "Brook's Bush Gang," were found to be the criminals, and, although not the person who actually committed the crime, yet for being present and abetting it, one Brown was hanged for the offence.

The Trent Affair created a great interest. The seizure of Messrs. Mason and Slidell, Commissioners of the Southern States to Europe, from the British Steamer *Trent*, threatened to produce war between England and the United States. Toronto as a prospective lake port of easy access for an assault, was of course specially interested. It also became during the years of the Civil War in the United States the rendezvous of many hundreds of "Skedaddlers" from both North and South, chiefly from the South or Middle States. Subsequent years were quiet and prosperous until 1866, when the Fenian Raid occurred. On the First of June, about a thousand crossed the line and landed near Fort Erie. Toronto sent her Queen's Own and other Companies to the front and the enemy was compelled to retire with the loss of a number of Canadians, and the wounding of many more. A monument was erected near the University in the Queen's Park to the memory of the latter and memorial windows placed in Convocation Hall of the University. The Toronto names of the dead were Major McEachern, Corporal Defries, Private Smith, Private Alderson and Private Tempest. Others subsequently died from their wounds or diseases contracted, including Sergeant H. Matheson, Captain and Paymaster John Huston Richey, Private James Cahill, Private James H. Morrison, Private Daniel Boker, Private M. Prudhomme, Private Larratt W. Smith.

The first day of July, 1867, was the birthday of the Dominion of Canada, and Toronto was foremost in its demonstrations of gratification at the accomplishment of the Union of the Provinces of British North America. Toronto became the permanent capital of the Province of Ontario and Major-General Henry William Stisted, C.B., was

appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor. Mayor J. E. Smith gave a costly banquet at which General Stisted, Sir J. A. Macdonald, the Hon. George Brown and other celebrities attended. During 1869 H.R.H. Prince Arthur visited Toronto and was hospitably entertained by Lieut.-Governor Howland at "Shrewsbury Lodge." The public demonstrations were on a grand scale, and the enthusiasm displayed equalled the reception given to the Prince of Wales. Samuel Bickerton Harman, Q.C., was Mayor during the year and performed his part with dignity and success. In this year the York Pioneers founded their Society. They are still an influential body of citizens. Mr. Coates and Mr. Richard Denison were among the original promoters and the Rev. Dr. Scadding, D. B. Read, Q.C., and Dr. Canniff have continued the work of the Society.

The Industrial Exhibition Association, incorporated in 1879, commenced its first efforts in 1877. Since its incorporation it has succeeded to a marked degree. It can well claim to be the equal of any similar institution on this continent and seems to increase in importance and usefulness every year. As many as eighty thousand visitors are present on occasions, even on one day, and three hundred and twenty thousand visitors have appeared during the two weeks of the Exhibition. Its operations have been guided by the exceptional intelligence, energy and courage of the President throughout its whole history, Mr. John J. Withrow. The services he has rendered have been throughout gratuitous (except a trifle given in 1896), owing no doubt to the unwillingness of Mr. Withrow to receive any compensation. He has been ably assisted by Mr. H. J. Hill, the indefatigable Secretary, whose adaptation to that kind of work has been proved by his undoubted success.

In 1880 the Princess Louise visited Toronto with her husband, His Excellency the Marquess of Lorne. H.R.H. Prince Leopold accompanied her. The Princess was received with the most marked consideration by the citizens, and by large crowds of country people. It was estimated that at least one hundred thousand people lined the streets on that occasion. The writer was Mayor during the visit. The Vice-regal party, through the kindness of the Hon. D. A. Macdonald, then Lieu-



tenant-Governor, occupied Government House. The Ontario Premier, the Hon. (now Sir) Oliver Mowat, loyally contributed for the Province a large share of the expenses connected with the entertainment of the distinguished visitors, and the city supplied the rest. The visitors remained about three weeks, and their kindly and thoughtful interest in the various benevolent enterprises of the city endeared them to all hearts. They were also hospitably entertained at "The Hall," the residence of Colonel Sir Casimir Gzowski. At subsequent visits similar hospitality was extended. In 1873 Prince George, son of the Prince of Wales and now Duke of York, visited the city. In 1884 a semi-centennial celebration of the incorporation of Toronto was planned and carried out with great success. Mr. A. R. Boswell, *q.c.*, the Mayor, succeeded in awakening marked enthusiasm in the citizens, and Mr. W. Barclay McMurrich, *q.c.*, who had been Mayor in 1882 and who had designed the celebration, worked with much earnestness to make it a success. Prince Arthur (Duke of Connaught) visited Toronto again in the year 1889, and as usual the loyal demonstrations of the ever-loyal capital were shown in an enthusiastic manner. Mr. E. F. Clarke, *M.P.P.*, was Mayor.

It may be noticed here that the salaries of Mayors ranged from eight hundred to four thousand dollars. The Aldermen were not paid any sum until 1894, when a small compensation of \$300 was given to them. Hitherto their service had been gratuitous, and the work to be done was very considerable, especially that of the Chairmen of Committees. In 1889 valuable service was rendered by the Committee of which Alderman William Roaf was Chairman, appointed to revise and consolidate the by-laws of the city from its incorporation in 1834 down to the 13th of January, 1890. Mr. Frank J. Joseph, under the supervision of Mr. Roaf, also did useful work in the consolidation. In 1880 the largest number of conventions that had ever visited Toronto in one year were convened here. Since that time it has become a noted "Meeting Place" for the continent. It is properly the "City of Conventions," as well as the "City of Churches and Charities."

The year 1897, the Diamond Jubilee of the

reign of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, will be noted in connection with the loyalty and patriotism of the citizens of Toronto. The loyal demonstrations were widespread and unique in their unity of all creeds and classes. Some enthusiastic Aldermen—headed by Mr. John Hallam—at the expense of the city had a casket prepared for presentation to Her Majesty. Its construction from gold, silver, precious stones and beautiful woods, all Canadian products and manufactured by Canadian skill, spoke well as to the natural richness of Canada, and for the advanced intelligence of the artists and mechanics responsible for the nature and style of a gift which represented the earnest patriotism and enthusiastic loyalty of the promoters. Alderman Hallam, Chairman of the Jubilee Committee, and his colleagues, while they unwisely declined the aid of the Citizens' Committee, nevertheless worked zealously and efficiently to make the 22nd of June a memorable one in the history of Toronto. The Address of the Council to Her Majesty was admirable in matter and style, in brevity and completeness. The Earl of Aberdeen, Governor-General, with the Countess of Aberdeen, frequently visited Toronto during his term of office, and was received with marked consideration, not only on account of his official position, but from the earnest and sympathetic interest they had both taken in all charitable, benevolent and humane enterprises promoted by the people of Toronto and Canada generally. On the 12th June, 1897, an unusual event took place, probably the only one of its kind, in view of the lengthy service of the Chief Justice, that ever occurred in the Province. The Hon. (now Sir) John Hawkins Hagarty, lately Chief Justice of the Province of Ontario, after forty-one years' service on the Bench, was presented with an address by the Bar at a large meeting held in Osgoode Hall. The Hon. A. S. Hardy made the presentation, and a felicitous and appropriate reply was given by the learned and aged Chief Justice in good voice and vigorous manner, although then eighty years of age, fifty-seven of which had been engaged in legal work.

Turning to the commercial progress and standing of the city we find a notable illustration of the advancement of the country at large. The

fact that in one century Toronto has grown from about ten thousand of population to two hundred thousand carries with it undoubted proof of its commercial, financial and industrial importance. It is the chief city of a large Province now numbering two millions of people, with as fine soil, climate and other elements of natural wealth as any territory in the world of similar extent. The growth has been gradual, with occasional depressions, but on the whole steady and continuous. The excellent agricultural district surrounding the city has contributed largely to its commerce and trade. Its situation on Lake Ontario, and its commodious harbour, were leading factors in the concentration of commerce and trade in the city, as it soon became the central point for collection and distribution of the products and merchandize of a wide extent of country. Its position as the capital of Upper Canada, at times of United Canada, and then of Ontario, no doubt was useful at the start and as fixing the minds of the general public upon its location and prospects. The management of the harbour is by Commissioners appointed by the Government of Canada and by the city.

The trade of Toronto is well indicated by the interest taken by the traders, manufacturers and merchants in its Board of Trade, which was organized in 1844 by the election of Percival Ridout as President, Joseph Workman as Vice-President, and Henry Roswell as Secretary-Treasurer. It was incorporated on the 10th of March, 1845. In 1880 Mr. H. W. Darling was elected President and gave much attention for five years to the affairs of the Board, resulting in a great interest in the Board and a large increase in the membership. Five hundred merchants tendered a banquet to him and a handsome piece of plate upon his retirement. The first Annual Dinner was held December 30th, 1877, and was a brilliant affair. President William Ince was in the chair, and about two hundred and sixty members were present. In 1889 a new building was erected on the corner of Yonge and Front Streets. The estimated cost was \$400,000. The previous location of the Board was on Leader Lane. The new building is seven stories high and has 86 offices. The membership in 1897 was 850. Incidental to the organization of the Board

of Trade was the Toronto Exchange, which was formed in 1866. Robert Spratt was the first President, H. S. Howland, Vice-President, and J. E. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer. It amalgamated in 1884 with the Board of Trade. In the various advances and changes in the latter Board during fifteen years, Mr. Edgar Wills, Secretary, has had a large share, and upon him must be bestowed much of the credit resulting from the successful prosecution of the schemes of the Board, and particularly the erection of the building.

The Toronto Stock Exchange was organized by Act of Incorporation in 1878. It had previously existed for some time as an unincorporated institution. Among those who applied for incorporation only a few survive—Messrs. Robert Beaty, C. S. Gzowski, Philip Brown, R. Cockburn, E. B. Osler, M.P., and R. H. Temple. During the past twenty years there have been two or three local crises besides the more widespread ones such as the silver disturbances in the United States in 1893 and 1896, and the brokers have passed through several serious difficulties. There are now thirty-two members of the Exchange. The number of members is limited to forty, and seats have sold as high as four thousand dollars.

The increase in Toronto's mercantile business is indicated by the Customs duties paid at its port—in 1874, \$1,972,425; in 1884, \$3,186,443; in 1894, \$3,041,400. The railways have been a very important feature in the development of the commercial interests of the city. The first iron road in Western Canada was started on the 15th of October, 1851, and the first sod was turned by Lady Elgin, nearly opposite the Parliament Buildings on Front Street. This was known as the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Railway and afterwards as the Northern Railway. The first portion of the line from Toronto, about thirty miles north, was opened on the 16th of May, 1853. In 1855 it was opened to Collingwood on the Georgian Bay. Thus the waters of Lake Ontario and the Georgian Bay were united for commercial purposes. The Toronto and Hamilton Line was opened in 1855. The Grand Trunk from Montreal to Toronto was opened on the 27th of October, 1855, and was

shortly afterwards continued to Guelph and thence to the western limit of the Province. The narrow gauge, Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway, the Toronto and Nipissing, the Credit Valley, and the Ontario and Quebec and Canadian Pacific all followed in course of time. Toronto thus became a notable railway centre. The conveniences afforded from the facilities of land and water transportation in reaching the city, either for passengers or for freight, added largely to its commercial growth, and also encouraged the location of manufacturing establishments of numerous kinds. Electric railways also grew out into adjoining parts with great rapidity. For some distance there is now one running eastwardly, one westwardly and one northerly. The population of the city has made the following steady increase :

1803.....	456
1825.....	3,000
1834.....	9,000
1844.....	15,000
1854.....	40,000
1864 (about) .....	49,000
1874.....	68,000
1877.....	105,211
1894.....	188,333
1898 (about) .....	200,000

In 1880 the writer made an effort to unite to the city proper the adjoining towns and villages, such as Yorkville, Parkdale, Brockton, Riverside, Seaton Village, and other municipalities. This policy was carried out by his successors until all the then existing villages were annexed, much to their advantage and that of the city. These additions largely increased the population, and must be taken into account in considering the growth of subsequent years. The public charities of the city number sixty at least. They serve great public needs, but require more control and systematic management. To avoid imposition, a central Board for purposes of information is needed very much. The Public School system of Ontario, of which Toronto is the centre, is probably as good as, if not better than, any other in the world. The Toronto system is under a Board of School Trustees, who receive their funds from the City Council, the Board determining the amount to be expended. Mr. James L. Hughes

has been for many years an energetic and intelligent Inspector for the city. The attendance of scholars in 1896 in Toronto was over thirty-two thousand. There are Roman Catholic Separate Schools as part of the general system. It may also be mentioned that 6,000 pupils attend Toronto's Universities, Colleges and High Schools. The Police number 257, under the control of Lieut.-Colonel H. J. Grasett, and the Police Commissioners include the Mayor for the time being, the County Court Judge, and Lieut.-Colonel George T. Denison, Police Magistrate. The latter has been assisted by Hugh Miller, J.P., and Mr. R. E. Kingsford. The debt and taxation of the city, apart from the Local Improvement Debt, which was incurred for streets, sewers and sidewalks and is a charge on the local property, is comparatively small. The whole debt (1897) is \$21,775,000, of which there is on account of local improvements the sum of \$6,560,000. The city has against the general debt property, apart from taxation, amounting to \$8,500,000, and waterworks worth four millions. Of this general debt nearly the whole amount is made up of Railway Debt, Esplanade Improvement Debt, Court House Debt and other permanent work. The total assessment is about \$130,000,000.

There have been only four Treasurers since the city was incorporated. Mr. Matthew Walton was the first, and A. T. McCord was then Chamberlain—as the office was called—for over forty years. Mr. S. B. Harman, D.C.L., ex-Mayor, followed for some years, and the present competent official, Mr. R. T. Coady, has been Treasurer since 1890. The City Clerks have also been few in number, Mr. J. Harvey Price, afterwards Minister of the Crown, being the first, followed by Charles Daly for twenty-nine years. John Carr, Stephen Radcliffe, Robert Roddy and the present Clerk, John Blevins—an Alderman for eleven years, and appointed in 1884—followed in succession. The Engineers have been fourteen in number, including Thomas Young, John G. Howard, William Kingsford, C.E., William Thomas, Thomas H. Harrison, Thomas Booth, Alfred Brunet, J. H. Bennett, C. W. Johnson, Frank Shanly, C.E., Redmond J. Brough, Charles Sproatt, W. T. Jennings, C.E., and E. J. Keating, C.E., the present Engineer. City Solicitors have

not been numerous. Mr. Clarke Gamble, q.c., acted for twenty years. Following him came the Hon. John Beverley Robinson, C. R. W. Biggar, q.c., and James S. Fullerton, q.c. Thomas Caswell acted for a number of years. The first Medical Health Officer appointed was Dr. William Canniff. After him came Dr. Norman Allen and Dr. Charles Sheard, the present energetic officer. It may be said in passing that there are 256 miles of streets, 228 miles of sewers, 248 miles of water mains, and 225 miles of gas mains in Toronto.

The press has not been the least of the forces in upbuilding the city. Toronto may claim to have been always the chief journalistic city in Canada. To-day it leads on many public questions the larger portion of the press of the Dominion. Among its earlier newspapers may be named the *British Canadian*, *Herald*, *Patriot*, *Colonist*, *Examiner*, *Christian Guardian*, still published, *Star*, *Mirror* and *Banner*. The papers of to-day include the *Globe*, the *Mail and Empire*, the *World*, the *Telegram*, the *Evening News*, the

*Evening Star*, the *Catholic Register*, the *Canadian Churchman*, the *Church Evangelist*, the *Evangelical Churchman*, the *Westminster*, the *Monetary Times*, the *Merchant* and the *Canadian Baptist*. The publications, all told, number not less than one hundred and sixty. And every kind of interest, political, religious and material, seems to have its organ.

It has been a somewhat difficult task to sufficiently compress this record of a city's growth, and those seeking further information may refer to the following books:

*Toronto of Old*, by the Rev. Dr. Scadding. *Toronto, Past and Present*, by Rev. Dr. Scadding and John Charles Dent. *Toronto, Past and Present*, by J. Timperlake. *Toronto, Old and New*, by G. Mercer Adam. *Historical Sketch of Toronto*, by J. Castell Hopkins. *Toronto Called Back*, by C. Cunningham Taylor. *The Old Landmarks of Toronto*, by John Ross Robertson. *The Life of Governor Simcoe*, by D. B. Read, q.c. *Reminiscences*, by Charles Durand. *Facts about Toronto* (1897), by Alderman Daniel Lamb.

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#### THE CITIES OF CANADA—EDITOR'S NOTES

**The City of Montreal.** The following data extracted from Mr. George Johnson's *First Things in Canada* will supplement the facts given by Dr. Borthwick. M. Olier, of St. Sulpice, was ambitious to form a mission in New France in which the sick should find an hospital; the young, educational facilities; the Sulpicians, a theological seminary; and all, protection from the Indians. He and his associates, after purchasing the Island of Montreal from one of the One Hundred Associates, organized the Society of Notre Dame de Montreal, adopted Ville-Marie de Montreal as the name of the settlement they anticipated would form around the hospital, the convent, the seminary and the fort; and selected M. de Maisonneuve as the first Governor. Arriving at the Island in the autumn of 1641 the latter prepared the site and had it formally dedicated. In 1642 it was enclosed with palisades and guarded with cannon. Within the enclosure were housed the eighteen persons composing the

population. The Hotel Dieu, a massive stone fighting fortress of a hospital, was begun, finished and opened within two years' time. In 1653 actual colonization began, and grants of land were given.

The first census was taken in 1667, when there was found to be a population of 766 persons. A police force was then organized, and the first public square formed, in which was held the first public market. In 1762 the streets were named, as they are to-day, with a few exceptions. In 1688 the town was surrounded with a wooden palisade, fifteen feet high, with four gates. In 1685 the population had reached 1,360. In 1717 the inhabitants were permitted to establish an Exchange or Bourse. In 1721 a regular postal service between Montreal and Quebec was established. In 1739 the population of Montreal and *banlieue* was 4,210. In 1760 the town capitulated to the English soldiery. In 1765 the population was 5,733. In 1775 the city was occupied by the

American General Montgomery, and in the same year the *Gazette Littéraire* shed its light upon the popular intellect. In 1779 the first rudimentary canals were begun and Montreal commenced to stretch out its hands to the far north-west by organizing the North-West Trading Company in 1782.

Montreal began the present century with a population of 22,000 persons. Waterworks were begun in 1801 and completed by 1832. In 1817 the Bank of Montreal was founded. In 1832 Montreal was made a port of entry, was incorporated with a Mayor, and began the first line of docks on the river front. Gas works were started in 1836, and the city rejoiced, in the year of the Queen's accession (1837), in the opening of its first railway, the Champlain and St. Lawrence, a few months before that auspicious event took place. In 1841 an expansion of the Committee of Trade (established in 1822) resulted in the formation of the Montreal Board of Trade in 1842, with J. T. Brondgeest its first President. In 1850 foreign vessels were first permitted to proceed to Montreal, under license, for the purpose of loading—returning to Quebec for sea clearance. In 1853 the *Genova*, the first ocean steamship to arrive in Montreal, put in an appearance. In 1854 John Redpath established his great sugar refinery. By that date the ocean channel had been deepened to 16½ feet. In 1856 the Allan Bros. established a fortnightly line of steamers to England; the first train from Montreal to Toronto left on October 27th; and several important factories had found suitable sites on the banks of the Lachine Canal. In 1863 the tea business found a centre of operations in Montreal. In 1876 the Intercolonial Railway was opened. In 1879 a second large sugar refinery was established, and the railway to Quebec on the north shore of the St. Lawrence completed. In 1882 the ocean channel was deepened. On the 28th June, 1887, the first through train to the Pacific coast *via* the Canadian Pacific Railway, left Montreal. In 1888 Montreal was practically made a free port (except pilotage) by the Dominion Government assuming the Lake St. Peter's Channel debt, and by the removal of wharf dues on steamers and sailing vessels. On the 3rd June, 1889, the Canadian Pacific Rail-

way cars entered Halifax and Montreal, and the interior country had two winter ports, St. John and Halifax. In 1891 the population of Montreal was 216,650 with a very large overflow in municipalities immediately in contact with, but not then annexed to, the city.

**Canadian City Mayors.** The following lists of the Mayors of the chief cities of Canada have been obtained from the respective civic records, and will, no doubt, prove of value for reference:

MAYORS OF TORONTO.

- 1834.....William Lyon Mackenzie.  
 1835.....Hon. Robert Baldwin Sullivan, Q.C.  
 1836.....Thomas D. Morrison, M.D.  
 1837.....George Gurnett.  
 1838-40..John Powell.  
 1841.....George Munro.  
 1842-44..Hon. Henry Sherwood, Q.C.  
 1845-47..William Henry Boulton.  
 1848-50..George Gurnett.  
 1851-53..John George Bowes.  
 1854..... { Joshua George Beard.  
                   { Hon. John Beverley Robinson, *President*.  
 1855.....Hon. George William Allan.  
 1856.....Hon. John Beverley Robinson.  
 1857.....John Hutchison.  
 1858..... { William Henry Boulton.  
                   { David Breckenridge Read, Q.C.  
 1859.....Hon. (Sir) Adam Wilson, Q.C.  
 1860..... { Hon. Sir Adam Wilson, Q.C.  
                   { John Carr, *President*.  
 1861-63..John George Bowes.  
 1864-66..Francis H. Medcalf.  
 1867-68..James E. Smith.  
 1869.....Samuel Bickerton Harman.  
                   { Samuel Bickerton Harman.  
 1870..... { George D'Arcy Boulton, *President*.  
 1871-72..Joseph Sheard.  
 1873.....Alexander Manning.  
 1874.....Francis H. Medcalf.  
 1875..... { Francis H. Medcalf.  
                   { John Baxter, *President*.  
 1876.....Angus Morrison.  
 1877..... { Angus Morrison.  
                   { Patrick G. Close, *President*.  
 1878.....Angus Morrison.  
 1879-80..James Beatty, Jr., D.C.L., Q.C.

1881-82..William Barclay McMurrich, q.c.  
 1883-84..Arthur R. Boswell, q.c.  
 1885.....Alexander Manning.  
 1886-87..William H. Howland.  
 1888-91..Edward F. Clarke, M.P.P.  
 1892-93..Robert J. Fleming.  
 1894-95..Warring Kennedy.  
 1896.....Robert J. Fleming.  
 1897.....{ Robert J. Fleming, 1st six months.  
                   John Shaw, last six months.  
 1898-99..John Shaw.

## MAYORS OF MONTREAL.

1833-40...Jacques Viger.  
 1840-43...Hon. Peter McGill.  
 1843-45...Joseph Bourret.  
 1845-47...Hon. James Ferrier.  
 1847-48...John E. Mills.  
 1848-49...Joseph Bourret.  
 1849-51...E. R. Fabre.  
 1851-54...Charles Wilson.  
 1854-56...Wolfred Nelson.  
 1856-58...Hon. Henry Starnes.  
 1858-62...Hon. C. S. Rodier.  
 1862-66...Hon. J. L. Beaudry.  
 1866-68...Hon. H. Starnes.  
 1868-71...W. Workman.  
 1871-73...C. J. Coursol.  
 1873-74...Francis Cassidy.  
 1874-75...A. Bernard.  
 1875-77...Hon. (Sir) W. H. Hingston.  
 1877-79...Hon. J. L. Beaudry.  
 1879-81...S. Rivard.  
 1881-85...Hon. J. L. Beaudry.  
 1885-87...H. Beaugrand.  
 1887-89...Hon. (Sir) J. J. C. Abbott.  
 1889-91...Jacques Grenier.  
 1891-93...Hon. James McShane.  
 1893-94...Hon. Alphonse Desjardins.  
 1894-96...J. O. Villeneuve.  
 1896-98...R. Wilson Smith.  
 1898-1900..R. Prefontaine.

## MAYORS OF OTTAWA.

1850 .....John Scott.  
 1851 .....Charles Sparrow.  
 1852 .....Hon. R. W. Scott.  
 1853 .....J. B. Turgeon.  
 1854 .....Henry J. Friel.  
 1855-57...J. B. Lewis.

1856-59...Edward McGillivray.  
 1850-62...Alexander Workman.  
 1863 .....Henry J. Friel.  
 1864-66...M. K. Dickinson.  
 1867 .....Robert Lyon.  
 1868-69...Henry J. Friel.  
 1870-71...John Rochester.  
 1872-73...E. Martineau.  
 174-5...J. P. Featherston.  
 1876 .....G. B. L. Fellowes.  
 1877 .....W. H. Waller.  
 1878 .....G. W. Bangs.  
 1879-81...P. St. Jean.  
 1884 .....C. T. Bate.  
 1885-86...Francis McDougal.  
 1887-88...McLeod Stewart  
 1889-90...Jacob Erratt.  
 1891 .....Thomas Birkett.  
 1892-93...Olivier Durocher.  
 1894 .....George Cox.  
 1895-96...William Borthwick.  
 1897-98...Samuel Bingham.

## MAYORS OF QUEBEC.

1833-34...Elziér Bédard,  
 1834-46...Hon. R. E. Caron.  
 1846-49...G. O. Stewart.  
 1850-52...Hon. (Sir) N. F. Belleau.  
 1853 .....Hon. U. J. Tessier.  
 1854 .....Charles Alleyn.  
 1855 .....Joseph Morrin.  
 1856 .....O. Robitaille.  
 1857 .....Joseph Morrin.  
 1858-60...Hon. (Sir) H. L. Langevin.  
 1861-63...Thomas Pope.  
 1864-65...A. G. Tourangeau.  
 1866-67...Hon. Joseph E. Cauchon.  
 1868-69...J. Lemesurier.  
 1869-70...W. Hossack.  
 1870 .....A. G. Tourangeau.  
 1870-73...Hon. P. Garneau.  
 1874-77...O. Murphy.  
 1878-79...R. Chambers.  
 1880-81...J. D. Brousseau.  
 1882-90...Hon. Francois Langelier.  
 1890-94...J. J. T. Frémont.  
 1894-98...Hon. S. N. Parent.

## MAYORS OF HALIFAX.

1841 .....Stephen Binney.

1842 .....Hon. (Sir) Edward Kenny.  
 1842 .....Thomas Williamson.  
 1843 .....Alexander Keith.  
 1844 .....Hon. Hugh Bell.  
 1845 .....Andrew McKinley.  
 1846 .....Joseph Jennings.  
 1847 .....William Stairs.  
 1848 .....Adam Hemmeon.  
 1849 .....Henry Pryor.  
 1850 .....William Caldwell.  
 1851 .....Andrew McKinley.  
 1852 .....Hon. A. Keith.  
 1853-54...Henry Pryor.  
 1855-56...Archibald Scott.  
 1857-58...Henry Prior.  
 1859-60...Samuel R. Caldwell.  
 1861-63...Hon. P. C. Hill.  
 1864-66...M. H. Richey.  
 1867-69...Stephen Tobin.  
 1870 .....Hon. W. A. Henry.  
 1871 .....William Dunbar.  
 1872 .....James Duggan.  
 1873-74...John A. Sinclair.  
 1875-77...M. H. Richey.  
 1878-80...Stephen Tobin.  
 1881-83...George Fraser  
 1884-86...James C. Mackintosh.  
 1887-88...Patrick O'Mullin.  
 1889-91...David McPherson.  
 1892-94...Michael F. Keefe.  
 1895-96...David McPherson.  
 1897-98...Alexander Stephen.

## MAYORS OF ST. JOHN.

1785 .....Gabriel G. Ludlow.  
 1795 .....William Campbell.  
 1816 .....John Robinson.  
 1828 .....William Black.  
 1829 .....Lauchlan Donaldson.  
 1832 .....William Black.  
 1833 .....John M. Wilmot.  
 1834 .....Benjamin L. Peters.  
 1835 .....William H. Street.  
 1836 .....John Robertson.  
 1837 .....Robert F. Hazen.  
 1840 .....William Black.  
 1843 .....Lauchlan Donaldson  
 1847 .....John R. Pertelow.  
 1848 .....William H. Street.  
 1849 .....Robert D. Wilmot

1850 .....Henry Chubb.  
 1851 .....Thomas Harding.  
 1852 .....William O. Smith.  
 1853-54...James Oliver.  
 1855 .....William O. Smith.  
 1859 .....Thomas McAvity.  
 1863 .....Isaac Woodward.  
 1866 .....Aaron Alward.  
 1870 .....Thomas M. Reed.  
 1874 .....A. Chipman Smith.  
 1877 .....Sylvester Z. Earle.  
 1879 .....Charles R. Ray.  
 1881 .....Simeon Jones.  
 1884 .....James MacGregor Grant.  
 1885 .....J. S. Boys DeVeber.  
 1887 .....Henry J. Thorne,  
                   { George A. Barker.  
 1889.....  { I. Allen Jack (Recorder).  
                   { W. Albert Lockhart.  
 1891 .....Thomas W. Peters.  
 1894 .....George Robertson.  
 1898 .....Edward Sears.

## MAYORS OF WINNIPEG.

1874 .....Francis Evans Cornish.  
 1875-76...William N. Kennedy.  
 1877-78...Thomas Scott.  
 1879-80...Alexander Logan.  
 1881 .....E. G. Conklin.  
 1882 .....Alexander Logan.  
 1883 .....Alexander McMicken.  
 1884 .....Alexander Logan.  
 1885 .....Charles Edward Hamilton.  
 1886 .....Henry S. Wesbrook.  
 1887-88...Lyman M. Jones.  
 1889 .....Thomas Ryan.  
 1890-91...Alfred Pearson.  
 1892 .....Alexander Macdonald.  
 1893-94...T. W. Taylor.  
 1895 .....Thomas Gilroy.  
 1896 .....R. W. Jamieson.  
 1897 .....W. F. McCreary.  
 1898 .....A. J. Andrews.

## MAYORS OF VICTORIA.

1862-65...Thomas Harris.  
 1866 .....Lumley Franklin.  
 1867 .....Hon. William J. Macdonald.  
 1868-70...James Trimble.  
 1871 .....A. Rocke Robertson.

1872 .....	Richard Lewis.	Three Rivers.....	1857	8,670	8,334	9,032
1873.....	{ James E. McMullan. James D. Robinson.	St. Hyacinthe ....	1857	5,321	7,016	9,230
1874 .....		William Dalby.	New Westminster	1860	1,500	6,641
1875-76...	J. S. Drummond.	Victoria .....	1862	5,925	16,841	20,000
1877 .....	Hon. M. W. T. Drake.	Winnipeg .....	1873	7,985	25,642	37,000
1878 .....	Roderick Finlayson.	Hull .....	1875	6,890	11,265	11,973
1879-81...	Hon. J. H. Turner.	St. Catharines ...	1876	9,631	9,170	9,423
1882 .....	Noah Shakespeare.	Belleville .....	1877	9,516	9,914	11,000
1883 .....	Charles E. Redfern.	Brantford .....	1877	9,616	12,753	15,954
1884 .....	Joseph W. Carey.	Guelph .....	1879	9,890	10,539	10,500
1885 .....	R. P. Rithet.	St. Thomas .....	1881	8,367	10,370	10,563
1886-87...	James Fell.	Stratford.....	1885	8,239	9,501	10,624
1888-91...	John Grant.	Vancouver.....	1886	.....	13,685	17,000
1892-93...	Hon. Robert Beaven.	Windsor.....	1892	6,561	10,322	13,000
1894-95...	John Teague.	Peterborough .....	1850	6,812	9,717	10,835
1896 .....	Hon. Robert Beaven.					
1897-98...	Charles E. Redfern.					

MAYORS OF VANCOUVER.

1886-87.	M. A. McLean.	St. John, N.B.	3,032,448	23,382,900	14½
1888-91...	D. Oppenheimer.	Toronto .....	16,674,811	146,338,684	16¼
1892-93...	F. Cope.	Quebec.....	6,374,166	1,276,813	17½
1894 .....	R. A. Anderson.	Montreal.....	23,600,000	170,000,000	12½
1895-96...	H. Collins.	Halifax .....	2,915,016	25,643,510	13½
1897 .....	Hon. W. Templeman.	Kingston .....	834,377	6,518,235	17½
1898 .....	J. F. Garden.	Hamilton.....	3,161,394	25,138,220	20
		Fredericton...	238,000	2,915,171	9½
		London .....	2,052,000	15,856,410	20½
		Ottawa.....	3,551,479	19,775,145	21½
		Charlottetown	306,000	2,649,757	11¼
		Three Rivers..	488,316	2,348,422	8½
		St. Hyacinthe	424,900	2,924,675	5

**Canadian Civic Statistics.** Some of the figures given below were compiled for the *Star Almanac* of Montreal in 1896 and are well worth republishing for reference. Others are from the Census returns :

City.	Date of Incorporation.	Census. 1881.	Census. 1891.	Estimated 1895.	Municipal debt June 30th, 1895.	Assessed Value of Property.	Rate of Taxation in Mills on dollar.
St. John.....	1785	41,353	39,179	45,000			
Toronto .....	1834	96,196	181,220	188,914			
Quebec .....	1840	62,446	63,090	70,000			
Montreal .....	1840	155,237	216,650	250,000			
Halifax .....	1841	36,100	38,556	41,000			
Kingston .....	1846	14,091	19,264	18,000			
Hamilton .....	1846	35,960	48,980	48,491			
Fredericton .....	1848	6,218	6,502	7,500			
London .....	1855	26,266	31,977	34,429			
Ottawa .....	1855	31,307	44,154	47,775			
Charlottetown .....	1855	11,485	11,374	12,000			
minster.....					171,741	3,585,500	(b)
Victoria .....					1,874,000	14,888,673	15
Winnipeg.....					2,478,700	22,168,990	20
Hull .....					386,000	2,228,859	12½
St. Catharines					not given	4,285,775	not given
Belleville .....					408,000	4,005,000	20¼
Brantford.....					727,610	7,467,841	17
Guelph .....					480,915	3,764,950	24
St. Thomas ...					332,838	4,252,779	16
Stratford .....					347,800	4,470,610	20¼
Vancouver ....					not given	18,301,084	not given
Windsor.....					850,798	5,500,000	21½
Peterborough .					245,650	4,339,782	16



## SECTION IV.

FINANCIAL HISTORY, LOAN COMPANIES AND INSURANCE.



## SKETCH OF CANADIAN FINANCIAL HISTORY

BY

The HON. GEORGE E. FOSTER, B.A., LL.D., D.C.L., M.P., Late Finance Minister of the Dominion.

THE establishment of Confederation in 1867 introduced a striking change into the management of all Government finances in the new Dominion, both in basis and scope. Up to that time each Province had been paramount within its borders, restrained by no limitation of powers or division of effort. Vexed questions had, of course, arisen as to the prerogative of the Crown, powers of the Executive Government and the rights of the Legislature, but by 1867 these had been fairly well settled.

Under Provincial administration revenues had been collected without raising any question of direct or indirect taxation—both methods being open to the Legislatures—and without any reference to source other than relative availability from either a productive or political point of view. In like manner expenditures had been made with no distinctions as to objects other than those demanded by the necessities of the case, and which the available revenues permitted. Debts had been contracted and obligations incurred which had to be met by each Province. When, therefore, the idea was broached of having a Union of the Provinces, and, supervening between the Provincial Legislature and the Crown, a superior body-politic, the difficult and intensely important question had to be decided as to the division of powers—the modes of taxation and scope of expenditure; the assumption of public properties and of Provincial debts.

Henceforth the revenue basis of the Provinces was to be limited, and it became necessary to fix with exactitude the powers, the burdens and the duties of the Provincial and the Dominion administrations, respectively. This was effected in two ways. First, to the Local and the Federal Legislatures was given exclusive jurisdiction in certain subjects, and the financial powers of each

followed the division of subjects. Secondly, express provision was made as to the debts with which each Province was to enter the Dominion, or, in other words, as to the obligations at that time running which were to be assumed by the Federal power, and the properties which were to be set over against them.

An examination of the Act of Confederation, 1867, will clearly illustrate this. There were some subjects in which both Provincial and Federal authority could be exercised, but, in so far as each proceeded, the respective Government was to make its own provisions for the necessary finances. Briefly, then, the Federal authority carries the public debt assumed for the Provinces in 1867, or since added in any way; administers all public properties given over to it in 1867 or since added; has power of raising revenue by any mode of taxation and of borrowing on the public credit; provides for the postal, military and naval services and, generally, for all classes of services not exclusively assigned to the Legislatures of the Provinces. The Local Legislatures have the power to raise revenues by direct taxation alone; can borrow on the sole credit of the Province: and provide for the management of public lands, prisons, asylums, hospitals and charities, the sale of liquor, purely local works and undertakings, the administration of Justice in the Province, education and local matters generally. In the matter of Agriculture and Immigration each has jurisdiction, but in such a way that Provincial Acts shall not be repugnant to Federal enactments. Henceforth the Provinces were to have a limited and specific field of financial operations, and the Dominion a specific and much wider field, and with the exception of two or three subjects only there was no concurrent jurisdiction.

*The Debt.* The debt of the Dominion of Canada for all true purposes of comparison or judgment must be divided into two classes:

1. That which has been contracted by Provinces up to the time of their entering the Confederation, or which on a fair basis of equalization might be allowed as having been contracted.

2. That which has been added since 1867 on account of works and expenditures undertaken and completed by the Federal Government.

In explanation of the former, it may be stated that in some Provinces the debt was comparatively small, whilst in Ontario and Quebec it was comparatively large, and the disparity was equalized by the expedient of assuming a certain proportion of the debt of the latter, and by allowing to the former a nominal debt larger than the actual one, the excess of which should remain as an asset of the Province with interest at five per cent. per annum until it should be absorbed. For the excess of the debt of Ontario and Quebec above what was assumed by the Dominion, the Federal Government was liable, but on this excess the Provincial Governments were to pay interest to the Dominion at five per cent. per annum. In further explanation of the classes of debt mentioned above it may be said that the division of assumed indebtedness settled in 1867 was subsequently altered on various occasions, either because in itself it was considered inequitable, or because it was deemed advisable in the interest of the Provinces to grant further relief, or in consequence of the admission of new Provinces to the Confederation. With these explanations let me examine briefly the growth and extent of the Federal Debt. In 1867 under the Act of Confederation the allocation of assumed indebtedness was as follows:

For the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec .....	\$62,500,000
For the Province of Nova Scotia.....	8,000,000
“ “ New Brunswick .....	7,000,000
Total.....	\$77,500,000

In 1869 a further allowance was made to Nova Scotia of \$1,186,756, and this was read into the terms of 1867 in such wise that Nova Scotia should be considered as having entered Confederation with a debt of \$9,186,756. In 1870 Man-

itoba was added to the Union with a debt allowance of \$472,090. In 1871 British Columbia came into Confederation with a debt allowance of \$1,666,200. In 1873 Prince Edward Island entered with a debt of \$4,927,060. In 1873 Ontario and Quebec were allowed the excess of their actual over their assumed debt of 1867, which excess amounted to \$10,506,089; i.e., the Dominion assumed this in addition to the \$62,500,000 assumed in 1867; and, in order to preserve equality, proportional increases were allowed to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba and British Columbia. Again, in 1884, re-adjustments were made which resulted in increases in the assumed debts of all the Provinces, and in 1886 a substantial increase took place in the case of Manitoba. The following table will best illustrate the details and final result of the various adjustments above noted:

*Debt Allowances to Provinces.*

Year.	Ontario & Quebec.	Nova Scotia.	New Brunswick.	Manitoba.	British Columbia.	P. E. Island.
1867.....	\$62,500,000	9,186,756	7,000,000	.....	.....	.....
1872.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,666,200	.....
1873.....	10,506,088	1,341,780	1,176,680	551,147	280,084	.....
1874.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,927,060
1884.....	5,397,502	793,368	604,519	110,825	83,107	182,973
1885.....	.....	5,420	.....	.....	.....	.....
1886.....	.....	.....	.....	3,113,333	.....	.....
Total.....	\$78,403,590	11,330,324	8,781,199	3,775,606	2,029,391	5,110,033

The total final indebtedness of, and for, the Provinces, assumed by the Federal Government, is now (July 1, 1897) \$109,430,148—a very considerable portion, as will appear hereafter, of the whole public debt of Canada. The greater part of this amount had been expended for railway and canal construction, and in necessary public works in the various Provinces. These debts were assumed by the Dominion because of the nature of the works on which the money had been expended, and because, as the Federal Government took over the revenues from Customs and Excise, and hence absorbed the most productive sources of taxation, it was considered just that it should assume the burden of carrying the cost of the public works. But besides the debts assumed for, or allowed to, the Provinces, the Federal Government has been expending yearly upon great public works in Canada a large amount of money over and above what has been available for that purpose out of the current revenues. This amounted at the end

of the fiscal year, 1896-7, to \$152,108,448, and, added to the \$109,430,148 assumed for the Provinces, constitutes the total net debt of the Dominion, on the above date, of \$261,538,596. The following table of Expenditures on Capital Account since 1867 will show at a glance the class of works responsible for this increase in the public debt:

Canadian Pacific Railway.....	\$62,733,469
Canals .....	48,768,827
Intercolonial and connected Railways, including P.E.I.R.....	46,380,825
North-West Territories .....	3,801,398
Dominion Lands (Surveys, &c.) .....	3,842,499
Public Buildings and Works.....	9,431,363
Militia—new equipment.....	1,745,964

\$176,704,345

It will be observed that these expenditures are in excess of the net addition to the public debt, the excess having been met out of surplus revenues after current expenses were paid. A second division of the Public Debt is made in the accounts into the Gross and Net. This is based on the fact that Canada has assets as well as liabilities. In 1867 the gross debt of Canada was \$93,046,051, and the assets, or investments, \$17,317,410, and the net debt found by subtracting the assets from the gross debt was \$75,728,641. In 1897 the gross debt was \$332,530,131, the assets \$70,991,534, and the net debt \$261,538,596. The investments, or assets, include interest-bearing assets, loans to public works, cash and bank accounts only, and, of course, exclude all public works built wholly or in part with Government funds. The following table shows the assets of 1897:

Sinking Fund.....	\$38,516,189
Other investments.....	6,261,527
Province Accounts .....	10,606,502
Miscellaneous .....	15,607,765
	\$70,991,983

On this, \$1,448,003 of interest was received, or at the rate of about two per cent., whilst the interest paid on the gross debt was at the rate of 3.20 per cent. From the preceding it will be seen that Canada must have had recourse to

loans in order to carry on its large expenditures. These have been raised in part from her own people, but mainly from the London market. From her own people loans have been made through three agencies—the Savings Bank, the Government Note Currency, and the sale or issue of Canadian Stock. In the system of Government and Postal Savings Banks, the people are encouraged to deposit their small earnings, at a fair interest, and with perfect security. The rate allowed has varied from four per cent. in 1871 to three per cent. at the present time, and the amount on deposit has increased from \$1,687,807 in 1868 to \$48,934,975 in 1897. By the system of Government issue of small note currency, and large notes for banking purposes, a considerable loan is raised at small cost. The Government has the exclusive issue of notes for less than \$5, to an amount limited by Parliament, and for the redemption of which gold and guaranteed securities to the amount of 25 per cent. of the issue must be kept, as also 75 per cent. of Debentures of the Government. These notes are issued through the banks of the country and are redeemable in gold. The amount of these notes current at the end of the fiscal year 1897 was \$22,318,096. Since Confederation several issues of Dominion Stock have been authorized. In 1868 a six per cent. stock was issued which attained a maximum currency of \$4,516,499 in 1872, and ran at about that amount till 1879, when the most of it was retired. In 1872 a five per cent. stock was issued and in 1881 \$9,626,307 of this stock was held by the public. In 1884 a four per cent. stock was opened for subscription which in 1888 attained a currency of \$5,030,822. In 1891 a 3½ per cent. stock was issued which in 1897 was held to the amount of \$3,150,514. The total amount of all these stocks outstanding on June 30th, 1897, was \$5,085,137.

But it is in London that the principal loans have been made by the Dominion. These have in some instances been guaranteed by the British Government, and in earlier years were floated with the Sinking Fund attachment. Of late no guarantees have been asked, nor have any loans made since 1884 had a sinking fund attached. The total debt payable in London, in 1867, was \$67,069,115, of which \$34,565,500, or over one

half, bore six per cent. interest ; \$31,822,282 bore five per cent. ; and the remaining \$681,333 was running at four per cent., being a loan guaranteed by the Imperial Government. In 1872 9½ per cent. of the loans payable in London bore four per cent. interest (guaranteed by the British Government), 45 per cent. bore five per cent., and 45½ per cent. ran at six per cent. In 1882 the loans bearing six per cent. were only 7½ per cent. of the total payable in London, those bearing five per cent. interest were 25½ of the total, whilst those bearing four per cent. interest were 67 per cent. of the total. By June 30th, 1897, the whole of the six per cent. bonds had disappeared, but \$2,433,333 remained of the five per cent. bonds. \$140,856,894 bore four per cent., \$24,333,333 bore 3½ per cent and \$50,602,241 bore three per cent. In the autumn of that year a loan was placed in London which, including costs and charges, bore 2⅞ per cent.—and this latest loan marks the strong contrast between 1867 and the present, and emphasizes the immensely cheaper borrowing as compared with the opening years of Confederation. The appended table shows at a glance the loan transactions between the Dominion Government and the London market, the marked rise in Canadian credit and the significant decrease in rates of interest :

CANADIAN LOANS.

Year.	Amount of Loan. £	Rate of Interest.	Price realized per £100.			Actual rate of interest paid.
			£	s.	d.	
1869...	*1,500,000 500,000	4½	105	12	11	4½
1873...	*1,500,000 *300,000	4½	104	7	8	3⅞
1874...	4,000,000	4	90	3	3	4½
1875...	*1,500,000 1,000,000	4½	99	1	8	4½
1876...	2,500,000	4	91	.....	.....	4¼
1878...	*1,500,000 1,500,000	4½	96	11	9	4½
1879...	3,000,000	4	95	1	10	4½
1884...	5,000,000	3½	91	2	2	4¼
1885...	4,000,000	4	101	1	8	4⅞
1885...	{ Canada reduced 6,443,136 }	4	.....	.....	.....	4½
1888...	4,000,000	3	95	1	0	3¼
1892...	2,250,000	3	92	0	10	3⅝
1894...	2,250,000	3	97	9	2	3⅞
1897...	2,000,000	2½	91	10	5	2⅞

\*Guaranteed.

The loans payable in London, and now bearing over three per cent., mature at different dates, but all before Oct. 1st, 1913. As these fall due they will no doubt be renewed at about 2½ per cent., and the saving in interest upon the \$167,623,260 included above will be very considerable. This now bears a net interest rate of 3.72 per cent. and the saving will therefore be represented by 1.20 per cent. Whether the change will operate an absolute saving in interest paid, or make it possible to carry a larger indebtedness without added interest burden, remains to be seen. In 1897 the total interest paid in London to support a debt of \$218,225,503 was \$8,125,564. At 2½ per cent. the same amount of interest would carry an indebtedness of \$225,026,560. It would not be wise, however, to contemplate a debt solely from the standpoint of interest. The principal must sometime be met, and ordinary prudence will shrink from an excessive increase of the liabilities of the country.

*The Revenue.* The Revenue of Canada is derived from two sources: Earnings and Taxation. The former is illustrated by the Post Office, which performs an invaluable service to the country and charges therefor at fixed rates. These charges produced a revenue in 1897 of \$3,202,938. The other examples of revenue earners are Railways, Canals, Public Works, Dominion Lands, and Interest-bearing Investments. The revenue derived from all sources under Earnings was, in 1868, \$1,987,247, in 1897, \$9,181,152. Of course the expenses of operating these revenue earners exceed the revenue obtained, but that does not affect the point now under consideration. The bulk of the revenue is, however, raised from taxation, chiefly of two kinds, viz.: that derived from Excise tax on Liquor and Tobacco, and that from dutiable imports coming through the Customs. In 1897 the amounts severally obtained from these sources were :

Excise—	{ Spirits, Wine and Beer }	\$9,170,378
	{ Tobacco, all varieties... }	
Customs.....		19,478,247

Total.....\$28,648,625

These revenues have expanded greatly since 1867, as will be seen from the subjoined table

showing the average amount from each source for five year periods:

Inclusive.	Earnings.	Excise.	Customs.	Total.
1868-72	2,738,523	3,672,767	10,162,912	16,574,202
1873-77	3,918,236	5,125,931	13,600,220	22,644,387
1878-82	4,985,848	5,141,948	15,948,498	26,076,294
1883-87	7,066,952	6,065,925	22,744,250	33,877,128
1888-92	8,185,825	7,087,258	22,740,405	38,014,488
1893-97	8,843,022	8,330,110	19,420,822	36,593,954

A glance at the enactments relative to this branch of revenue from Confederation up will show: (1) That Excise on Tobacco and Liquors has been imposed with a view to ensure the largest possible revenue—the maximum rate levied being regulated by the consideration of possible danger in passing the productive limit. The present rates levied are the highest in the history of the country, and it is open to grave doubt if they do not transcend the limit of production. (2) That the Customs tariffs since Confederation have either been framed with, or have attained, a double object—that of producing the revenue required and at the same time of placing Canadian products, natural and artificial, on the more or less advantageous basis of protected industries as compared with similar products of other countries. The average tariff rate on dutiable imports for home consumption has varied from 20.16 per cent. in 1868 to 30.04 per cent. for the year 1897. From 1868 to 1873 it averaged 19.70 per cent.; from 1874 to 1878, 20.37 per cent.; from 1897 to 1896, 23.43 per cent.; and for 1897 it was 30.04—whilst in every tariff enactment the item-rates grade from an absolutely low revenue import to a highly protective duty. So far the Dominion Government has not exercised its right of direct taxation, unless the stamp tax at one time collected be so classed. This tax was abolished in 1882.

*Expenditure.* The expenditures of the Federal Government are grouped under two heads—those on Consolidated Fund account and those on Capital account. All the revenues of the country from whatever source go into a common fund, called the Consolidated Fund of Canada. The borrowings of the country through Savings Banks and by Stock or Debenture issues go to Capital account. All the yearly services of the country are a charge upon the Consolidated Fund, including charges on

debt and sinking fund, subsidies to Provinces, Legislatures, Civil Government, Public Works and Buildings, Railways, Canals, administration of Justice, Mounted Police, Lighthouse and Coast service, Immigration and Quarantine, administration of Customs and Excise, and all minor services. If this Fund is more than sufficient to meet the cost of these services there is a surplus which goes to Capital account and may be used to supplement the Capital expenditure, or diminish the public debt; if this Fund is insufficient there is a deficit on Consolidated Fund account which must be met out of capital borrowings.

The line drawn between Consolidated Fund expenditures and those from Capital is not in all cases a consistent or logical one. For instance, an item of \$15,000 for dredging the Kaministiquia River is charged to Capital, but the whole general dredging work of Canada is defrayed from the Consolidated Fund. General railway subsidies are a charge on Consolidated Fund, while special great Railways grants, such as those to the C. P. R. main line and Crow's Nest Pass are provided for out of Capital. The rule which governs, though there are a few exceptions, is this:

The ordinary services of the country as established above are by statute a charge upon the Consolidated Fund; extraordinary services, which in their nature are too comprehensive and expensive to be met by the ordinary revenue, are by enactments, special or as provided in the supply bill, debited to Capital, and money is to be borrowed therefor. The surplus of Consolidated Fund, if any, goes to help out the Capital expenditure, and the deficit when it occurs must be met by Capital-loans. The terms, surplus and deficit, are therefore technical terms and do not as to the first show that in the year's total transactions there has been anything to the credit of the country, nor as to the second that the sum indicated as deficit is the total amount to go to the debit of the country for the year's transactions. To know the exact outcome for the year one must have regard to all the expenditures as compared with the total revenue—the gain or loss, the credit or debit, will then show the result of the year's operations. Judged by that standard Canada has had but two surpluses since

Confederation—in the years 1871 and 1882, in which the debt was diminished by \$503,224 and \$1,734,129 respectively.

The expenditure on Consolidated Fund account may be divided into two classes: that which goes to the Provinces to be expended by them independent entirely of the Federal authority; and that which is entirely administered by the Federal Executive. In the first class are embraced all subsidies, and allowances which, in lieu of surrendered powers of taxation or for purposes of Provincial Government, were authorized and made obligatory under the British North American Act or subsequent Dominion legislation. These in 1868 amounted to \$2,753,966, and in 1897 to \$4,238,059. The increase has been \$1,485,093—owing to the allowance being in part based on a payment per capita of the population and in part to enlargements and adjustments made by the Dominion Parliament.

All other expenditures are made either in pursuance of statutory enactments of a permanent or special character, or under the authority of the yearly supply bill voted by Parliament. There is one exception to this rule in the case of expenditure by Governor-General's Warrants; an exception rendered necessary for public safety and security on extraordinary occasions, but which is liable to abuse unless very prudently and wisely exercised. Its use has in fact been more than once criticised. The Warrant is authorized by law and the conditions under which it is issued are laid down in the Act. The object is to provide for an expenditure not foreseen and not authorized by the supply bill or other enactments when it is needed to provide against sudden and unforeseen disaster or exigency. If, for instance, as the result of a storm, a public wharf is swept away, and the necessities of business require immediate re-building, then, if there is no Parliamentary appropriation therefor, a Warrant may be issued in lieu thereof. A list of all such Warrants is to be submitted to Parliament each year within fifteen days after its opening, and the sums so expended must be placed in the supplementary estimates and voted. The following table shows the expenditures on Consolidated Fund account, grouped under general headings for the years 1868 and 1897:

	1868.	1897.
1. Charges on Public Debt.	\$4,860,757	\$10,960,977
2. Subsidies to Provinces.	2,753,966	4,238,059
3. Sinking Fund.....	355,266	2,101,813
4. Collection of Revenue..	1,885,804	9,336,916
5. Miscellaneous Expendi- ture.....	3,630,298	11,711,993
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$13,486,091	38,349,758

The growth of the Public Debt is responsible for the great increase in item one—the interest paid in 1897 being \$10,645,663, or \$6,144,095 more than in 1868. Item 2 shows an increase of \$1,484,093, due to the increase of population and the fact that the subsidy is paid on a per capita basis. Item 3 is the amount set aside and invested for ultimate payment of the loans to which Sinking Funds are attached. Item 4 shows the cost of administering the various revenue-collecting departments, including Customs, Excise, Post Office, Railways and Canals, Public Works, Dominion Lands, Inspection of Food and Staples, cutting of Timber and Weights and Measures—outside, of course, of that included in Civil Government *i.e.*, the Staff Departments at Ottawa. Under item 5 are grouped the Administration of Justice, which from 1868 to 1897 has increased from \$291,243 to \$774,762; Arts and Agriculture from \$5,581 to \$224,390; Civil Government from \$574,442 to \$1,418,847; Fisheries from \$30,572 to \$443,587; Geological Survey from \$28,600 to \$146,994; Immigration from \$36,050 to \$127,438; Quarantine from \$24,346 to \$120,162; Indians from nothing to \$908,064; Legislation from \$595,810 to \$1,134,773; Lighthouse and Coast Service from \$174,983 to \$445,743; Steamship Subsidies from \$177,349 to \$553,812; Militia and Defence from \$1,013,016 to \$1,667,588; Mounted Police from nothing to \$526,162; Ocean and River Service from \$92,162 to \$183,258; Penitentiaries from \$209,369 to \$409,598; Public Works from \$126,270 to \$1,463,719; Superannuation from nothing to \$307,793; and a few other branches of service of minor importance.

What strikes one on studying the above summary is first the great increase between the years mentioned, and, secondly, the prepondering proportion of what may be called fixed charges. As



to the first we must not fail to note the vast extension of territory, the wide distribution of population, and the imperative call for modern public services thus made necessary. To the four original Provinces have been added three others and the immense stretches of the North-West and the Yukon. Over this vast region the wave of population has spread thinly but rapidly, attracted by fertile soil and newly-discovered mineral areas. These demand the establishment of law and order, postal and other conveniences, and the essential advantages of transport facilities by land and water; and our even moderate attempt to supply their demands has entailed large expenditures, which, though unproductive in revenue returns, have in the main been potential and wealth-producing factors. The other branch of public expenditure—that on Capital Account—merits a brief space for description. The following table will show the nature of the expenditures, the increase therein, and the total expended during the period under discussion:

	1838.	1897.	Total 1868 to 1897.
Canals.....	\$ 51,458	\$2,348,636	\$ 48,768,727
Canadian Pacific Railway.....		14,054	62,733,469
Dominion Lands.....		91,411	3,842,499
Intercolonial Railway.....	455,249	190,596	45,744,995
Militia.....		745,964	1,745,964
Debts allowed to Provinces.....			30,743,392
Public Buildings, Ottawa.....	41,689		2,163,544
Other Public Works.....		129,237	7,267,819
P. E. Island Railway.....			635,830
N.W. Territories.....		3,284	3,801,398
Total.....	\$548,396	\$3,523,182	\$207,447,637

Of this amount \$21,637,687 has been contributed from surpluses on Consolidated Fund Account; the remaining \$185,809,955 is due to increase of debt. It will be seen that, outside the \$30,743,392 of debt allowances to Provinces, over \$157,000,000 are represented in the Government system of Railways and Canals, and the country's subvention to the Canadian Pacific Railway. Large expenditures were absolutely necessary, as well for opening up the country and developing its resources, as for retaining its native population and attracting new settlers. The vast reaches of the North-West, destined to be granaries of the future with possible homes for a population of many millions, were practically worthless unless artificial and adequate transport

facilities were made available. The long lines of water communication were useless for six or seven months of the year, and even for the remaining open navigation period were useful more in an auxiliary and a competitive connection than as main lines of carriage. Speed and regularity are demanded in these days of keen competition, and so, but for these expenditures, Canada would not only have remained far behind in absolute development, but would have suffered severely in competition with the United States and other countries in the race for population and markets. The roads and canals had to be built. The future had to be mortgaged, inasmuch as for the present the burden of construction was too heavy to be made an additional draft upon the abundant energy, but scanty capital, of a new country. Money was borrowed and the works completed and no one now doubts the wisdom of the policy. In one sense the works are non-productive, inasmuch as they fail to pay working expenses, and return no interest on capital. But, in the more important sense of developing and populating the country, and opening up the highways to profitable trade, they are productive in the highest degree.

*Our Banking System.* No review of the financial history of Canada would be complete without a reference to its admirable banking system. This has been the result of experience operating on the peculiar conditions of the country, and is on the whole a combination of conservative methods joined to expansive facility which commands the confidence and approval of all classes of the people. The Banking Act is subject to revision every ten years, at which period Bank Charters expire, and this decennial period is chosen for revising and strengthening what experience has shown to be necessary either in eliminating faults or in adding necessary new features. The system is a combination of the corporation and the Government.

All bills from \$1 to \$4 inclusive are issued by the Government, as are also bills of a larger denomination for deposit and legal-tender purposes. The amount to be issued by the Government is set by Act of Parliament, and at present is confined to a maximum of \$20,000,000, against which the Government must hold a reserve in specie and

guaranteed debentures of 25 per cent. (of which no less than 15 per cent. must be in specie) and a guarantee in Dominion Debentures of 75 per cent. More than \$20,000,000 may be issued, but for every dollar of the excess gold must be held in reserve for guarantee. The issue is not put in circulation by the Government directly, but through the banks, which in the first place require the smaller denominations for circulation and which by the Bank Act are obliged to hold a certain amount (not less than 40 per cent.) of legal tender in Dominion notes. Assistant Receivers-General are appointed in six of the principal cities, through whose offices the distribution of the specie and small notes and the re-collection of the latter when used up are effected.

All notes of \$5 and upwards (multiples of five), in circulation, are issued by the banks which are chartered under the Act. The conditions of the issue of Bank Charters are strict and pretty severe—the circulation of each bank is restricted to the amount of its unimpaired paid-up capital; a system of monthly report and Government inspection is imposed; and the monthly reports are published in the official *Gazette* for the information of the public; while a rigid system of penalties, grading from a slight fine to cancellation of charter, is imposed for infractions of the law. Arrangements are made by which the notes of every bank are taken or redeemable at par in any part of the Dominion, so that there is no discount on any bank's notes. A system of virtual insurance is provided by which the banks pay into a Government fund five per cent. of the value of their average yearly circulation as a "bank circulation redemption fund" and this is to be used at any time to ensure that notes of a failed bank shall be redeemed at par to their holder. Notes of banks in liquidation thus bear interest till redeemed. These features were introduced into the Act in 1891, and have proved most satisfactory in their operation. No limit of specie reserve is set arbitrarily to be held by each bank, though it may be said that the banks themselves, by virtue of their strong conservative management; their interdependence; and the advisory supervision of the Banker's Association, tend to secure a safe minimum of specie reserve. No tax is paid by bankers on the bank issue. All banks have

the double liability of their shareholders in addition to all assets as a security to note-holders. These liberal provisions enable the banks to increase their circulation when the needs of commerce require it and to decrease it as their needs become less exacting, and it is this elasticity which renders the system so well adapted to the trade of the country as it expands and contracts with the seasons.

After this rapid summary of the Financial history of Canada I may be permitted to make some more or less self-evident deductions, part of which follow absolutely from the facts, and part of which may enter the debateable region of theory.

1. *Decrease in interest rate.* This has been notable and due to three causes—the cheapening of money the world over, the solid growth of Canada and the scrupulous integrity with which she has met her financial obligations. On the first it is not necessary here to enlarge. But of itself this would not have given Canada the enviable position she at present enjoys in the world's money market. The consolidation of the Provinces and unorganized territories into a united and integral body-politic gave a basis for enlarged confidence and better credit which was quickly apparent. The courageous and enlightened policy of permeating this united country with arteries and high-roads of commerce added immensely to this feeling and by opening up and utilizing our unbounded resources gave a wonderful impetus to the operations of capital. To this was added that scrupulous fidelity which has always marked the Government in fulfilling its financial obligations.

2. *Enlarged Capital capacity.* This follows from the first, but it is well to note it in connection with such criticism as dwells solely upon the figures of the national debt. To carry the gross debt in 1868—consisting then of \$96,896,666—required an interest charge of \$4,501,568 and the average rate was about 4.64 per cent. It is obvious that by whatever amount you reduce the rate of interest, by so much the greater a proportion of Capital debt can be carried without increasing the interest burden. Again, if, in 1868, \$4,501,568 of interest had to be met by some three millions of people, the burden per capita will each year be so much the less in proportion

to the increase in population. Decrease in rate of interest and increase in population render it possible for Canada to bear in 1898 a far larger Capital debt than was possible in 1868 and to bear it with no greater, but, in fact, with far less hardship. These facts must be borne in mind when we contrast the debt of to-day with that of 1868 and succeeding years. With our present population of 5,000,000 and the current rate of interest, 3.10 per cent., it is possible for us to bear a debt of \$200,000,000 with at least as great ease as in 1868 we carried a debt of \$96,000,000. When the current rate becomes lowered to, say  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., the principal that can be borne with equal ease will, taking increased population into account, be of course still greater.

3. *The disposition of the money.* The debts of most countries have been incurred in wars—ruinous and expensive in themselves, and, in few cases, in any degree, offset by beneficial additions to territorial or other productive resources. Of Canada it can be said that her debt has been incurred by the conquests of peace—the triumph over natural barriers to union and commerce—and that for every dollar well spent the present and future dweller in Canada reaps a return increasing in value as each year passes. The burden of the debt has not been increased by the loss of productive life and valuable property by the people who have to bear it. The Intercolonial Railway, once built, not only joined the Maritime Provinces to their sister Provinces in the west, but established, for all time, a great highway of commerce, increasing in importance with each year of national life. The same, in greater degree even, can be said of our Canal system and the Canadian Pacific Railway—to the latter of which Canada made so generous a subvention. Yet these three alone have up to date been responsible for a Capital expenditure of \$157,883,021. Whilst they do not directly return to Canada revenues sufficient to re-imburse the Government for interest and costs of maintenance, they are of inestimable benefit to the country at large in point of trade, agricultural and industrial development, and the comfort and convenience of life. As factors in future progress their advantage is equal to their necessity. They form the essential main circulatory system of

Canada, and without them the country would be weak and lifeless.

4. *The future course.* It does not follow from what has been said that Canada can put out of sight the fact of Capital indebtedness and contemplate only the interest burden. For the principal has sometime to be met, and it should be a matter constantly kept in mind as to how soon and in what degree Canada may assume the position of lessening and ultimately of discharging her indebtedness. Nor, on the other hand, can she afford to contemplate with equanimity any large further addition thereto even though it be excused as temporary. The fact that one-third of our ordinary income is now consumed in debt charges emphasizes at once the danger of increase and the crippling effect upon other and necessary services of the Dominion Government. To the plea that a young country of vast extent and great resources needs extensive Governmental capital expenditure in order to open it up and develop its latent wealth, it may now well be urged that, whilst this was true during the first twenty-five years of its existence, and to a lesser degree is still true, yet there is a limit to Governmental capital expenditure and that there is none to private or corporate expenditure. The question may well be asked as to whether Government, by its tremendous initial expenditure, has not laid the basis broad and deep enough for private and associated capital to now step in and do the rest—at least the main part of it. Paternity in a Government can easily be carried too far. Corporations will bleed a Government as long as it shows a predilection for that species of treatment, but corporations may be depended upon to develop them if the resources are there and at all within the reach of profitable investment. It seems to the writer that with the completion of the International Railway and the Canal system; with the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk Railway systems forming vast and well distributed trunk lines of communication; and, with the added auxiliary and lesser railways, together with the well developed water services, inland and ocean, this time has arrived, and that hereafter no further debt should be incurred for state public works, beyond what can be added with no greater annual burden to

the people coincident with the lowering of the interest rate.

*A threatening danger.* The instability of financial conditions as between the Federal and Provincial Governments is still fraught with great possible danger to the success of Confederation, and there is need of all the prudence and firmness possible on the part of the former, and all the wise and accordant co-operation possible on the part of the latter, in order to prevent disastrous results. The Provinces have mostly fixed revenues pretty well defined and not very elastic. For increase beyond these they can only resort to forms of direct taxation, a proceeding which is unpopular and might be dangerous to party managers. The tendency, therefore, is constantly to press upon the Federal Government for adjustments and additional allowances. The separation of the spending from the providing

power tends to induce recklessness in the former and to increase the fierceness of the demand for more. On more than one occasion the demand for better terms and increased subventions has succeeded at Ottawa, and the exigencies of party render such appeals less easy of resistance than they otherwise would be. To spend extravagantly in the Provinces, and for largely party reasons, with the distant hope that eventually the Dominion Government can be persuaded or forced to come to the rescue, is not an unknown contingency in the history of our party politics, and this contingency constitutes an element of menace to the stability of the Confederation itself. Let us hope that the solid business sense of all the Provinces will set itself firmly to resist and ultimately to overcome this tendency, in the interests alike of good government and permanent political conditions.



The Hon. Archibald Woodbury McLelan.  
Dominion Minister of Finance, 1885-87.



THE HON. GEORGE EULAS FOSTER,  
Canadian Minister of Finance, 1886-96.



## CANADIAN LOAN AND SAVINGS COMPANIES

BY

R. H. TOMLINSON, Manager of the *British Canadian Loan and Investment Company, Ltd.*, of Toronto.

THESE is a feeling abroad that Loan and Saving Companies and all other corporations of a like kind that make a business of lending money on mortgages of real estate are composed of large capitalists who combine in this way to obtain better and more certain returns for their money than they could get by lending it themselves; also that they may secure for themselves and their friends positions of trust and emolument in the management of the companies with which they are connected. This is far from being the true state of the case. Whilst there are in these companies many large shareholders who adopt this plan of investing their money in real estate securities, and who, from their well known acquaintance with financial and business affairs, are chosen to fill the responsible positions of Directors, the great majority of the shares is in the hands of comparatively small holders, composed chiefly of the most thrifty and industrious portion of the community, who prefer to invest their savings in these companies because they are limited in their operations, as a rule, to loans on real estate securities and Government and Municipal Bonds. That Canadian Loan Companies have realized the expectations of their promoters and the confidence of the investing public there can be no doubt, as evidenced by the phenomenal growth of these companies during the last twenty-five years, and the fact that so few failures have occurred and that no creditor of one of these companies has, as yet, suffered any loss.

In reviewing the rise and development of Canadian Loan and Savings Companies, it is necessary to review, briefly, *en passant*, the various Legislative enactments under which these companies have been formed. The earliest legislation authorizing the formation of anything in the

nature of a company to lend money and take real estate security was an Act passed in the ninth year of Her Majesty's reign entitled "An Act to Encourage the Establishment of certain Societies commonly called 'Building Societies' in the Province of Canada formerly constituting Upper Canada." The Societies formed under this Act were what are known as "Terminating" Building Societies, almost identical with the Building and Loan Associations of the present day. Under this Act a number of Societies were formed, but in only two or three instances did they terminate successfully, that is, mature their shares. The members of two of these societies were so well satisfied with the management of their affairs, and realizing the great need for more organized capital to meet the demand for loans on real estate, that they resolved in the beginning of the year 1855 to unite and establish a "Permanent" Building Society which would enable persons to become members thereof at any time for investment therein, also enable them to obtain advances by giving security therefor, without being liable to the contingency of losses or profits in the business of the society. Doubts having arisen as to whether such "Permanent" Building Societies were within the meaning and intention of the above Act and the amendments of 13 and 14 Victoria, the Legislature passed an Act in the year 1859 confirming the establishment of the "Permanent" Societies theretofore formed and providing for the establishment of new societies upon the "Permanent" plan, also authorizing such societies by their Rules, Regulations and By-laws to "borrow money" to a limited extent.

The rapid development of the agricultural and industrial interests of the country following the close of the American Civil War, and the Confedera-

tion of the Provinces in the year 1867, created an extraordinary demand for loans on real estate, which led to the formation of a number of new societies on the "Permanent" plan in the leading business centres, more especially in the Province of Ontario. This was a comparatively easy matter of accomplishment, owing to the rapidly increasing savings of the people and the popularity of the shares of these societies as investments; also, because the plans adopted by many of the societies in their formation were well calculated to secure to the shareholders a gradual and systematic accumulation of capital. In the year 1874 the Building Societies Act was again amended and authority given to receive money on deposit; also for the Board of Directors to issue debentures, subject to certain restrictions as to the amount of such deposits and debentures, respectively, and in the aggregate.

The number of Loan and Savings Societies in operation and making returns to the Government at Confederation was nineteen, possessing an aggregate paid-up capital of \$2,110,403, and deposits amounting to \$577,299. During the following seven years the number increased to thirty-three, the paid-up capital to \$8,042,157, and the deposits to \$4,614,812. Although efforts had previously been made to induce British capitalists to invest in Canadian Loan and Savings Companies, it was not until this year (1874) that the item "Debentures payable in Great Britain or elsewhere" appears in the Annual Government Return, and then only for the small sum of \$19,992. During the next period of seven years, from 1874 to 1881, under what was still known as the Building Societies Act, which had been further amended and many valuable improvements made to meet the altered conditions of the loaning business, and to the formation of some new companies under private Acts, the number of companies increased to eighty, the paid-up capital to \$25,445,639, the deposits to \$13,460,268, debentures payable in Canada (a new item) to \$1,240,406, and debentures payable in Great Britain or elsewhere to \$21,913,828. At the end of the next period of seven years (1888) there was a reduction of two in the number of companies making the return, but the paid-up capital had increased to \$32,410,358, the deposits to \$17,-

307,033, the debentures payable in Canada to \$7,214,785, and those payable in Great Britain or elsewhere to \$36,582,670, and "Debenture Stock" (a new item) to \$1,242,899. On the 31st of December, 1897, the number of companies and associations was ninety-five, the paid-up capital \$43,229,920, the deposits \$19,667,112, the debentures payable in Canada \$11,869,512, those payable in Great Britain or elsewhere \$41,355,134, and debenture stock \$4,006,697. The largest amount of British capital invested in Canadian Loan Company debentures was \$49,408,398, given in the return for the year 1893. Since then there has been a gradual yearly reduction, and at the end of 1897 the amount was \$41,355,134. This reduction of British capital has not, however, diminished the loaning resources of the companies, as the difference has been made up largely by increased deposits and debentures payable in Canada.

In the year 1887 an Association was formed known as "The Land Mortgage Companies' Association of the Province of Ontario," composed of representatives of all such loan companies as should join the Association. Its objects were to consider and take action in regard to any proposed or existing legislation affecting the rate of interest on money, legislation affecting the inviolability of private contracts, the taxation of loan companies by municipalities, the effect of unregistered hire receipts upon machinery and other fixtures, and the relations of loan companies with banks and insurance companies. This organization has done much to bring the companies into friendly accord one with another, and it is believed that it has fulfilled in other respects the purposes for which it was formed. The last annual report of the Association showed a membership of thirty-four companies, representing assets amounting to \$95,714,238.

The most recent, and undoubtedly the most important, legislation affecting Canadian loan companies, especially those operating in the Province of Ontario, is an Act passed by the Legislature in the year 1897, entitled, "An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Law respecting Building Societies and other Loan Corporations." Under this Act, every Corporation, Incorporated Company, Association or Society (not being a



chartered bank or an insurance corporation standing registered under the law of the Province) authorized to lend money on real estate securities, either directly or indirectly in the Province, must register under the Act and pay an annual fee varying from \$25.00 to \$200.00, according to the amount of its assets. The Act also provides for a special audit in certain cases, and prohibits unregistered companies.

It would be impossible for anyone not intimately connected with the management of Canadian loan companies to form any conception of the important part performed by these companies in the development of the material resources of the country during the past twenty-five or thirty years. They have been to the real estate owner what the chartered banks have been to the merchants, manufacturers and business community generally. The large resources at their command have enabled them to meet the requirements

of real estate owners at all times, and at rates of interest and upon terms for repayment as favourable to the borrower as could be got anywhere on this continent. It is a well-known fact that there is not in any State of the American Union a system of organized capital for lending money on real estate securities that will compare with the Canadian loan and savings companies, and at the same time furnish the capitalist with such unequalled facilities for the investment of his money as the shares, debentures, etc., of these companies. The following classification of Canadian Loan and Savings Companies is taken from the thirty-second Annual Report of Loan Companies and Building Societies in Canada for 1897, containing for that year returns from all the principal associations throughout the Dominion, and prepared by order of the Deputy Minister of Finance, by N. S. Garland, F.s.s., F.s.a., Clerk of Financial Statistics:

Companies organized under the Building Societies Act,  
having Permanent Capital.

Name of Company.	Head Office or Chief Place of Business.	Date of Organization.	Capital Subscribed.	Capital Paid up.	Assets.
The Building and Loan Association	Toronto, Ont.	March 1st, 1870.	\$ 750,000.00	\$ 750,000.00	\$ 1,710,808.51
The Canada Permanent Loan and Savings Company	"	1855.	5,000,000.00	2,600,000.00	11,384,836.89
The Freehold Loan and Savings Company	"	May, 1859	3,223,500.00	1,319,100.00	6,132,607.88
The People's Loan and Deposit Company	"	March, 1875	600,000.00	600,000.00	1,026,849.76
The Union Loan and Savings Company	"	March 1st, 1865.	1,095,400.00	699,000.00	2,475,338.07
The Western Canada Loan and Savings Company	"	March, 1863	3,000,000.00	1,500,000.00	6,767,246.37
The Agricultural Savings and Loan Company	London, Ont.	May, 1872	630,000.00	629,250.00	2,077,441.87
The Dominion Savings and Investment Society.	"	April, 1872	1,000,000.00	934,200.00	2,247,134.97
The Huron and Erie Loan and Savings Company.	"	1864	3,000,000.00	1,400,000.00	6,497,193.12
The London Loan Company of Canada	"	1877	679,700.00	661,850.00	1,150,253.76
The Ontario Loan and Debenture Company	"	Oct., 1870	2,000,000.00	1,200,000.00	3,963,595.49
The Atlas Loan and Savings Company	St. Thomas, Ont.	Aug., 1857	1,000,000.00	300,000.00	780,029.74
The Southern Loan and Savings Company	"	1870	400,000.00	400,000.00	889,116.61
The Southwestern Farmers and Mechanics Savings and Loan Society	"	Feb. 18th, 1875	193,800.00	191,392.19	505,020.93
The Star Loan Company	"	Aug 31st, 1881	270,000.00	220,500.00	460,348.86
The Hamilton Provident and Loan Society.	Hamilton, Ont.	S. pt., 1871	1,500,000.00	1,100,000.00	3,691,051.91
The Landed Banking and Loan Company	"	Feb., 1877	700,000.00	671,100.00	2,039,592.18
The Huron and Lambton Loan and Savings Company	Sarnia, Ont.	1877	399,200.00	317,570.00	723,343.61
The Industrial Mortgage and Savings Company	"	1889	335,000.00	317,494.61	830,043.94
The Lambton Loan and Investment Company	"	1847	500,000.00	499,693.51	1,385,053.75
The Metropolitan Loan and Savings Company of Ottawa	Ottawa, Ont.	Aug., 1870	320,000.00	310,560.00	117,947.30
The Frontenac Loan and Investment Society	Kingston, Ont.	Dec. 14th, 1863.	200,000.00	500,000.00	513,658.69
The Ontario Building and Savings Society	"	June 26th, 1874	250,000.00	250,000.00	491,249.16
The Grey and Bruce Loan Company of Owen Sound, Ont.	Owen Sound, Ont.	April 15th, 1889	444,050.00	199,120.00	390,566.70
The Oxford Permanent Loan and Savings Society	Woodstock, Ont.	1865	270,000.00	240,104.34	584,465.01
The Barrie Loan and Savings Company, Limited.	Barrie, Ont.	April 14th, 1881	250,000.00	117,500.00	169,552.98
The Hastings Loan and Investment Society	Belleville, Ont.	Jan. 14th, 1876	225,000.00	219,149.11	451,172.87
The Royal Loan and Savings Company	Brantford, Ont.	June 1st, 1876	500,000.00	500,000.00	1,393,641.07
The Brockville Loan and Savings Company.	Brockville, Ont.	July 1st, 1885.	350,000.00	178,680.00	131,796.21
The Chatham Loan and Savings Company	Chatham, Ont.	Sept. 28th, 1881	352,100.00	237,392.59	574,892.58
The Huron and Bruce Loan and Investment Company	Goderich, Ont.	April 17th, 1885	218,600.00	180,373.65	262,835.79
The Guelph and Ontario Investment and Savings Society	Guelph, Ont.	1876	720,000.00	424,000.00	1,672,761.47
The Victoria Loan and Savings Company	Lindsay, Ont.	Oct. 1st, 1895	137,000.00	81,389.79	110,323.17
The Ontario Loan and Savings Company.	Oshawa, Ont.	March 1873	300,000.00	299,430.53	407,733.63
The Crown Savings and Loan Company	Port Hope, Ont.	Jan. 30th, 1882	290,000.00	178,524.55	392,363.17
The Midland Loan and Savings Company	Port Hope, Ont.	1873	560,000.00	360,000.00	1,491,530.85
The Security Loan and Savings Company	St. Catharines, Ont.	March 12th, 1870	275,000.00	275,000.00	618,937.86
The Montreal Loan and Mortgage Company.	Montreal, Que.	May, 1858	500,000.00	500,000.00	1,166,444.64
The Levis Permanent Building Society.	Levis, Que.	April 3rd, 1869	66,960.00	30,847.00	38,306.65
The Quebec Permanent Building Society.	Quebec, Que.	April, 1856	200,000.00	200,000.00	261,264.50
The Permanent Building Society of the District of Iberville	St. Johns, Que.	Jan. 1st, 1869	100,000.00	100,000.00	389,998.13
The Canadian Savings and Loan Company of London, Canada	London, Ont.	Oct., 1875.	750,000.00	733,500.00	1,813,392.90

\$33,465,310.00 \$22,129,637.50 \$71,151,042.58

Companies organized under the Building Societies Act,  
having Terminating Shares.

Name of Company.	Head Office or Chief Place of Business.	Date of Organization.	Capital Subscribed.	Capital Paid Up.	Assets.
The Aid Savings and Loan Company	Toronto, Ont.	Feb. 15th, 1893	\$ 301,000.00	\$ 52,311.11	\$ 52,311.11
The Canadian Homestead Loan and Savings Association	"	Sept., 1886	489,650.00	18,176.92	177,907.00
The Canadian Mutual Loan and Investment Company	"	June 14th, 1890	4,083,300.00	9,300.00	1,207,883.61
The Canadian Savings, Loan and Building Association	"	March 28th, 1890	1,267,200.00	25,200.00	73,177.85
The City and County Loan Association	"	Jan. 26th, 1889	40,050.00	31,966.65	45,056.99
The Dominion Building and Loan Association	"	May 7th, 1890	2,687,200.00	419,753.27	1,275,616.43
The Equitable Savings, Loan and Building Association	"	Feb., 1892	1,531,200.00	93,363.40	331,801.15
The Provincial Building and Loan Association	"	Nov. 9th, 1891	2,068,800.00	52,152.90	415,975.07
The Reliance Loan and Savings Company of Ontario	"	June 24th, 1895	2,076,700.00	165,575.00	253,334.91
The Sun Savings and Loan Company of Ontario	"	Sept. 1st, 1894	804,500.00	58,247.00	75,265.36
The York County Loan and Savings Company	"	Dec. 8th, 1891	3,002,000.00	158,300.00	469,106.92
The Birkbeck Loan Company	London, Ont.	Feb. 1893	108,000.00	47,767.58	83,179.40
The People's Building and Loan Association of London, Ont.	"	June 17th, 1892	1,066,700.00	27,609.29	242,434.35
The Elgin Loan and Savings Company	St. Thomas, Ont.	April 14th, 1879	625,000.00	229,493.78	401,228.05
The Hamilton Mutual Building Society	Hamilton, Ont.	Dec. 1st, 1890	539,400.00	41,328.55	63,253.46
The Home Building and Savings Association of Ottawa	Ottawa, Ont.	June 24th, 1890	346,000.00	91,924.00	111,649.90
The Owen Sound Building and Savings Society	Owen Sound, Ont.	March 27th, 1889	99,950.00	44,573.57	71,495.19
The Stratford Building and Savings Society	Stratford, Ont.	Aug. 23rd, 1889	180,300.00	64,229.92	81,138.44
The Ontario Permanent Building and Loan Association	Woodstock, Ont.	Sept. 15th, 1892	2,174,200.00	72,600.00	436,680.00
The Niagara Falls Building, Savings and Loan Association	Niagara Falls, Ont.	April 1st, 1891	147,790.00	37,381.25	42,817.51
The Montreal Loan and Investment Company	Montreal, Que.	April 7th, 1891	871,900.00	1,500.00	106,610.36
The Birkbeck Investment Security and Savings Company	Toronto, Ont.	May 1st, 1893	1,787,800.00	300,921.20	465,557.75
			\$26,298,640.00	\$ 1,986,567.28	\$ 6,548,473.84

Companies organized under the Joint Stock Companies Act of the Dominion  
Parliament or of the Provincial Legislatures.

Name of Company.	Head Office or Chief Place of Business.	Date of Organization.	Capital Subscribed.	Capital Paid Up.	Assets.
The Canada Landed and National Investment Company, Limited	Toronto, Ont.	1858	\$ 2,008,000.00	\$ 1,004,000.00	\$ 4,218,190.85
The Home Savings and Loan Company	"	April 25th, 1877	2,000,000.00	200,000.00	2,403,918.78
The Imperial Loan and Investment Company, Limited	"	Sept. 14th, 1869	839,850.00	720,617.96	1,871,388.64
The Real Estate Loan Company of Canada, Limited	"	Dec., 1879	578,840.00	373,720.00	496,685.34
The Central Canada Loan and Savings Company of Ontario	Peterborough, Ont.	April 1st, 1884	2,500,000.00	1,250,000.00	5,377,593.04
The Toronto Savings and Loan Company	"	June 15th, 1855	1,000,000.00	600,000.00	1,620,529.98
The British Mortgage Loan Company of Ontario	Stratford, Ont.	Oct., 1877	450,000.00	316,504.68	1,062,136.71
The Société de Prêts et Placements de Québec	Québec City, Que.	Nov., 1874	200,000.00	200,000.00	325,005.79
The Nova Scotia Permanent Benefit Building Society and Savings Fund	Halifax, N.S.	Aug., 1850			954,432.56
			\$ 9,576,690.00	\$ 4,064,872.64	\$18,329,901.69

Companies organized under Private Acts of the Dominion Parliament or of the  
Provincial Legislatures.

Name of Company.	Head Office or Chief Place of Business.	Date of Organization.	Capital Subscribed.	Capital Paid Up.	Assets.
The British Canadian Loan and Investment Company, Limited	Toronto, Ont.	July 1st, 1877	\$2,000,000.00	\$398,481.60	\$2,192,773.20
The London and Canadian Loan and Agency Company, Limited	"	Jan. 1st, 1873	5,000,000.00	700,000.00	4,102,408.62
The London and Ontario Investment Company, Limited	"	May 15th, 1877	2,750,000.00	550,000.00	2,453,205.45
The Credit Foncier Franco-Canadien	Montreal, Que.	1881	4,784,689.00	1,106,172.25	8,208,933.70
The Sherbrooke Loan and Mortgage Company	Sherbrooke, Que.	Sept., 1874	147,600.00	147,600.00	392,569.63
The Eastern Canada Savings and Loan Company, Limited	Halifax, N.S.	May 1st, 1888	201,000.00	100,500.00	492,133.22
The Manitoba and North West Loan Company, Limited	Winnipeg, Man.	June, 1879	1,500,000.00	375,000.00	1,368,935.97
			\$16,383,289.00	\$3,467,753.85	\$19,830,949.88

Companies organized under Imperial Acts.

Name of Company.	Head Office or Chief Place of Business.	Date of Organization.	Capital Subscribed.	Capital Paid Up.	Assets.
The North British Canadian Investment Company, Limited	Glasgow, Scotland	Oct. 11th, 1876	\$2,433,333.33	498,955.01	\$2,074,334.10
The North of Scotland Canadian Mortgage Company, Limited	Aberdeen, Scotland	Dec. 17th, 1875	3,650,000.00	730,000.00	4,120,200.78
The Scottish American Investment Company, Limited	Edinburgh, Scotland	March 29th, 1873	2,500,000.00		601,924.95
The Trust and Loan Company of Canada	London, England	Nov., 1815	7,300,000.00	1,581,696.67	6,895,730.77
			\$15,883,333.33	\$2,810,621.68	\$13,692,190.60

The pioneer in the establishment and management of Canadian Loan Companies has been Mr. J. Herbert Mason. He was mainly instrumental in the organization of the *Canada Permanent* in 1855 and has been its chief executive officer under different titles until the present year (1898). Almost equally prominent has been Mr. Walter S. Lee, Managing-Director of the *Western Canada* since 1864. In London, Ontario, Mr. William F. Bullen, of the *Ontario Loan and Debenture Company*, has also had a prolonged experience.

Since the above was written and by an agreement reached at a meeting held in the offices of the Gooderham & Worts Co. (Limited), Toronto, on January 4th, 1899, a great combination of loan companies has been formed. Four of the leading companies in the Dominion are amalgamated under one management. The new corporation will have a paid-up capital of at least \$6,000,000, a bonded capital approximating \$19,000,000—a total of \$25,000,000—and assets of between \$27,000,000 and \$28,000,000. The Manager selected for the new concern was Mr. Walter S. Lee. The Companies thus uniting were the *Western Canada Loan and Savings Co.*; the *Freehold Loan and Savings Co.*; the *Canada Permanent Loan and Savings Co.*; and the *London and Ontario Investment Company*, all of Toronto. The first formal meeting (according to *The Globe*

of January 5th) to complete an amalgamation which had been under consideration for some time, was held on December 30, 1898, at the office of the Gooderham & Worts Co. At that meeting there were present three representatives of each of the four Companies. The Hon. S. C. Wood, Mr. C. H. Gooderham, and Mr. T. Sutherland Stayner represented the *Freehold*; Mr. W. H. Beatty, Mr. Frederick Wyld and Mr. A. M. Cosby represented the *London and Ontario*; Mr. J. Herbert Mason, Mr. R. K. Burgess and Mr. W. D. Matthews represented the *Canada Permanent*; and Mr. George Gooderham, Mr. George Lewis and Mr. Walter S. Lee the *Western Canada*. At this meeting was discussed the advisability of consolidating the assets of the four companies and forming a company to take them over, on the basis of their valuation. A resolution was then passed that it was desirable to make the consolidation, and this resolution was referred for confirmation to the full Boards of the several companies. Meetings of the Boards were subsequently held, and the resolution approved by them. It was stated that the primary object in view in the formation of this great corporation was to secure more economy in the administration of the business, and also to meet the reduction in the rate of interest which had taken place within the last few years in Canada.

# HISTORY AND PROGRESS OF CANADIAN FIRE INSURANCE

BY

J. J. KENNY, Vice-President of the *British America* and *Western Assurance* Companies.

THE origin of Fire Insurance in Canada, as in the other Colonies of Great Britain, may be traced to the establishment of agencies in the chief seaports of the older Provinces by English companies, which, it may be remarked, have for upwards of a century past afforded protection against loss by fire to the vast commercial interests of the Empire. These corporations, organized to supplant the system of "underwriting," or the undertaking of such risks by private individuals which prevailed in earlier times, soon came to be regarded as a necessary adjunct to the growing trade of British merchants, until to-day we find them girdling the globe with their agencies and, in a sense, endorsing with assets aggregating upwards of fifty millions sterling the transactions of the financial and mercantile world.

The Fire Insurance business of the Provinces which now comprise the Dominion of Canada, thus inaugurated by British companies, was for many years largely monopolized by them. Their method of conducting it was to appoint prominent mercantile firms as their representatives, giving them authority to issue policies and adjust losses, the rates of premium being fixed by the companies in England. The oldest existing agency of an English Company is that of the Phœnix Fire Office of London. In 1804 this Company appointed Maitland, Garden & Aldjo its agents at Montreal, from whom the agency was transferred in 1826 to Gillespie, Moffatt & Co. (afterwards Gillespie, Paterson & Co.), and it has retained the connection thus established for upwards of seventy years, Messrs. A. T. Paterson & Son, the present representatives, having, on the dissolution of their former firm in 1866, assumed the management of the Company's business in this country. There

are now twenty British fire insurance companies with agencies in Canada, from which they derive an annual premium income of close upon \$5,000,000. With the growth of fire insurance interests came the establishment by these companies of branch offices in charge of managers specially trained in the business, who exercised full authority in the appointment of agents and in the general conduct of the affairs of their respective companies throughout the Dominion.

Although, as has been said, the larger part of the fire insurance business of this country was, in its early history (as indeed it is at the present day), transacted by British companies, they have had numerous local competitors, some of them dating back to the beginning of the century, and, while in some cases these have proved profitable investments to their stockholders, it must be admitted that Canadian ventures in the field of fire underwriting have been far from uniformly successful. Nor can this be wondered at when it is considered that their chief competitors are British companies with a world-wide field of operations, many of them enjoying the *prestige* of a long and honourable business career, and all of them free from restrictive legislation at home such as is applied to our own companies by the insurance laws of Canada—laws which, while possessing the merit of making "assurance doubly sure" to policy-holders, seriously hamper a company with a growing business and discourage investors by presenting, in the annual Government Reports, an estimate of the company's liabilities upon its current policies which, to quote the words of the late Superintendent of Insurance, Professor Cherriman, "is larger than the amount which a company in continuance

of active business would require, under ordinary circumstances, for the fulfilment of its contracts."\* This reserve is, as a matter of fact, upwards of fifty per cent. greater than would be charged for the same liability by any standard adopted by companies in Europe, and in justice to our Canadian institutions this should be borne in mind in considering their standing as set forth in the annual Government statements. During the past twenty-five years (1873-98) ten joint stock fire insurance companies which have been organized in Canada have, owing

It will be of interest here to glance briefly at the records of the existing Canadian offices.

The Halifax Fire Insurance Company is the first of which any record is obtainable. It was founded in 1809 as the Nova Scotia Fire Association, and among the historic relics possessed by the Company is the first notice issued to the shareholders and signed by John J. Flegler, as Secretary, requesting the members "to pay all dues at the office of the Company in his house." In 1819 the Association obtained incorporation as the Halifax Fire Insurance Company, and the first Board of Directors embraced a number of the leading Haligonians of that day. The Company sustained a severe blow in the disastrous fire which destroyed the most valuable blocks of buildings in Halifax in 1859, and it was re-organized with a capital of \$240,000—fifty per cent. of which is now paid up. It has since accumulated a reserve fund of about \$150,000 and its stock has proved a remunerative investment. Its business is confined to the Province of Nova Scotia.

The Quebec Fire Assurance Company is next in point of age. It was organized in 1816, but during the first two years of its existence it was a mutual office, insuring only the property of its members. From 1818 it transacted a general business, but it was not until the year 1829 that it was chartered as a stock company by the Parliament of Lower Canada with a capital of \$1,000,000 fully subscribed, of which \$325,000 was paid up, and with power to carry on the business of fire insurance for sixty years, which charter has since been extended in perpetuity by the Dominion Parliament. Many of the original promoters were of French descent, and a considerable amount of the stock is still held by descendants of the founders of the Company. Shortly after commencing business it established agencies in some of the chief cities of the Provinces then known as Upper and Lower Canada. It has since extended its operations to the other Provinces of the Dominion, and more recently has opened business connections in some of the principal cities of the United States. The historic city of Quebec has been the scene of a number of serious conflagrations which naturally made heavy drafts upon the funds of the leading



The Hon. William Allan.

to unfavourable experience, discontinued business, but it should be noted that these, with possibly one exception, have discharged all their indebtedness to policy-holders; in fact in the majority of cases their risks have been assumed by British companies which have retained their agency connections and continued to operate them, frequently under the same local management, as Canadian branches of the home institutions.

\*Report of the Superintendent of Insurance of the Dominion of Canada for the year ending 31st December, 1884.

local Company, and in 1881 led to the reduction of its capital to \$225,000. These losses, however, being promptly and honourably met, served to establish a reputation for stability for the "Quebec" which it has since fully maintained. It has paid in losses to policy-holders \$4,337,000, and in dividends to shareholders some \$750,000 since its organization. Mr. Edwin Jones is now President and Mr. William W. Welch, Secretary, of the Company.

The British America Assurance Company of Toronto is the oldest Ontario fire insurance company. It was incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1833, and commenced business in 1835 with a capital of eight thousand shares of £12 10s. each, equal to about \$400,000, which was increased in 1878 to \$500,000, the whole amount being paid up. In 1893 there was a further increase of capital to \$750,000. Among the promoters and first Directors of the Company are the names of many gentlemen prominent in our Provincial annals of sixty years ago. The Hon. William Allan was its first President, and it is a noteworthy fact that Mr. Clarke Gamble, who procured its charter in 1833, is still a member of the firm which, during the sixty-four years of its existence, has acted as the Company's legal advisers. Its business was confined to the Canadian Provinces until 1874, when it established agencies throughout the United States, from which country it derives a large share of its income. Its total assets on 31st December, 1897, were \$1,510,827 and its premium income for that year was \$1,426,634, of which \$1,183,788 was from its fire business and \$242,846 from marine. It has paid for losses to its policy-holders upwards of \$16,500,000 and in dividends to shareholders, \$1,419,649—equal to an average of about seven and three-quarters per cent. per annum on the amount of its paid-up capital.

The Western Assurance Company of Toronto was incorporated and commenced business in 1851. Beginning in a very small way it has steadily grown until, with a capital of \$2,000,000 subscribed and \$1,000,000 paid up, total assets of \$2,415,086 and an annual premium income of \$2,211,376 (for the year 1897), it is now recognized as one of the leading fire assurance companies on this Continent. Among upwards

of one hundred home and foreign companies reporting to the New York Insurance Department in 1896, but sixteen show larger premium receipts in the United States than the "Western." In its earlier years the Company shared the general adverse experience of most new fire companies, but it has, for more than thirty years, regularly paid liberal dividends to its shareholders. These aggregate, from the time of incorporation to the close of 1897, \$1,655,558, equal to an average for the forty-six years of upwards of eleven per cent. upon the paid-up capital, and it has paid its policy-holders losses aggregating \$25,655,500. During the past five years the business of the "Western" and the "British America" has to a considerable extent (more especially in relation to the operations of the Companies outside of the Dominion) been under joint management, although they maintain their distinct organizations as separate companies. The Hon. George A. Cox and Mr. J. J. Kenny fill the positions of President and Vice-President respectively of both Companies.

The Mercantile Insurance Company of Waterloo, Ont., incorporated in 1874, has a subscribed capital of \$200,000, with \$40,000 paid up. It commenced business under authority of an Act of the Ontario Legislature, but in 1892 it made the necessary deposit at Ottawa, and obtained a Dominion license. Mr. I. E. Bowman, M.P., was for many years President of the Company, and for the first eighteen years of its existence it was under the management of Mr. P. H. Sims. The "Mercantile" has paid its shareholders annual dividends of ten per cent. from its organization till 1895, when the stock was acquired by the London & Lancashire Insurance Company of Manchester, and its business is now conducted under the general management of the officers of that Company.

The Canadian Fire Insurance Company of Winnipeg was also incorporated as a Provincial company, its charter having been granted by the Manitoba Legislature in 1895. It has recently acquired a Dominion license, but it is not as yet doing business outside its own Province. It has a subscribed capital of \$400,000 with \$80,000 paid up.

The London Mutual Fire Insurance Company

is the only mutual company which has extended its operations beyond the boundaries of one Province. Originally incorporated in 1859 under a Provincial Act, it obtained extended powers from the Dominion Legislature in 1878, and has since carried on a general insurance business in several Provinces.

Among the leading companies doing business under Provincial licenses are the following: In Nova Scotia, the Halifax Fire Insurance Company (already referred to as the oldest company in Canada), and the Acadia Fire Insurance Company of Halifax; in New Brunswick, the Keystone Fire Insurance Company of St. John, and the Central Fire Insurance Company of Fredericton; in Quebec, the Stanstead & Sherbrooke Mutual and the Eastern Townships Mutual; in Ontario, the Gore District, the Waterloo, the Wellington, the Perth, the Economical, the Hand-in-Hand, the Fire Insurance Exchange, the Millers & Manufacturers' (all mutual companies) and the Queen City, a joint stock company which confines its business to the County of York; in British Columbia, the Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Company of Vancouver, and the London & Canadian Fire Insurance Company—which latter has an English charter but does business only in British Columbia. A considerable share of the fire insurance business of Canada is done by United States companies. The first of these to enter the field was the *Ætna* Insurance Company of Hartford, Conn., which placed an agency in Montreal in the year 1821. There are now eight American companies licensed in the Dominion, whose aggregate premium income in 1896 was \$1,041,966.

*Insurance Legislation.* A company desirous of carrying on business throughout Canada must obtain a license from the Dominion Government. If it proposes restricting its operations to one particular Province, a license may be had from that Province, and it can transact its business within such limits without regard to any general laws of the Dominion relating to insurance, these latter being recognized as applying only to companies working under a Dominion license. In 1875 an Insurance Department was created as a branch of the Finance Department at Ottawa,

under the supervision of an officer known as the "Superintendent of Insurance", whose duties are to see that the laws enacted from time to time by the Canadian Parliament are duly observed by the companies. The chief requirements under these laws, as they at present exist, are: (1) a deposit with the Government of \$50,000 by Canadian companies, or \$100,000 by companies of other countries, in Government, municipal or other approved securities; (2) the appointment of a chief agent, with power of attorney from the company; (3) the filing of a statement showing the financial condition of the company at the time of its application for admission, and subsequent annual statements of its business. Books of record must be kept at its chief office, and be open to the inspection of the Government officers, whose practice is to make examinations of these annually. Companies are required in their statements to the Government to charge themselves, as a liability, with fifty per cent. of the total premiums on all unexpired annual policies and a *pro rata* share of the premiums on risks written for a longer term; and companies of other countries must hold in Canada assets—deposited with the Government or vested in trustees—sufficient to meet these and all other liabilities.

Each of the Provinces has legislated to a greater or less extent upon matters relating to insurance in its own territory, and Ontario has established an Insurance Department, under the supervision of an official known as "Inspector of Insurance". In connection with Provincial legislation of this nature arose the first of a number of legal contests which have occurred between the Dominion and the Province of Ontario as to their respective powers under the "British North American Act," passed by the Imperial Parliament at the time of the confederation of the Provinces. This Act, among other things, sets forth the matters which are to be under the jurisdiction of the Dominion and Provincial Legislatures respectively. No reference is made to insurance, and both Governments undertook to deal with this subject. So long as Ontario confined its measures to the regulation of the business of companies operating under its own Provincial licenses no questions of dispute

arose, but in 1876 it framed a set of policy conditions and enacted a law making these applicable to all contracts of fire insurance entered into within the Province. The Companies working under Dominion licenses ignored this legislation, claiming that, as far as they were concerned, it was *ultra vires*.

The question of the validity of these Ontario statutory conditions soon came before the Canadian Courts, and finally two cases depending upon the decision of this point were carried to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England. The main contentions on the part of the companies were that, in the distribution of legislative powers under the Act referred to, the "regulation of trade and commerce" was specifically assigned to the Dominion Parliament; that the business of fire insurance must be considered as coming within the term "trade and commerce," and that the Provincial Legislatures could exercise no jurisdiction upon subjects which were declared to be within the scope of Dominion legislation. On the other hand the Province contended that the regulation of fire insurance contracts came under "property and civil rights in the Province", which were included among the matters set forth as being within the exclusive power of Provincial Legislatures. Judge Taschereau and Judge Gwynne, of the Supreme Court of Canada, in very exhaustive judgments, found in favour of the companies, the latter expressing his views as to the claims of fire insurance to recognition as an integral part of trade and commerce in the following words: "When we consider that, but for the business of fire insurance, the trade and commerce of the world could never have attained the magnitude and success and the exalted position which they have attained, we may well say, in my judgment, that the trade of the fire insurance is, *par excellence*, the trade of trades, without which all other trades would have dwindled and decayed." The majority of the Court, however, decided, as the lower Courts had done, in favour of the Ontario Government, and this decision was sustained by the Privy Council Judicial Committee in a judgment which, while it settled the immediate question at issue, (the constitutionality of the Ontario statutory conditions), failed to decide the

point over which there had been so much contention in our Courts, (and previously in the Courts of the United States on the question of State jurisdiction over insurance), as to the legal *status* of fire insurance in relation to trade and commerce.

The gist of the judgment is contained in the following words: "Their Lordships abstain on the present occasion from any attempt to define the limits of the authority of the Dominion Parliament in this direction. It is enough for the decision of the present case to say that, in their view, its authority to legislate for the regulation of trade and commerce does not comprehend the power to regulate by legislation the contracts of a particular business or trade, such as the business of fire insurance, in a single Province, and therefore that its legislative authority does not, in the present case, conflict or compete with the power over property and civil rights assigned to the Legislature of Ontario." It will be observed that the important question is left undecided whether legislation on the subject of insurance generally comes, by the terms of the Confederation Act, within the jurisdiction of the Parliament of the Dominion, or within the class of matters assigned exclusively to the Provincial Legislatures. The conflict of authority and consequent disturbance of important interests which might have arisen from this condition of doubt and uncertainty seems to have been avoided by a compromise, manifestly in the best interests of all concerned, under which the Dominion does not interfere with Provincial companies while confining their business within the limits of their own Province, and the Provinces do not interfere—beyond the imposition of Provincial license fees—with companies licensed by the Dominion.

The requirements for a Provincial license in Ontario are a deposit of \$25,000 from Canadian companies (other than mutual companies) and \$50,000 from those of any other country. Annual statements—similar to those required by the Dominion—must be made to the Inspector of Insurance for the Province. The fire insurance legislation of the other Provinces has been confined chiefly to the adoption of statutory conditions (almost identical with those of Ontario) by Manitoba and British Columbia and to



the imposing of license fees and taxes by the Provinces generally. In Quebec these latter were made so onerous that the companies felt compelled to reimburse themselves by increasing their rates of insurance on all classes of property in that Province. These rates, it may be observed, are now fixed in all the Provinces by tariff associations whose memberships comprise almost all the stock companies—as well as some of the mutuals—doing a general insurance business throughout the country.

*Government Statistics.* The statistics of the different branches of insurance business, apart from their value to those concerned in the special subjects with which they deal, are interesting in a broader sense from their bearing upon the general conditions existing in a community; for, while the amount of the premiums annually paid to life companies affords an index to the material welfare and thrift of the people, the growth of fire insurance may be taken as a fair measure of commercial progress—a gauge of the accumulating wealth of the mercantile and industrial classes. The first official compilation of figures presenting the transactions of insurance companies in Canada embraces the business of the year 1869, and a comparison of these with those contained in subsequent annual Dominion Government Reports shows the progress which fire insurance has made in this country during the past twenty-nine years. This will be seen by a glance at the following figures taken from the Reports of the Superintendent of Insurance:

	Amount of Policies taken.	Premiums Received.	Losses Paid.
1869 . . . . .	\$171,540,475	\$1 785,539	\$1,027,720
1870 . . . . .	199,102,070	1,916,779	1,624,837
1871 . . . . .	244,437,172	2,321,716	1,549,199
1872 . . . . .	277,387,271	2,628,710	1,909,975
1873 . . . . .	271,095,928	2,968,416	1,682,184
1874 . . . . .	329,178,974	3,522,303	1,926,159
1875 . . . . .	353,206,984	3 594,764	2,563,531
1876 . . . . .	401,148,747	3,708,006	2,867,295
1877 . . . . .	396 663,112	3,764,005	8,490,919
1878 . . . . .	359,847,757	3,368,430	1,822,674
1879 . . . . .	360,704,419	3,227,488	2,145,198
1880 . . . . .	384,051,861	3 479,577	1,666,578
1881 . . . . .	441,416,238	3,827,116	3,169,821
1882 . . . . .	478 044,416	4,229,706	2,664,985
1883 . . . . .	513,580 302	4,624,741	2,920,228
1884 . . . . .	513 983,378	4 980,128	3,245,323
1885 . . . . .	486,002,908	4,852,460	2,679,287
1886 . . . . .	505,752,907	4 932 335	3,301,388

	Amount of Policies taken.	Premiums Received.	Losses Paid.
1887 . . . . .	532,757,088	5,244,502	3,403,514
1888 . . . . .	541,580,007	5,437,263	3,073,822
1889 . . . . .	572,782,104	5,588,016	2,876,211
1890 . . . . .	620,723,945	5,836,071	3,266,567
1891 . . . . .	623 418,422	6,168,716	3,905,697
1892 . . . . .	687,175,688	6,512,327	4,377,270
1893 . . . . .	687,604,239	6,793,595	5,052,690
1894 . . . . .	653,589,428	6,711,369	4,589,363
1895 . . . . .	667,639,048	6,943,382	4,993,750
1896 . . . . .	669,288,650	7,075,850	4,173,501
1897 . . . . .	657,098,308	7,214,612	4,670,519

Totals . . . . . 13,600,801 846 133,257,922 91,640,239

Taking the totals for the same twenty-nine years according to the nationalities of the companies, the following are the results:

	Amount of Policies taken.	Premiums Received.	Losses Paid.
Canadian Companies . . . . .	\$3,417,036,961	\$32,682,165	\$23,289,020
British Companies . . . . .	8,839,975,028	86,939,455	59,135,397
American Companies . . . . .	1,313,789,857	13,636,302	9,215,822

Totals . . . . . 13,600,801,846 133,257,922 91,640,239

It should be pointed out that the Reports from which these results are compiled do not include the business of companies working under Provincial licenses. Of these no official records are kept except in the Province of Ontario, but it may be safely estimated that its growth has been proportionately equal to that of the companies having Dominion licenses, and this being the case we find that since 1869 the amount of insurance annually effected in Canada has multiplied close upon four-fold—a much larger ratio of increase than is shown in the population and indicating a very material advance in *per capita* wealth. The figures quoted further show that for the period embraced in these official returns the ratio of losses to premiums has been sixty-nine per cent., which, after providing for agents' commissions, taxes and the other expenses incidental to the business, leaves but a small margin of profit to the companies. This is largely due to the fact that during the period dealt with some of our cities have been visited by serious conflagrations, notably that in the City of St. John, N.B., in the year 1877, which resulted in the destruction of property valued at \$15,000,000, and a loss of nearly \$6,500,000 to insurance companies.

The only official fire insurance statistics beyond those published by the Dominion Gov-

ernment are, as already intimated, those presented in the Reports of the Inspector of Insurance for the Province of Ontario, from which it appears that risks aggregating upwards of \$200,000,000 are carried by some eighty-eight companies working under Provincial licenses. These are chiefly township and county mutuals, confining themselves almost exclusively to the insurance of farm property, although there are several mutual companies doing a general business throughout Ontario. While the statistics which have been quoted show that the Dominion has not proved a lucrative field of operations to fire insurance companies in the past, it may reasonably be anticipated that the

more substantial modes of construction now adopted in most of the leading cities and towns, as compared with those of earlier years, combined with the improved fire appliances which are from time to time being introduced, will materially reduce the danger of serious conflagrations in the leading business centres, and thus tend towards placing the risks assumed by fire insurance companies in Canada more on an equality with those of older countries than they have been during the period when wood—owing to its cheapness—was so largely used in the construction of buildings, and inadequate fire protection was the rule rather than the exception in Canadian towns.



The Hon. George A. Cox.

## THE HISTORY OF LIFE INSURANCE IN CANADA

BY

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**I**N his most instructive and valuable work on "The Climate of Canada," Sir William Hingston, M.D., shows that Canada ranks amongst the healthiest countries in the world, and taking cognizance of climate, physical conditions, habits, longevity and every circumstance which could influence the death rate, it is a most favourable field for carrying on successfully the business of Life Insurance. He points out that British life companies of the highest rank had assigned to Canadians a place among the healthiest, and, on this ground had thought themselves warranted in accepting lower rates of premium, up to a certain period of life, than in Great Britain. Much as that consideration may have had to do with such a decision, it is probable that the higher rates of interest formerly obtainable on investments in Canada had also much weight in the matter, coupled in later days with the necessity of meeting the competition of Canadian companies, which have always granted insurance upon most favourable terms. Life Insurance in Canada is carried on by three classes of organizations, viz.:

1. Those known as fixed premium or "old line" companies.
2. Those embodying the feature of assessment in some form or other.
3. Those doing society or fraternal insurance which is conducted, I believe, wholly on some modification of the assessment plan.

This history divides itself, especially in the case of the first class of companies, into three periods; (1) that prior to Confederation in 1867; (2) from Confederation to the establishment of the Dominion Insurance Department in 1875; and (3) since 1875 to the present day. Among the earliest companies of the first class were

the *Standard*, *Scottish Amicable* and the *International*, all British companies. After 1825 the business of the *Standard* was extended to the taking of risks on the lives of parties going to the Colonies, but the Company had no regular agency in this country down to 1847, prior to which year the *Scottish Amicable* had one or two agencies, the chief of which was at Chicoutimi, a small fishing village on the River Saguenay, in the Province of Quebec—which fact shows clearly that business was not especially sought after. As the business of the *Standard* on the lives of persons going to the Colonies, was thought to interfere with the home business, the manager of that Company, Mr. William Thomas Thomson, an eminent actuary in his day, started the *Colonial Life Assurance Company* in 1847 to do business in India, the United States and Canada, prior to which date the *International* did a little business in this country in a small way. The *Colonial* was, after a short experience, absorbed by the *Standard* in 1865.

Before the passing of the Act of 1868, several of the best English and Scotch companies did business in Canada, but the requirements of that Act were so unacceptable to the managers that all retired except the *London & Lancashire* and *The British Empire*. Especial exception was taken to the provision that the reserves on their Canadian policies should be invested in stated British and Canadian securities for the protection of their policy-holders here, such investments being beyond the immediate control of the companies. The earliest application to the Legislature for an insurance charter was made in 1829. The Journal of the House of Assembly (page 22) states that a petition was then presented for an Act incorporating the petitioners as "The Upper

Canada Fire, Life & Marine Assurance Company," with a capital of \$1,000,000 and shares of \$50 each. The petition was duly referred, but the Committee made no report.

The Journal of the Assembly, 1832-33 (page 32), records that on the 13th November, 1832, a petition from William Maxwell and forty-nine others, for an Act incorporating them as "The British American Fire and Life Assurance Institution" (changed in the Legislative Council to "The British America Fire & Life Assurance Company"), with a capital of \$400,000, and shares of \$50 each, was presented. The petition was duly referred and a Bill based on the report of the Committee reached its third reading on the 29th of December, 1832, when a rider was added requiring a return to be made under oath of the Governor and Trustees of the said Company to the Provincial Parliament once in each year, which return should contain a full and true account of the funds and property of the Company, the amount of capital subscribed and paid in, the amount of insurance of the previous year, the amount charged upon the several kinds of property or on lives insured, and the amount which the Company paid, or stood liable to pay, for losses or otherwise during such year. This is the beginning of the annual financial statements now made, as required by law, to the Dominion and several Provincial Governments. The Company, however, seems never to have exercised its corporate right to do Life Insurance business.

The earliest insurance statement presented among our Parliamentary records is that laid before the House of Assembly, February 5th, 1835, by the Speaker, Mr. M. S. Bidwell, showing the transactions of the *St. Lawrence Inland Marine Insurance Company*, incorporated in 1832. In 1835 Daniel Jones and other influential promoters succeeded in carrying through the Assembly of Upper Canada, with the general support of both sides of the House, an Act incorporating a Life Insurance and Trust Company, upon the general plan of the *New York Life and Trust Company*, incorporated on the 9th March, 1830 by the Legislature of the State of New York. Sir John Colborne, the Governor, reserved the Bill for His Majesty's pleasure, but assent thereto

was refused. Lord Glenelg, Colonial Secretary, with wise forethought raised several objections to the Act, amongst which were the following:

"(1) It appears that this Bill establishes a corporate body for three distinct objects—the effecting of Life Insurance, the receiving of deposits for accumulation and the acceptance and execution of trusts. These objects, if not, strictly speaking, compatible with each other, could scarcely be carried on so as not to involve the corporation in many dangers and embarrassments. I do not here refer to the circumstance that the time and thought of the Directors would be distracted by their attention to so many branches of commerce (though that is no immaterial circumstance), but rather to the blending together of funds, which justice to the parties concerned and and the public's security would alike require to be kept distinct. The trust moneys might be applied to pay off Life Insurance, or the deposits might be used to liquidate the claims of those for whom the Company should be trustees. I find in the Bill no securities whatever against these obvious and formidable dangers.

(2) The Courts by which the trusts are to be delegated to this Company are not invested with any summary jurisdiction over the corporate body, its officers or its funds. The property of infants and of absentees, of married women and of lunatics, would be thus committed to functionaries not amenable to the summary orders of the tribunals from which their power is to be derived, nor bound to render to them any account of the administration of the trust funds. In every case of alleged breach of trust, legal proceedings must be instituted, the nature of which is not at all explained, and the success of these proceedings must depend upon the solvency of a body virtually irresponsible for their conduct. (3) The society to which these extraordinary powers are to be granted is limited to a capital of \$1,200,000, currency, of which they are not required to invest more than one-tenth part. Such a fund as \$120,000, currency, would seem a most inadequate security to those who are to be involved in pecuniary transactions with this body. (4) The Company are expressly exempted from the obligation of giving, in any case, any special security for the faithful discharge of any trust which they may undertake—an exemption of which I am at a loss to conjecture the reason."

The Colonial Secretary also showed that there was no Court of Equity in the Province, and he did not see how relief for neglect or a breach of trust could be had, and objected to the power of investing the Company's capital in the stock of other trading corporations. He added that this

“ will largely and needlessly enhance the risk with all with whom they deal.” The Company’s charter was to be limited to twenty-five years, and Lord Glenelg further pointed out that no provision was made for securing the property of infants and others, for whom, at the end of that time, the Company will be Trustees, or respecting the payments of policies on lives which twenty-five years hence may be still in being. (Journal of Assembly, 1836, pages 263-4). A striking proof of the foresight of Lord Glenelg, regarding the danger of combining in the same company two classes of business so different as those of Life and Trust companies, was clearly shown by the failure in 1857 of the Ohio (U.S.) *Life Insurance and Trust Company*, which it is supposed brought on the severe financial panic of that year—one which spread to England and was stayed there only by the suspension of the Bank Act. The *Canada Life* for many years received moneys on deposit, but after the appointment in 1859 of Mr. Ramsay, as Manager, on the death of its first President, Mr. Hugh C. Baker, the Company discontinued that branch of its business, influenced, no doubt, by the wise counsel of its future President, Mr. A. G. Ramsay, F.I.A., who acted probably on the directions discussed by the Colonial Secretary in connection with the above application of Mr. Jones and others in 1835.

The Dominion Parliament in the Insurance Act, 57 Vic., cap. 20 (1894), provided against this danger by enacting that: “A license shall not be granted to a company to carry on the business of Life Insurance with any other branch of insurance.” Subsequent to the Union of Upper and Lower Canada (in 1841) the *Canada Life Insurance Company*, which had been formed under a Deed of Settlement, dated the 21st of August, 1847, became incorporated by the Parliament of Canada on the 25th of April, 1849. This was the pioneer Life Insurance company of Canada, established for the three-fold purpose: (1) of making the knowledge and practice of Life Insurance in its various branches general amongst all classes in British North America; (2) of affording to all residents therein the opportunity of availing themselves of these important benefits at the lowest costs compatible with safety; and

(3) of retaining within the Province the accumulations thus made for the equal benefit of our country and the assured. The Company is a mixed one, being partly proprietary and partly mutual. Under its Act of incorporation twenty-five per cent. of its realized profits go to the shareholders, and the remaining seventy-five per cent. were to be annually divided among its participating assurers. Several years ago the Company voluntarily reduced the proportion to shareholders very materially.

Its first Report shows that the first year’s



Alexander G. Ramsay.

premiums on 136 policies amounted to \$6,200 on insurances for \$239,632.00. According to the Company’s last official Report, the premium receipts for 1897 amounted to \$1,876,103, being an increase of over 308-fold, and the amount of insurance carried by the Company amounted to \$72,275,894.67. These figures afford a most striking illustration, not only of the great progress of Life Insurance in Canada, but of the thrift of Canadians in making such provision for the future. The only other Life Insurance company

incorporated by the Parliament of Canada prior to Confederation was the *Sun Life*, under Act, 28 Vic., cap. 43, assented to March 18th, 1865. The Company did not commence business until May, 1871. The history of this Company furnishes also evidence of the marked progress of Life Insurance in this country. The premiums received by the Company in 1871 amounted to \$13,975 upon policies for \$402,000, while the last official Government Report shows that for the year 1897 its premium income amounted to \$1,851,157.80, its new business for the year to \$7,468,281 and its business in force to \$44,962,246.79.

The first returns of the Life companies doing business in Canada after Confederation, made in compliance with the Act, 31 Vic., cap. 48, sec. 14, embrace the transactions for the year 1868 of twenty-three companies, of which thirteen were British, nine U.S., and one Canadian—the *Canada Life*. The returns are probably imperfect and incomplete, but they show that the premiums of the year were \$960,331.33, and the new policies issued 3,990 for \$6,971,967.86, and that the total insurance in force amounted to \$29,577,188.21—in part estimated by the Hon. Mr. Langton, then Auditor General.

Mr. J. B. Cherriman, M.A., F.I.A., was appointed Superintendent of Insurance on the nomination of Sir Richard Cartwright in 1875, under sec. 28, 38 Victoria, cap. 20. His first official Report, dated August 10th, 1876, was made to Sir Richard Cartwright, as Finance Minister, the business of insurance having been made a branch of the Finance Department. The summary of the Superintendent shows that the amount at risk had grown to \$35,680,082 in 1869, to \$85,009,264 in 1875, having been tripled in the United States companies, and more than quadrupled in the Canadian companies. The premiums rose from \$1,238,359, for 1869, to \$2,882,287, for 1875, of which \$1,551,835 went to United States companies—the balance being about equally shared by the Canadian and British companies.

During the said seven years the premiums paid exceeded fifteen millions of dollars, of which the U. S. companies received over eight millions of dollars, the British over four millions of dollars,

and the Canadian not quite three millions of dollars. The Superintendent estimated that the premium reserve on the policies held by United States companies on the lives of Canadians in 1875 was between six and seven millions of dollars, which would represent the amount then entrusted by Canadian policy-holders to those companies for management and investment, which has grown as at December 31st, 1897, to \$13,582,769. The total amount of Life Insurance premiums paid to U. S. companies from 1875 to 1897 amounts to the large sum of \$50,915,132. During 1875 the new business done by the U. S. companies in Canada fell off \$3,398,495, while that of the Canadian companies increased \$2,322,977.

During the period, 1869 to 1875, the amount of policies in the U. S. companies which ceased to be in force in Canada, otherwise than by payment of claims, by death, or maturity, amounted to \$35,103,082, while in Canadian companies the like terminations amounted to only \$7,442,258, tending to show the greater stability of the business done by the Home companies. The business of Life Insurance in Canada, at the close of 1897, was transacted by fifteen Canadian companies, fourteen British companies and fourteen United States companies,—the total amount of policies issued for the year being \$48,517,249, of which the Canadian companies secured \$30,358,694; the British \$2,778,510, and the United States companies \$15,380,045. The premium receipts for 1897 were: by Canadian companies, \$6,598,034; by British, \$1,174,814; and by the United States companies, \$3,445,644—the premium receipts of the Canadian companies being nearly double those of the United States companies. These figures afford very marked evidence of the great progress of Life Insurance in Canada, especially in the Home companies, when it is borne in mind that of the total premiums for the year 1869, amounting to \$1,238,359, the only Canadian company received but \$164,910.

The total amount of insurance in force at the close of 1897 was, in the Canadian companies, \$208,927,011; in the British companies, \$35,292,744; and in the United States companies, \$100,094,693—the business in the Home companies being over double that in the United States

companies. The amount of insurance in force at the close of 1869 was, in Canadian companies, \$5,476,358; in British companies, \$16,318,479; and in United States companies, \$13,885,249. Since the first official Report of the Insurance Department after Confederation, in 1875, down to the close of 1897, the total amount of premiums collected by Canadian companies was \$68,-

207,775; by British companies, \$19,444,104; and by United States companies, \$50,915,132—being a total of premiums paid by Canadians during that period of \$138,567,031. The following table, from official sources, will be of value in this connection—it being noted that the companies marked with an asterisk have ceased doing new business in Canada:

## ABSTRACT OF LIFE INSURANCE IN CANADA FOR YEAR 1897.

	Premiums for Year.	Number of Policies New and Taken up.	Amount of Policies New and Taken up.	Number of Policies in Force at Date	Net Amount in Force.
<i>Canadian Companies.</i>	\$		\$		\$
Canada Life (Canadian business).....	1,876,103	1,818	3,627,733	31,206	66,131,637
Confederation (Canadian business).....	920,432	1,984	3,040,172	18,725	27,939,010
Dominion Life.....	70,863	467	593,700	2,121	2,614,873
Excelsior.....	70,447	1,355	719,048	2,998	2,664,121
Federal .....	349,589	1,505	2,003,850	6,462	10,483,088
Great West.....	202,482	1,588	2,219,300	4,534	7,064,534
Imperial Life.....	32,060	370	1,185,725	370	908,725
London Life { General .....	52,828	491	495,250	2,071	1,915,664
{ Industrial.....	132,711	10,352	1,016,862	30,617	2,816,837
Manufacturers (Canadian business)....	354,895	1,472	2,287,688	7,153	10,622,656
North American (Canadian business)..	574,217	2,529	3,426,524	13,016	18,494,963
Northern Life.....	4,612	287	360,500	284	346,000
Ontario Mutual.....	644,107	1,943	3,031,900	15,701	21,426,878
Royal Victoria.....	8,071	143	242,500	143	242,500
Sun Life (Canadian business).....	1,129,744	8,554	4,317,292	26,777	28,069,239
Temperance and General.....	174,878	1,605	1,790,650	6,314	7,186,286
Totals for 1897 .....	6,598,039	36,463	30,358,694	168,492	208,927,011
Totals for 1896 .....	6,075,454	28,744	26,171,830	150,063	195,303,042
Increase, <i>i</i> ; decrease, <i>d</i> .....	<i>i</i> 522,585	<i>i</i> 7,719	<i>i</i> 4,186,864	<i>i</i> 18,429	<i>i</i> 13,623,969
<i>British Companies.</i>					
British Empire.....	219,742	95	304,150	2,745	5,850,655
Commercial Union .....	16,018	2	4,000	263	584,810
Edinburgh Life*.....	6,013	None.	None.	97	264,407
Life Association of Scotland*.....	34,814	None.	None.	865	1,466,487
Liverpool and London and Globe.....	6,579	None.	None.	130	222,092
London and Lancashire.....	239,989	468	829,000	4,533	7,392,156
London Assurance*.....	1,108	None.	None.	7	33,186
North British.....	33,985	2	3,695	481	1,199,418
Reliance* .....	6,313	None.	None.	178	223,324
Royal.....	16,654	None.	None.	329	840,126

	Premiums for Year.	Number of Policies New and Taken up.	Amount of Policies New and Taken up.	Number of Policies in Force at Date.	Net Amount in Force.
<i>British Companies.</i>	\$		\$		\$
Scottish Amicable*.....	5,160	None.	None.	103	263,001
Scottish Provident*.....	1,765	None.	None.	55	155,945
Standard.....	568,122	844	1,568,750	7,775	16,209,036
Star.....	18,552	32	68,915	266	588,101
Totals for 1897.....	1,174,814	1,443	2,778,510	17,827	35,292,744
Totals for 1896.....	1,137,607	1,602	2,869,971	17,541	34,837,448
Increase, <i>i</i> ; decrease, <i>d</i> .....	<i>i</i> 37,207	<i>d</i> 159	<i>d</i> 91,461	<i>i</i> 286	<i>i</i> 455,296

<i>American Companies.</i>					
Ætna Life.....	526,606	401	708,761	11,780	15,091,296
Connecticut Mutual*.....	33,767	None.	None.	778	1,510,382
Equitable.....	653,161	747	1,745,183	8,839	19,070,136
Germania.....	8,760	None.	None.	136	252,460
Metropolitan... {General.....}	200,002	{ 723	511,741	862	762,630
{Industrial.....}					
Mutual Life.....	742,844	852	1,886,850	8,065	18,129,911
National Life*.....	1,583	None.	None.	136	124,700
New York.....	817,657	1,667	2,861,050	11,641	22,918,289
North-western*.....	13,436	None.	None.	312	422,699
Phœnix Mutual*.....	20,039	None.	None.	806	856,396
Provident Savings.....	114,949	431	916,762	1,793	4,123,010
Travellers.....	137,579	153	562,925	2,733	5,213,994
Union Mutual.....	129,214	450	641,718	2,989	4,759,974
United States.....	43,477	114	178,260	840	1,490,940
Totals for 1897.....	3,443,074	41,675	15,380,315	98,135	100,094,693
Totals for 1896.....	3,389,605	42,960	13,582,769	93,594	97,660,009
Increase, <i>i</i> ; decrease, <i>d</i> .....	<i>i</i> 53,469	<i>d</i> 1,285	<i>i</i> 1,797,546	<i>i</i> 4,541	<i>i</i> 2,434,684

## RECAPITULATION.

Canadian Companies.....	6,598,039	36,463	30,358,694	168,492	208,927,011
British Companies.....	1,174,814	1,443	2,778,510	17,827	35,292,744
American Companies.....	3,443,074	41,675	15,380,045	98,135	100,094,693
Grand Totals for 1897.....	11,215,927	79,581	48,517,249	284,454	344,314,448
Grand Totals for 1896.....	10,602,666	73,306	42,624,570	261,198	327,800,499
Increase, <i>i</i> ; decrease, <i>d</i> .....	<i>i</i> 613,261	<i>i</i> 6,275	<i>i</i> 5,892,679	<i>i</i> 23,256	<i>i</i> 16,513,949



In his last official Report for 1897 the Superintendent of Insurance states that in the calculation of the death rate in that year, as in previous years, the mean number of policies in force and the number of policies terminated by death during the year have been admitted as approxima-

tions to the mean number of lives exposed to risk, and the number of deaths during the year, respectively. It is believed that the results arrived at as follows represent the actual mortality among insured lives in Canada as accurately as can be gathered from the returns of the companies :

	1896.	1895.	1894.	1893.	1892.	1891.	1890.	1889.	1888.	1887.
	Death Rate.	Death Rate.	Death Rate.	Death Rate.	Death Rate.	Death Rate.	Death Rate.	Death Rate.	Death Rate.	Death Rate.
Active companies .....	10.095	11.166	10.327	10.176	10.676	10.178	10.148	8.846	8.614	8.317
Assessment companies...	6.798	8.655	8.101	9.407	8.946	9.345	8.475	8.250	9.727	9.120
Retired companies .....	32.969	30.235	26.449	22.574	26.512	20.109	21.417	16.840	23.489	17.943
On total lives insured	9.261	11.092	10.340	10.364	10.860	10.335	10.340	9.083	9.495	8.955

In this connection the Report for 1896 of Dr. Bryce, Secretary of the Provincial Board of Health for Ontario, gives its death rate as 10.9 per 1,000, as compared with that of England, which is 18.7 per 1000. Life Insurance in Canada is controlled by the Insurance Act, cap. 124, Revised Statutes of Canada (1886), as amended by 51 Vic., cap. 28 (1888), and 57 Vic., cap. 20 (1894). One of the most beneficent provisions of Life Insurance (recently enlarged in its operation) was drawn up many years ago by Chief Justice (now Sir George W.) Burton, while solicitor of the Canada Life Assurance Company, under which a person effecting an insurance on his or her own life may, either by the contract of insurance, or by an instrument in writing attached to, or endorsed on, or identifying, the said contract by number or otherwise, declare the insurance money, or a portion of the principal or interest thereof, to be for the benefit of the husband, wife, children, grandchildren, or mother of the assured, and so long as any object of the trust remains the money payable under the contract shall not be subject to the control of the insured or of his or her creditors, or form a part of his or her estate, when the sum secured by the contract becomes payable. This provision has been incorporated in the laws of nearly all the Provinces, but it is not contained in the Dominion Insurance Act.

The following companies authorized by law on the fixed premium plan ceased to do business several years ago, having re-insured their outstanding transactions with one or other of the regular Life companies, namely: (1) The Mutual

Life Association of Canada, which commenced to do business on the 22nd of August, 1871, with head office at Hamilton; (2) The Citizens' Insurance Company, which began business on the 14th of July, 1873, with head office at Montreal; (3) The Toronto Life Assurance and Tontine Company, which began business on the 14th of July, 1874, with head office at Toronto; (4) The Stadacona Life Insurance Company, which began business August 20, 1875, head office at Quebec; (5) The Dominion Safety Fund of St. John, N.B., which commenced business 8th June, 1881. Notwithstanding the discontinuance of business of these companies it is believed that the transfer of the business was in every case to the great advantage of the policy-holders. The following table will enable the progress of the total business to be traced during the past twenty-two years, both as regards the amounts of insurances effected from year to year, and the total amount in force :

AMOUNTS OF INSURANCE EFFECTED DURING THE RESPECTIVE YEARS 1875-1897:

YEAR.	Canadian Companies.	British Companies.	American Companies.	Total.
	\$	\$	\$	\$
1875....	5,077,601	1,689,833	8,306,824	15,074,258
1876...	5,465,966	1,683,357	6,740,804	13,890,127
1877....	5,724,648	2,142,702	5,667,317	13,534,667
1878....	5,508,556	2,789,201	3,871,998	12,169,755
1879....	6,112,706	1,877,918	3,363,600	11,354,224
1880....	7,547,876	2,302,011	4,057,000	13,906,887
1881....	11,158,479	2,536,120	3,923,412	17,618,011
1882....	11,855,545	2,833,250	5,423,960	20,112,755
1883....	11,883,317	3,278,008	6,411,635	21,572,960
1884....	12,926,265	3,167,910	7,323,737	23,417,912
1885....	14,881,695	3,950,647	8,332,646	27,164,988
1886....	19,289,694	4,054,279	11,827,375	35,171,348

YEAR.	Canadian Companies. \$	British Companies. \$	American Companies. \$	Total. \$
1887....	23 505,549	3,067,040	11,435,721	38,008,310
1888....	24 876,259	3,985 787	12,364,483	41,226,529
1889....	26,438 358	3,399 313	14 719 266	44,556 937
1890....	23,541,404	3,390 972	13 591,080	40,523 456
1891....	21,904,302	2,947,246	13 014,739	37,866,287
1892....	23 585,534	3,625 213	15,109 266	44,620,013
1893....	28,089,437	2,967,855	14,145,555	45,202,847
1894....	28,670,364	3,214,216	17,643,677	49,525,257
1895....	27,909,672	3,337,638	13,093,888	44,341,198
1896....	26,171,830	2,869,971	13,582,769	42,624,570
1897....	30,358,694	2 778,510	15,380,045	48,517,249
Totals..	\$404,483,751	67,888,997	229,627,797	\$702,000,545

## AMOUNTS OF INSURANCE IN FORCE, 1875-1898:

Year.	Canadian Companies. \$	British Companies. \$	American Companies. \$	Total. \$
1875....	21,957,296	19,455,607	43,596,361	85,009,264
1876....	24,649,284	18 873,173	40,728,461	84,250,918
1877....	26,870,224	19,349,204	39,468,475	85,687,903
1878....	28,656,556	20,078,533	36,016,848	84,751,937
1879....	33,246,543	19,410,829	33,616,330	86,273,702
1880....	37,838,518	19,789,863	33,643,745	91,272,126
1881....	46,041,591	20,983,092	36,266,249	103,290,932
1882....	53 855,051	22,329,368	38,857,629	115,042,048
1883....	59,213,609	23,511,712	44,471,554	124,196,875
1884....	66,519,958	24,317,172	44,616,596	135 453,726
1885....	74,591,139	25,930,272	49,440,735	149,962 146
1886....	88,181,859	27,225,607	53,908,230	171,315,696
1887....	101,796,754	28,163,329	61,734,187	191,694,270
1888....	114,034,279	30,003,210	67,724,094	211,761,583
1889....	125,125 692	30,488,618	76 348,392	231,963 702
1890....	135,218,990	31,613,730	81,599,847	248,424,567
1891....	143,368,817	32,407,937	85,698,475	261,475,229
1892....	154 709,077	33,692,706	90,708,482	279,110,265
1893....	167,475,872	33,543,884	94,602,966	295,622,722
1894....	177,511,846	33,911,885	96,737,705	308,161,436
1895....	188,326,057	34,341,172	96,590,352	319,257,581
1896....	195,303,042	34 837,448	97,660,009	327,800,499
1897....	408,927,011	35,292,744	100,094,693	344,314,448
Totals...	\$2,473,419,065	619,551,095	1,446,130,415	4,336,093,575

*Industrial Insurance* is an important branch of the fixed premium plan, and includes the promise for a weekly premium, generally five cents, to pay small sums on the death of a child. This system of insurance was introduced in Ontario, in 1881, by the *North American Life* which issued in that year 3,348 policies for \$424,837.00. The *Metropolitan Life Insurance Company* of New York issued, in 1885, 1,470 Industrial policies for \$166,605.00; and in 1887 the *London Life* began issuing similar policies, granting 3,112 policies for \$320,385.00 the first year. Since 1887 the *London Life* and

*Metropolitan* of New York have been the chief promoters of this class of business, issuing 10,352 policies for \$1,016,862 and 36,137 policies for \$5,367,065 respectively for the year ending December 31st, 1897. At that time the *Metropolitan* had 46,425 policies for \$5,367,876 and the *London Life* 30,617 policies for \$2,816,837 in force. The *Sun Life Company* has for the past couple of years been issuing a class of policies, styled "Thrift" policies, which are practically Industrial policies, but, as the premiums are said to be payable yearly, half-yearly or quarterly, they have thus far been treated as ordinary insurance. The *Excelsior Life* has also, during the past year, commenced the issue of small policies upon the monthly plan, and the *North American* also in March, 1898.

There is no special Dominion legislation regarding such Insurance. The Inspector of Insurance for Ontario for the past two years has asked for special returns regarding policies on the lives of children, under five and between five and ten years of age. The Ontario Legislature passed an Act in 1892 regulating the amounts which may be insured in the case of children under ten years of age, and limiting such amounts to \$32 on the death of a child dying under two years of age, rising gradually to \$147.00 payable on the death of a child dying between nine and ten years of age. The intention seems to be to limit the amount by Parliamentary enactment to a burial fund. The legislation of Ontario has been several times amended, and now stands as determined by Section 150, sub-sections 1 to 6 inclusive, of the Ontario Insurance Act, 1897, which, I believe, is the only special legislation in Canada affecting Industrial Insurance.

*Assessment and Society Insurance* on this continent or Life Insurance on the Assessment Plan, was first worked in a very limited way by various secret societies as an incident to the main purpose of their organization, and consisted of providing small benefits for the families of their members. According to the *Monetary Times*, "it was usually conducted in the form of a fixed contribution of one dollar with 10 or 15 cents additional for expenses from each member on the death of an associate, and was carried on in the simplest and least expensive form. This branch of Life Insur-

ance is carried on in Canada at present by six Canadian and two United States companies. The total income of the Canadian companies for 1897 was \$2,219,174.27, and of the United States companies \$580,054.85; the expenditure of the former during the same year was \$1,575,946.77 and of the latter \$430,568.65." The history of assessment insurance in Canada seems to have been a record of disaster in many cases, while society insurance, confined to assistance in sickness or accident, with a small fraternal benefit, has been a decided success among well-established fraternal bodies, such as the Masons, Odd Fellows and Orangemen. There are ninety societies which report to the Ontario Government.

Probably the oldest existing Canadian Assessment Society paying a substantial sum in the nature of Life Insurance is the Odd Fellows' Relief Association of Kingston, Ontario. It commenced operations in 1874, and seems to have been conducted with considerable care. It is only since 1891 that it or any other such Society has been obliged to make sworn returns of the business transacted, to the Provincial Registrar of Friendly Societies in Toronto. In December, 1891, it had 5,102 contracts in force for \$7,164,000, and during 1892 had 51 death claims for \$74,000. On December 31st, 1896, it had in force 9,058 contracts for \$12,181,500, and during the year its death claims were 69 for \$94,000, for which six assessments were made. Its Assets amounted to \$109,300.33 and Liabilities to \$12,000 for claims admitted. An older, similar Society was the Canadian Masonic Mutual Benefit Association of London, Ontario. It was organized in December, 1870, and failed in 1894. In 1875 it had 2,250 members and the cost of its insurance was then about \$8.00 per 1,000, which rose to \$18.10 in 1885 and to \$25.00 in 1893. On July 19th, 1894, it closed up and the \$82,686 of apparent assets were put in charge of a liquidator. Its failure developed a number of cases of extreme hardship.

A much better record, owing mainly to the large yearly addition of new members and the consequent under-average mortality, is being made by the Independent Order of Foresters, which, like the Masonic Mutual Benefit, also originated in London. It commenced business

in Ontario in July, 1881, and had on the 31st December, 1897, 124,625 certificates in force, promising the payment of \$68,750,000 to Canadian members, and \$85,760,000 to holders thereof in other countries, or an aggregate of \$154,510,000. Unlike the Odd Fellows' Relief Association and the Masonic Mutual Benefit, it was not limited to the membership of any old Society, but started a society of its own with branches almost everywhere in Canada, as well as in the United States and Great Britain. As is well known, most of the Fraternal Societies levied monthly assessments based on the mortality experienced by the Society from month to month. The I. O. F. modified this system by collecting from its members, not the current actual monthly cost of the assurance, but a Level Premium Rate ceasing at age 70 and varying but slightly from the actual tabular cost of insurance for the single year of the age of entry of the member, which fixed premium rate, in the judgment of the founders, would always prove sufficient to cover the actual and uncontrollable increasing cost of insurance. This Level Premium Rate of the I. O. F. is, as mentioned, about the tabular cost only, as stated in the mortality table used for the insurance of the single year of entry of the member at his then age, and remains stationary at that figure up to age 70, when it ceases, although the actual net cost of insurance steadily, and especially after age 50, and to a greater degree after age 70, rapidly increases, so that the larger the enrolment of members the heavier must be the inevitable disaster, unless all past experience is unreliable. The I.O.F. was licensed to transact business in Canada on the 1st of May, 1896, at which time, it is believed, it had in force about \$100,000,000 on the Endowment plan, nearly all of which was payable in instalments of one-tenth the amount named in the certificate, beginning at age 70, when dues ceased, and continuing for ten years, unless death occurred within that term, when the balance would become payable at once. No adequate attempt has been made to provide for the payment of such endowments nor for the payment of half the amount named in the certificate promised on the member's disablement. On coming under the Insurance Act of Canada, I believe the Order ceased doing business on that

plan, or at least it was legally prohibited from doing that class of business under the provision in Section 39, sub-section 10 of the Act, which states: "No company which is authorized to assure or assures to any of its members a certain annuity, either immediate or deferred, whether for life or for a term of years, or any endowment whatever, shall be eligible for license as an assessment company under the Act." The Special Act authorizing the Society to become licensed under the Act does not affect in any way the contracts then outstanding, and it is unknown by the public whether such contracts have been called in or not. If they are still outstanding, it would require millions of dollars in hand to be increased and improved yearly by several times the regular premium therein stated, to make proper provision for the payment of such contracts. Notwithstanding that the Special Act authorizing the licensing of this Order to do business provides for and requires a statement of assets and liabilities each year, the last Report of the Dominion Superintendent of Insurance for the business of 1896, under the head of "Liabilities \$7,725.85" closed with these words "Total Liabilities, *excluding* reserves on unmaturing benefits, which benefits then amounted to \$128,791,000." This presents the play of Hamlet with the part of the Prince of Denmark omitted. The very serious aspect of excluding proper provision for the payment of these so-called large unmaturing benefits becomes more apparent by an inspection of the preliminary Government Report for the year 1897, which shows they were, on December 31st, 1897, \$154,510,000, being a yearly increase of \$25,719,000. In the Report of the business for 1896 (see page 566) under the head of liabilities is included "Present value of unpaid instalments of old age annuities (\$800 per annum) the sum of \$5,934." This seems to show the Order to be still paying the maturing endowments above referred to. The section of the Insurance Act of Canada, above quoted, expressly provides that no assessment company assuring a certain annuity either immediate or deferred, or any Endowment whatever, shall be eligible for license as an Assessment Company under the Act.

Under the existing law, therefore, it would

seem clear that the total liabilities of this Order, instead of being as stated by the Chief Officers of the Order at \$89,725.85 on December 31st, 1896, should be several millions of dollars, whether the outstanding certificates be valued as contracts calling for a limited number of payments up to age 70 only or as Endowment contracts, payable by instalments, on the members attaining age 70 for such as were in force at the passing of the special Act. A magnificent Temple has been built in Toronto by the I. O. F. as a headquarters, and a monthly



William McCabe.

magazine is published, which is now in its eighteenth volume.

The Canadian Order of Foresters is a much smaller body than the I. O. F. It was incorporated December the 1st, 1897, and has now about 25,000 members, with over a million dollars of invested assets. It admits at ages 18 to 45 only on rates of \$7.20 per \$1,000 at 25 and under, and \$12.00 at ages 40 to 45, and these rates "always remain the same and are not raised." The Canadian Mutual Aid was organ-

ized in Toronto on the assessment system in 1880. Its claim was that, for one dollar at each death, insurance for \$3,000.00 at ages 18 to 30, and scaling down to \$1,000 at 59 to 60, should be paid. At the close of 1886 it had 3,457 members and an increase of only eight during 1889, who joined during the year, and soon after that the Society began to rapidly disintegrate through increasing mortality. To save something for themselves or for the members, the officers turned it over to the Massachusetts Benefit Association, then one of the largest Assessment organizations in the world, having over 100,000 members. This Association had a deposit of \$100,000.00 at Ottawa, and has since failed most disastrously. The Provincial Provident Institution was another very promising Assessment Society, which flourished at St. Thomas from 1884 to 1896. On December 31st, 1895, it had 7,951 members, carrying \$13,067,000 of insurance. It soon after followed the steps of the Canadian Mutual Aid, being sold out by its officers to a larger concern from the United States—the Mutual Reserve Fund, of New York. The rates of the Mutual Reserve were \$9.75 at 20, \$10.65 at 30, \$13.81 at 40, and \$48.00 at 60, and have since been heavily increased and even so are not yet up to safety point. The eight Assessment Societies to which the Covenant Mutual and the Mutual Reserve belong in the United States, appear to have assets in Canada of \$2,984,670 towards meeting the \$132,885,400 of certificates in force, or \$2 $\frac{25}{100}$  for each \$100 thereof.

An important step in advance was made in Assessment Insurance on the passage of the Dominion Act, 49 Victoria, cap. 45, 1886, Sections 36 to 43, inclusive, regulating Assessment Life Insurance. Before the passage of this Act the certificates of companies doing Assessment Insurance contained only a promise to pay such sum as might be received from the members under an assessment made on the death of a member, not exceeding \$1,000 or such other sum for which the certificate purported to be issued.

Section 39, sub-section 8, of the said Act now provides as follows: "Every certificate and policy shall contain a promise to pay the whole

amount therein mentioned, out of the Death Fund of the Association, and out of the moneys realized from assessments to be made for that purpose, and every such Association shall be bound forthwith and from time to time to make assessments to an amount adequate with its other available funds to pay all obligations created under any such certificate or policy without deduction or abatement." The Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies of Ontario shows no less than ninety Fraternal Societies making official annual returns to that office in Toronto. Most of these provide only for very small benefits in case of sickness or death. The following are the chief:

Name.	Organized.
Chosen Friends, Canadian Order of.....	1887
Foresters, Ancient Order of .....	1877
"    Canadian Order of.....	1879
"    Catholic Order of .....	1883
Home Circles, Canadian Order of.....	1884
Knights of the Maccabees, Supreme Temple.....	1883
"    Pythias, Supreme Lodge .....	1864
Odd Fellows Relief Association.....	1874
Royal Arcanum of Boston, Mass.....	1877
Royal Templars of Temperance, Hamilton....	1884
Select Knights of Canada, St. Catharines....	1883
United Workman, Ancient Order of .....	1879

The names of the six Canadian Societies registered at Ottawa are as follows :

Catholic Mutual Benefit Society .....	1880
Colonial Mutual " " .....	1895
Commercial Travellers' Mutual Benefit.....	1881
Home Life Association, Toronto .....	1892
Foresters, Independent Order of, Toronto....	1881
Woodmen of the World, London, Ontario....	1893

Whether the Provincial Legislatures have power to regulate the rates to be charged by Fraternal Societies for Life Insurance contracts, large or small, is probably an undecided question as yet. But in the Ontario Insurance Act, 1897, Sec. 60, sub-section 6, it is provided that "no Society organized in another Province can do business in Ontario unless its contracts are free from all endowment provisions and unless they provide for collecting at least the rates set forth in Schedule A of the Act." These rates, whether monthly or quarterly, or yearly, must be paid in advance and enough over to cover all expenses.

They commence at age 18 with \$9.86 per \$1,000; at 30 with \$14.31; at 40 with \$20.18; at 50 with \$30.72; and at 55 with \$38.94. They are based upon the experience of the *Canada Life*, but it is by no means probable that any Society conducted on the Assessment principle (with liability to increased assessment driving out healthy lives), would have so light a mortality as that of a regular insurance company. The element of encouragement of the best lives to continue, in the shape of endowments and large profit accumulations, would be wholly wanting.

The following table gives the date of the organization of every Life Insurance Company now doing business in Canada together with the date at which British and American Companies commenced business:

	Established.	Commenced in Canada.
<i>Canadian Companies.</i>		
Canada Life.....	1847	.....
Confederation.....	1871	.....
Dominion Life.....	1889	.....
Excelsior.....	1890	.....
Federal.....	1882	.....
Great West.....	1892	.....
Imperial Life.....	1897	.....
London Life.....	1874	.....
Manufacturers.....	1887	.....
North American.....	1881	.....
Northern Life.....	1896	.....
Ontario Mutual.....	1870	.....
Royal Victoria.....	1897	.....
Sun Life (Canadian Business).....	1871	.....
Temperance and General.....	1886	.....
<i>British Companies.</i>		
British Empire.....	1847	1883
Commercial Union.....	1861	1863
Edinburgh Life.....	1823	1857
Life Association of Scotland.....	1839	1857
Liverpool and London and Globe.....	1836	1851
London and Lancashire.....	1862	1863
London Assurance.....	1720	1862
North British.....	1809	1882
Reliance.....	1800	1868
Royal.....	1845	1851
Scottish Amicable.....	1826	1846
Scottish Provident.....	1837	.....
Standard.....	1825	1847
Star.....	1843	1868
<i>American Companies.</i>		
Ætna Life.....	1850	1866
Connecticut Mutual.....	1846	1868
Equitable.....	1859	1868
Germania.....	1860	1887
Metropolitan.....	1867	1872

	Established.	Commenced in Canada.
<i>American Companies.</i>		
Mutual Life.....	1843	1885
National Life.....	1850	1869
New York.....	1845	1868
North-Western.....	1858	1871
Phoenix Mutual.....	1851	1866
Provident Savings.....	1875	1889
Travellers.....	1863	1865
Union Mutual.....	1849	1868
United States.....	1850	1873

Experience both on this Continent and in Europe has abundantly shown that the safe conduct of Life Insurance business can be secured only by the observance of the laws deduced from the mortality experience of insured lives, coupled with the premium rate based thereon being made upon a conservative rate of interest. This forms a large part of the work of the Actuary, and every properly managed company has to-day on its staff an officer having such knowledge. The Institute of Actuaries of Great Britain and Ireland, a few years ago, wisely placed the means of acquiring this knowledge within the reach of young men engaged in Life Insurance in Canada, by extending its examinations to this country. Such examinations are held yearly, on the same papers, in the month of April, simultaneously with those held in the other Colonies, as well as in the Mother Country. In the City of Montreal they are under the supervision of Mr. R. W. Tyre, and at Toronto of Messrs. A. G. Ramsay and William McCabe, both Fellows of the Institute. Whatever else may be said of Life Insurance, this much I believe to be undeniably true, that since the adoption of the law fixing a standard of solvency, requiring the maintenance and calculation of a reserve upon the proper tables of mortality and a conservative rate of interest, there has been no business in the world that records so few failures as does the system of regular Life Insurance. I heartily acknowledge here my great indebtedness in the preparation of this article to the *Monetary Times*; to Mr. W. H. Orr, Manager *Ætna Life Insurance Company*; to Mr. J. Howard Hunter, M.A., Inspector of Insurance for Ontario; to Mr. William Ramsay, Manager of the *Standard Life*; to Sir William Hingston, M.D.; and to Mr. A. G. Ramsay, President of the *Canada Life*.

Since the close of the foregoing, it is only fair to say that the *Forester* for Dec. 15th, 1898, the official organ of the I.O.F., has appeared, announcing new premium rates payable by members joining after Jan. 1st, 1899, and stating that "no table of rates which does not give promise of permanence without 'extra calls' can be considered as proper for adoption by any Society, except as a temporary expedient." The new rates, which apply only to new members, are from 30 to 50 per cent. greater than the rates called for by the outstanding contracts which aggregate about one hundred and eighty-five million dollars, to which contracts also are added the new benefits of: "(4) An Old Age Disability Benefit . . . which consists of the payment to the member himself on and after the age of 70, annually, of one-tenth of the face of his policy till the whole amount is paid, or in the event of his prior death the unpaid balance is paid to his beneficiaries; (a) also an Old Age pension beginning at \$100 a year at age 70 on a \$1,000 policy, and increasing to \$416 per annum on a \$1,000 policy at age 90; (b) also a funeral benefit of \$100"; and (5) "Bonus distribution from time to time to members of seven years' or more good standing, which benefit even now (is said to be) in sight."

Comparison is made with the rates (a) known as the "Fraternal Congress Rates, recently formulated by some of the ablest men in that Association; (b) the Hunter Rates; (c) the Fouse Rates recently prepared for the Ancient Order of Foresters"; and the *Forester*, the official organ of the I.O.F., adds that all these "minimum rates" are intended simply to pay for the insurance at the death of the policyholder. Their authors claim there should be no deduction of any kind whatsoever, not even for expenses. The matter therefore stands thus—that for a lower rate than any of the said "minimum rates" so far proposed, the I.O.F. undertakes to give five more benefits than can be secured under the other rates—(a), (b) and (c) above. The three other benefits additional to (4) and (5), already named, are (1) Relief from further taxation of any kind on Total and Permanent Disability, which might occur within a month of one's initiation; (2) Payment of one-

half of the face of the policy at the end of six months after Total and Permanent Disability, which might happen within the first year of membership; and (3) Relief from further taxation of any kind on reaching the age of 70 years. The *Forester* adds (see p. 171, Dec. 15th, 1898) "Too much emphasis cannot be placed on the fact that all the rates named other than those of the I.O.F. are for a whole life policy only—that is to say, all the policy-holders are obliged to pay premiums until death, while the policies of the I.O.F. carry with them the special benefit by which all members cease paying at 70 years of age."

Omitting the large provision essentially necessary to provide for the payment of Old Age and Permanent Disability claims and of Pension and Funeral benefits, and the payment by instalments on and after age 70 of the outstanding policies as at Dec. 31st, 1898, which the holders of such policies are relying on, according to their terms, aggregating about one hundred and eighty-five millions of dollars, it is well to contrast the net rate ceasing at age 70, fixed by the Dominion Insurance Act for a policy payable at death only, for \$1,000, with the rate of the I.O.F. before the last change and with the Order's new rate at, say, ages 30, 40, 50, 54:

Age.	Dominion Govt. Standard rate. (Net)	I.O.F. old rates with all added benefits.	I.O.F. new rates with all added benefits.
30	16.30	8.64	13.68
40	23.85	10.80	20.16
50	38.90	30.00	34.80
54	49.56	36.00	46.80

Inadequate as the above highest of I.O.F. rates are when tested by the Government standard, how much more so are existing rates on the large insurance outstanding of about \$185,000,000? Assuming for 1898 the same rate of increase as in 1897, will not the new rates prove but a temporary expedient? How can the scheme as illustrated by the largest Society under existing conditions escape resulting in failure and carrying misfortune and disappointment to thousands? The trouble is in this, as in almost every other case of assessment insurance, the rates were wholly inadequate, and inadequate rates at the start cannot be cured by a late reformation. Tables of mortality based upon experience, almost

as unvarying as time itself, have been entirely disregarded. The *Insurance Monitor*, in a recent issue, contains some reflections on the sudden failure of the Massachusetts Benefit Association after having several times increased its rates, not on new business only, but on its whole business, which deserve the serious consideration of all connected with the management or supervision of the unsound system considered in part of this article, as illustrated by one of its chief examples:

“For a hundred years we have had mortality tables. They have been compiled from every class and condition of people. They all agree in

showing that the rates of those that failed were ridiculously inadequate. If a captain should put to sea in a rotten vessel with a shipload of women and children, and drown half of them, he ought to be swung from a yard-arm. If he were heard to plead that he had never been to sea before and did not know his boat was rotten, an extra haul on the rope that suspended him should be taken.

. . . The failure of a large mercantile house is a great misfortune, but it is one of the risks incident to business. The failure of a savings bank or a life company is generally a crime. Neither is supposed to be subject to ordinary business risks, and both are depended on by helpless families.”



J. Herbert Mason.

President of the Canada Permanent Loan Company.



## FRATERNAL INSURANCE AND SICK BENEFIT SOCIETIES

BY

JOHN FERGUSON, M.A., M.D.

**I**N dealing with a matter so largely Canadian, it is not necessary to go into the general history of fraternal insurance and sick benefit societies. It may be mentioned, in passing, that in other countries they can claim a very ancient origin. There were societies for the relief of the needy in Greece and Rome. They were mostly of some religious order, or owed their origin to some supposed Divine inspiration. They were entirely voluntary. There does not appear to have been any definite collections or fixed benefits. They assisted as the occasion demanded. There was one, however, at a place some nineteen miles from Rome, with a much more definite system of business. One rule was that a new member must give an amphora of good wine, pay the equivalent of \$3.75 and pay two cents every month. In the event of death about \$11 was allotted for funeral expenses. There were also fines for fraud.

In the thirteenth century aid was usually dispensed by the Church. During the fourteenth century, serfdom was breaking up, and the agricultural classes were forming guilds. The period of the Reformation was one of the many changes in the direction of individual freedom. The guilds were mostly destroyed. In their place, however, arose during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries various societies of the collecting class. As an example, take one in England where a member paid 2d. weekly to secure 6s. weekly during sickness. A levy of 6d. was laid upon the members when a death occurred. This was paid out as a funeral benefit. Through various ensuing changes and gropings, societies in Great Britain attained to the great influence in membership and wealth which they now possess.

Coming to this country, and limiting my

remarks for the present to Ontario, I find that the Canadian Order of Odd Fellows began its work of giving endowment benefits in the year 1852. It was followed by the Knights of Pythias in 1870. Next came the Masonic Mutual Benefit in 1870, which failed in 1894. The Ancient Order of Foresters was started in this country in 1871; the Sons of England and the Odd Fellows Relief in 1874; the Sons of Scotland in 1876; the Royal Arcanum in 1877. The Canadian Order of Foresters and the United Workmen began in 1879. The Catholic Mutual Benefit Association was organized in 1880. The Independent Order of Foresters began in 1881, and the Orange Mutual in the same year. In 1883 several societies came into existence—the Select Knights, Knights of Maccabees and Catholic Foresters. The Home Circle and the Royal Templars of Temperance began in 1884, the Canadian Relief Society in 1886 and the Chosen Friends in 1887.

It will be seen from the above dates that though fraternal benefits go as far back as 1852, the real commencement of this form of insurance had its beginning about thirty years ago, when the larger societies took root. Since then the growth has been rapid, especially in Ontario. In the year 1892 the Ontario Legislature passed an Act relating to insurance corporations. By this Act, Friendly Societies are required to make annual returns of their condition on the 31st of December of each year. This has been productive of much good. These societies are now compelled to make a full and explicit statement of the amount of insurance in force, the amount of benefits paid, the total receipts and disbursements and other items of importance. This places before the public a full statement of the conditions of each society. Members of these

societies and the general public have thus the material at their command to enable them to form opinions as to the relative merits of the various organizations. This Act has no doubt introduced more careful methods, and it also made the formation of assessment insurance Orders impossible. In 1898 the Quebec Government passed an Act of much importance. In addition to calling upon the societies for returns, it enacted a minimum rate, as the lowest that could be employed with safety. This rate is the *Canada Life's* "Experience," which the reader will find referred to later on. The Dominion Insurance Act does not enact any special or stringent regulations for Fraternal Societies. It does not fix a minimum safe rate, call for periodical valuations, or demand returns of their financial standing on prescribed forms. In Manitoba and the West, the main fraternal work is carried on by local branches, courts, camps, lodges, etc., of the several societies whose head office is situated in some other Province. This is to a great extent also true of the Maritime Provinces.

It is much more difficult to collect actual facts regarding fraternal orders than regarding regular life companies. For the latter there has been for many years the annual Report issued by the Insurance Department at Ottawa. From these Reports the growth of regular insurance companies can be readily traced. Such returns have not been asked from the fraternal orders, nor has there been issued an annual report, as in the case of the regular companies. The Province of Ontario is the only exception to this. For a number of years, Dr. J. Howard Hunter, the able Inspector of Insurance and Registrar of Friendly Societies for the Province, has called for full returns from the societies, and has regularly issued a comprehensive annual Report. Judging by the importance of the subject, it is to be hoped that the other Provinces will lose no time in demanding returns from the societies within their limits, and issuing complete annual reports.

Two or three fraternal societies, the Independent Order of Foresters, the Ancient Order of Foresters and the Catholic Mutual Benefit, have Dominion incorporation. It is quite impossible to obtain complete information upon the volume

of these societies' work, as many of them, in making their returns, include their business in the United States as well as Canada, and one, the I.O.F., gives its membership, collections, etc., in Britain also. Taking the Ontario returns for the year 1898, the following totals, compiled by carefully collecting the several items from the respective societies, will give some idea of the extent to which these Orders have pressed themselves into public favour:

Amount of Insurance in force.....	\$950,419,911
Number of Members.....	557,313
Amount of Insurance paid in one year	\$8,984,524
Sick Benefits paid in one year.....	\$259,983
Total Receipts for the year.....	\$11,143,324
Total Assets.....	\$4,794,532

The feature in the above summary that attracts most attention, because by far the most important, is that the assets on hand and the yearly receipts are so small as compared with the contracts in force and the amounts paid in benefits. This clearly points to the fact that, in the grand aggregate, these societies are not laying by enough money in proportion to their growth in size and to the mortality experienced. At this rate of gain in assets their mortality may overtake their income, when, of course, the assets on hand would rapidly disappear. As members enter these societies at an average of 35 years of age, the premiums paid by the members should average at least that due to this age. For the above amount of insurance in force, this would call for the payment by the members of about \$15,000,000 in premiums, to be used only in the payment of death claims and for accumulating the proper reserve. The actual total for all purposes, however, was but little over \$11,000,000, as shown above. This, of course, is on the assumption that a premium charge, such as that prepared by the National Fraternal Congress, was employed instead of such rates as quoted in the table of rates from a number of the societies. The average premium of the societies for the age 35 is between \$10 and \$11, whereas, according to the experiences of the *Canada Life* and the National Fraternal Congress, the rate should be between \$16 and \$17. All working expenses must be an extra charge. It might be well here to call attention to the fact that many

fraternal orders return their entire business in the annual reports. All those societies, doing business outside of Canada, should be compelled to make separate returns, clearly pointing out the portion that is Canadian, as apart from that which is American or British. It is impossible to obtain the statistics for the other Provinces, as there are no Provincial returns as yet. It may be mentioned, however, that the Orders doing business in them are the same as those registered under the Ontario Act. The returns for the latter Province will therefore practically cover the whole ground.

*The Rates.* This is a very important matter in the management of benefit societies, whether they grant insurance or sick benefits, or both. In the organization of many, indeed most, societies of the friendly and fraternal character, the question of the rates that ought to be collected in order to enable them to pay their claims, and maintain a solvent condition, was not sufficiently considered. It was thought quite enough to make an assessment upon the members when money was required to pay claims that had matured, either by the death or by the sickness of the members. This constituted what was known as "the post-mortem assessment plan." As time went on it was found not to work well. It was a universal experience in all the societies, as they grew older, that death and sickness rates advanced. This gave rise to the necessity for more frequent calls, and the effect of these frequent calls was to render the societies unpopular amongst the younger and healthier members. These voluntarily withdrew, and their places could not be replaced by recruits from the healthy young men of the community at large. These facts had the effect of converting the societies into old men's societies, with very heavy rates of both death and sickness. In course of time the members were unable to keep up their payments and consequently the societies so conducted were discontinued.

It became apparent that this method must be abandoned. To overcome the weakness of the system, those having charge of fraternal insurance societies advised the members under their control to adopt the plan of making regular calls—say every month. The rate usually selected for

this purpose was the natural premium one of the American Experience Table, the British combined Experience Table or the Healthy Male Lives Experience of British Companies. In selecting these rates, perfectly correct in themselves, the societies made, however, the serious mistake of applying, to the whole term of life, rates that were calculated as only adequate for one year. It is a distinctive feature of the natural premium rates that they should advance, year by year, as the member becomes older. Later experience has shown that the death rate, as estimated by these tables, has not, however, been fully realized. This fact has enabled the societies, working under these rates, to accumulate a fund of money on hand and this fund is regarded by many as a surplus. It is not. A surplus is only such sum as may be on hand after all liabilities are provided for, including the very important one of a proper reserve, as determined by one or other of the plans of valuation now recognized by actuaries.

The variety of premium rates charged by Canadian fraternal societies is sufficiently numerous to show that there has not been any common principle in their calculation. This, of course, indicates a haphazard method adopted by the founders of these societies. For every dollar of insurance or sick-benefit promised a member, there ought to be a proper and fixed income. If the societies give insurance, payable at death only, the collections should be equal. If they undertake to give endowments of a similar kind, the charges again should be equal. In addition to the British Healthy Male Table, and the rates deduced from it, we have now three others of very great importance, because they are recent, and give Canadian and American experience. The Canadian table of mortality was calculated from the result of the operations of the *Canada Life Assurance Company* for a period of forty-seven years. The other two experiences are that prepared by L. G. Fouse from American Assessment Society operations and the one which was published in 1898 by the National Fraternal Congress of the United States. The membership of this Congress included many Canadian organizations, as for example the Independent Foresters, the Woodmen of the World, the Royal Arcanum, the

Knights of the Maccabees, and some others. This experience would be a good one for Canadian societies to found their work upon. In order to make this matter of rates clear it is necessary to quote them fully. The rate of interest allowed in the tables used for comparison is four per cent. on all accumulations. The other rates of premium charge are given as examples of those adopted by Canadian societies, viz., the Independent Order of Foresters, the Sons of Scotland, the Ancient Order of Foresters, the Workmen, the Odd Fellows Relief, the Maccabees and the Sons of England. Neither sets of tables are carried beyond the age of fifty-five, as societies do not, with few exceptions, admit members at greater ages. It will be readily understood that the rate of mortality increases as the ages increase. These rates are estimated to meet present and future mortality :

TABLE NO. I.

British Healthy Males.		Canada Life Experience.		National Fraternal Congress.		The Rate prepared by L. G. Fouse for American Mutual Underwriters' Association.		
Age.	Death Rate per 1,000.	Level Premium per \$1,000.	Age.	Death Rate per 1,000.	Level Premium Rate per \$1,000.	Age.	Death Rate per 1,000.	Level Premium Rate per \$1,000.
20	6,329	\$12.45	20	4,627	\$10.03	20	5,000	\$10.62
21	6,725	12.79	21	4,665	10.32	21	5,032	10.62
22	6,744	13.13	22	4,706	10.62	22	5,068	10.92
23	6,764	13.48	23	4,752	10.93	23	5,108	11.24
24	6,639	13.87	24	4,803	11.26	24	5,152	11.57
25	6,630	14.28	25	4,858	11.61	25	5,202	11.92
26	6,6-5	14.72	26	4,920	11.97	26	5,257	12.28
27	6,904	15.19	27	4,987	12.36	27	5,319	12.67
28	7,172	15.67	28	5,069	12.76	28	5,387	13.08
29	7,433	16.17	29	5,144	13.19	29	5,461	13.51
30	7,723	16.69	30	5,235	13.64	30	5,549	13.96
31	7,917	17.23	31	5,335	14.11	31	5,644	14.43
32	8,105	17.80	32	5,445	14.61	32	5,750	14.94
33	8,285	18.40	33	5,567	15.13	33	5,867	15.47
34	8,504	19.03	34	5,702	15.69	34	5,999	16.03
35	8,774	19.69	35	5,850	16.27	35	6,146	16.62
36	9,109	20.38	36	6,013	16.89	36	6,308	17.24
37	9,464	21.11	37	6,193	17.54	37	6,490	17.90
38	9,780	21.87	38	6,391	18.22	38	6,692	18.60
39	10,082	22.67	39	6,610	18.95	39	6,918	19.34
40	10,376	23.50	40	6,852	19.72	40	7,170	20.11
41	10,487	24.42	41	7,118	20.53	41	7,450	20.93
42	10,731	25.38	42	7,410	21.38	42	7,762	21.80
43	11,127	26.40	43	7,735	22.29	43	8,110	22.72
44	11,556	27.49	44	8,091	23.25	44	8,497	23.69
45	12,192	28.65	45	8,484	24.27	45	8,875	24.72
46	12,940	29.87	46	8,918	25.39	46	9,292	25.81
47	13,702	31.15	47	9,396	26.19	47	9,753	26.91
48	14,440	32.49	48	9,922	27.71	48	10,263	28.20
49	15,229	33.91	49	10,503	28.99	49	10,827	29.51
50	15,950	35.42	50	11,143	30.36	50	11,451	30.92
51	16,670	37.02	51	11,819	31.81	51	12,141	32.39
52	17,549	38.73	52	12,626	33.35	52	12,903	33.97
53	18,600	40.56	53	13,482	35.06	53	13,747	35.65
54	19,731	42.50	54	14,426	36.74	54	14,679	37.45
55	21,033	44.58	55	15,466	38.60	55	15,710	39.36

The following figures give the amount charged by a number of well-known Canadian fraternal societies at certain specified ages :

TABLE NO. 2.

Age.	Sons of Scotland.	Ancient Order of Foresters.	Independent Order of Foresters.	Ancient Order of United Workmen.	Odd Fellows Relief Association.	The Order of the Maccabees.	Sons of England.
20	7.44	9.18	9.60	7.20	8.70	4.80	6.00
21	7.56	9.72	9.84	7.20	8.70	4.80	6.00
22	7.68	9.95	10.08	7.20	8.70	4.80	6.00
23	7.80	10.20	10.32	7.20	8.82	4.80	6.00
24	7.92	10.56	10.80	7.20	8.94	4.80	6.00
25	8.04	10.92	11.28	8.40	9.06	5.40	6.00
26	8.16	11.16	11.76	8.40	9.06	5.40	6.00
27	8.28	11.64	12.25	8.40	9.12	5.40	6.00
28	8.40	12.00	12.72	8.40	9.18	5.50	6.00
29	8.52	12.36	13.20	8.40	9.30	5.40	6.00
30	8.76	12.84	13.68	9.00	9.42	6.00	6.00
31	9.00	13.32	14.16	9.00	9.51	6.00	6.00
32	9.24	13.80	14.64	9.00	9.66	6.00	6.00
33	9.48	14.20	15.12	9.00	9.84	6.00	6.00
34	9.72	14.37	15.84	9.00	9.96	6.00	6.00
35	9.96	15.24	16.56	9.60	10.08	7.20	7.20
36	10.20	15.72	17.28	9.60	10.26	7.20	7.20
37	10.44	16.12	18.00	9.60	10.36	7.20	7.20
38	10.68	16.92	18.72	9.60	10.50	7.20	7.20
39	10.92	17.64	19.44	9.60	10.68	7.20	7.20
40	11.16	18.24	20.16	10.80	10.92	9.00	8.40
41	11.40	18.96	21.12	10.80	11.10	9.00	8.40
42	11.64	19.80	22.08	10.80	11.28	9.00	8.40
43	11.88	20.52	23.04	10.80	11.52	9.00	8.40
44	12.12	21.36	24.00	10.80	11.88	9.00	8.40
45	12.36	.....	24.95	12.00	12.18	10.80	10.20
46	12.60	.....	25.16	.....	12.60	10.80	10.20
47	12.84	.....	27.84	.....	13.20	10.80	10.20
48	13.08	.....	30.00	.....	13.86	10.80	10.20
49	13.32	.....	32.40	.....	14.76	12.00	10.20
50	.....	.....	34.80	.....	.....	12.00	10.20
51	.....	.....	37.20	.....	.....	15.00	.....
52	.....	.....	39.60	.....	.....	18.00	.....
53	.....	.....	43.20	.....	.....	24.00	.....
54	.....	.....	46.80	.....	.....	30.00	.....

Another point of great importance in the study of mortality rates is to note carefully that, if the death-rate is low in the earlier years of life, it must be higher in the older ages. All who live past mid-life must increase the number of aged persons, and, as all must die, the mortality will be heavier under such conditions. Thus it is clear that in a healthy country, where the mortality is light among those from twenty to fifty years of age, it becomes high afterwards. While discussing the question of premium rates for insurance it is necessary to explain what is meant by a level rate. In the management of insurance a rate may be chosen for a given age that is not adequate for the whole life. Such a rate would require, from time to time, to be increased. This is the natural premium plan. In the case of a level rate no such advances in the charges are made as the person becomes older. The rate is fixed at such an amount for each age as is fully expected to carry the insurance to the end of life. This means that, while the member is young, he is called upon to pay more than is required to meet claims. These extra payments on his part form a reserve fund which obviates the necessity of raising his premiums as he becomes old. In other words, it places the heavier end of the

burden on the younger and more wage-earning years of life so that the non-productive period of old age may be relieved. This is wise; and most fraternal orders are taking steps to adopt such a method. A glance at the premium rates, as prepared from the experience of the *Canada Life*, the National Fraternal Congress and the Mutual Assessment Companies, shows a very close similarity. They vary very little at any given age. On the other hand, the rates, as quoted from a number of Canadian societies doing business, contain the most remarkable differences. The only conclusion one can come to upon this question is that these rates were prepared by persons who did not understand the subject. The rates now used by the Independent Order of Foresters are nearly the same as those deduced from the mortality of the *Canada Life* and the experience of the National Fraternal Congress. It should be mentioned that the I.O.F. rates, as now used, are of recent date, being adopted at the last Triennial Meeting in 1898.

*Lapses.* This aspect of fraternal insurance has always occupied a large share of attention. Much has been said about the matter that is quite erroneous. It was supposed that a society could grow rich on its lapses, and by securing new members obtain a perennial existence. This theory has been fully exploded. If the society was of the kind which made calls when money was required, nothing was gained by the lapse of a member, as he left nothing behind him in the treasury. Besides, it is almost certain that he would be healthy and young, as it is among these that lapses are met with. The new member who took his place brought the same risk of death and sickness that his seceding predecessor had placed upon the order. In other societies, where there is a regular rate charged and collected, say every month, if this rate is more than sufficient to meet current death claims, then the lapsing member would leave some money behind him in the hands of the society. But, if the rate charged was not an adequate one, there would still be some loss due to the secession of the member. There is a definite cost for a given amount of insurance; and, if the member has not paid this, he creates a loss by his withdrawal, even though he leaves some unused money with the society.

Thus it is quite clear that all who pay too small a premium for their insurance cause a loss when they withdraw. In the case of those who pay a proper amount into the funds for their insurance, there is no loss made by their secession; but there is nothing gained. They were paying a proper rate and all that their successors can do is to pay a proper rate. The rate paid and the reserve accumulated are just as ample for the old member as for the young. In one sense lapsation is always a loss. It is a matter of very thorough experience that only those who regard themselves as in good health withdraw. This tends to raise the death rate among the remaining members. It is thus plain that withdrawals cause a double loss in all cases where the premiums are too low—the loss of healthy members and the money loss due to carrying their insurance too cheaply. In the case of a society with a proper system of charges there is always the loss due to the secession of healthy young members. Within recent years, a school of actuaries has arisen with the object in view of taking advantage of the lapses in advance. By this method of calculating the premiums it is claimed that these can be considerably reduced while at the same time maintaining the proper reserve. This method of calculating the premiums for societies is quite correct if the future lapse rate can be known in advance. It is not possible to determine the lapse rate with the same precision as the death rate. Unless the lapse rate can be determined, it might prove a very dangerous experiment to make it one of the factors in the calculation of the premiums. It is contended, however, by Mr L. G. Fouse and others, that the observations made on large numbers, over lengthy periods, enable us to approximate very closely to the lapse rate, and scale down the premium accordingly. By this school of actuaries, the right is reserved to make a special call upon the members, if the premiums should prove insufficient. This admits that they are not perfectly sure of their ground.

Instead of counting the lapses in advance, it is held by many that the better plan for fraternal orders would be to charge the full level rate, as estimated from some such experience as that of the *Canada Life*. The advantage of this method is that, when a member withdraws from the

society, it can afford to give him a cash surrender value. The argument then lies between the two positions—paying a lower premium without cash surrender value and with the risk of occasional special levies, or paying a higher premium with a cash surrender value and no risk of special levies. The latter position is certainly the safer; and safety is the principal element in all forms of insurance. The opinion of Mr. G. F. Hardy, the eminent English actuary, who has given so much good advice to friendly societies, should be kept well in mind. He states that there is no objection to taking due account of lapses in making up the financial statement of any society, but that the greatest care is required if the attempt be made in advance, as there are so many contingencies upon which lapsation depends. In speaking of the gain to societies collecting a proper premium he remarks: "In the majority of societies where the membership is large, it will be found that the effect of such secession is not material, in consequence of their absolute cessation before the older ages are reached." Then again he makes the statement that, where the income is the proper amount, "a constant lapse rate of one per cent. per annum at all ages is equivalent to an increase of one per cent. in the rate of interest." But it has already been shown that when the premiums are lower than the cost of insurance there is always a loss by secessions. Taking at random a number of Fraternal Societies operating in Canada, and having a total insurance in force amounting to \$924,831,750, it is found that the lapses in contracts for the year amounted to \$29,734,675. This was slightly above three per cent. of the contracts in force. Many of these lapses only pass from one society to another.

*Valuations.* By this is meant the making of such an inspection of the business of an insurance society, or company, as will enable its officers to know whether the reserve on hand is sufficient; and if the premiums collected are capable of paying claims, and maintaining the reserve up to a proper standard. Valuations have not been made in Canadian fraternal orders, with two exceptions—the Ancient Order of Foresters, and the Sons of Scotland. The effect was in these two cases to show that, although they had considerable funds on hand, they had not the requisite

amount; and, consequently, there was an impairment in the reserve. While speaking of reserves, it may be well to dispose of the view, too often held, that they are accumulations taken from the members in excess of what is required. George D. Eldridge has done much good to societies by showing that reserves are for the payment of future and deferred death claims. It is a mortality fund. This gave rise to the expression, common a few years ago of "make assessments and keep the reserves in your pockets." This is almost abandoned and cannot be abandoned too soon for the good of all fraternal societies. It is now almost universally admitted that a reserve fund is required; and one would think that it would be equally admitted that a proper reserve fund should always be on hand. The only way of determining this point is by making regular and careful valuations. It is not enough that the premium rates be adequate. The difference between what is needed for claims, and the income, must be invested at four per cent., otherwise a sufficient premium would not accumulate the necessary reserve.

With regard to valuations the condition in Canada and Britain is quite different. In Britain the Chief Registrar must, by law, publish and distribute among friendly societies forms of account, balance sheets and valuations. He must also calculate safe and proper tables for societies; but the adoption of these tables is left optional. They are intended to be guides. In cases where societies grant annuities, present or deferred, the tables used by them must be certified as correct by a Government actuary, or some actuary approved by the Treasury. If this be not complied with registration is refused such societies. All registered societies must make a valuation every five years. This must be done by some one whose certificate the Government officials will accept. These regular valuations soon decide the other aspect of the case, viz., the income. If this be not sufficient, or improperly invested, the reserve will not be on hand when these valuations are made. In Canada valuations are not compulsory upon register. The business done by fraternal orders is now so enormous and such a large number of persons, whose insurance protection may be entirely carried in them, are so deeply

interested in these societies that it is quite probable that the Government may enact legislation similar to that in force in Britain. In the latter country the valuer must state the table he employed and the rate of interest he allowed. He must also state implicitly the sort of benefits granted by the society, such as sickness allowance, insurance endowments, annuities, funeral, or other benefits. This renders the periodical valuation of British registered societies very stringent and exacting.

According to calculations kindly furnished me by Mr. Thomas Lawless, one of the chief officials of the Independent Order of Foresters, there was in 1892 an approximate total of \$185,000,000 of fraternal assurance in force in Canada. By the 31st December, 1897, he places the sum total at \$450,000,000—surely a most significant and important increase. This total illustrates the statement which I have previously made regarding the \$950,000,000 of fraternal assurance reported to the Ontario Department by Companies operating in both Canada and the United States. One-half the amount is evidently American business. The tables given below, and for which I am also indebted to Mr. Lawless, indicate in some measure the progress of these societies. Some preliminary explanation of their individual scope will, however, be in order. The I.O.F. was established in 1874 as a death assessment society but really dates from its re-organization by Dr. Oronhyatekha, in 1881, when it abandoned that scheme and adopted a plan which combined the level premium, and to a limited extent the natural premium plan, with the right in certain contingencies to levy extra assessments. It undertakes mortuary, total and permanent disability, old age, sick and funeral benefits and admits females to membership. The total benefits given below do not include those paid by subordinate courts which, with the sums paid before re-organization, amounted on December 31st, 1898, to a total of \$6,180,045. At the same time there was a surplus or reserve fund of \$3,129,452.

The Canadian Order of Foresters undertakes mortuary, sick and funeral assurance benefits and has a graded scale of assessments collected monthly in advance. The Canadian Order of

Odd Fellows, for many years after its organization in 1852, confined itself to sick and funeral benefits and a widows and orphans' fund. It has lately added endowment and mortuary assurance benefits. In the figures given below, its operations in British Columbia since 1889, when a thousand members formed a separate Provincial Grand Lodge, are not included. The Independent Order of Odd Fellows which commenced business in Ontario in the early fifties carries on its mortuary benefits under the control of an auxiliary society known as the Relief Association, which commenced operations in 1874. The Knights of Pythias is an American Order, combining fraternal relief and assurance with social and military features. It was introduced into Canada in 1870 and its insurance branch was established in 1877. The Canadian Order of Chosen Friends was organized in 1877 and undertakes mortuary assurance and sick benefits. Its membership is open to females. The Order of Canadian Home Circles was formed and incorporated in 1884 and its functions are similar to those of the preceding Order. The A. O. U. W. commenced business in Ontario in 1879. The figures given below refer to its business in that Province. Since 1892 the membership in Manitoba has increased from 1,235 to 3,431 in 1897, and the benefits paid there from \$2,000 to \$40,000. The Sons of England Benevolent Society was organized in 1874 for purposes of a national and social character, with the addition of sick benefits and medical attendance. Its ordinary membership was 1,079 in 1881 with \$1,150 of sick benefits, and 12,948 in 1897 with \$23,264.12 paid in sick benefits. In the Beneficiary Department it had 130 members in 1884, and 2,526 in 1897 with a total amount paid out of \$143,804. Of course, the limitation of membership in societies of this nature to those of some particular creed or race, is an obstacle in the way of large returns. The Ancient Order of Foresters has in Great Britain a membership of some 900,000, and a yearly expenditure of \$4,500,000. The figures given below relate to Canada alone, and include sick benefits and funeral fund only. Its Beneficiary Fund in 1893 had 1081 members, with an expenditure of \$8,000.00, and in 1898, 1075 members, with an expenditure of \$6,500.00.

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF FORESTERS.

Year.	Membership.	Benefits paid.
1881	1,019	\$ 1,300.00
1891	1,134	261,436.21
1897	124,685	992,225.60
Total Benefits paid, 1881-1897, \$4,546,212.05.		

Year.	Membership.	Benefits paid.
1884	157,133	357,697.87
1894	456,994	1,245,293.52
1897	468,269	1,264,461.31
Total Relief granted, 1864-1897, \$16,348,505.15.		

KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS (Insurance Department.)

CANADIAN ORDER OF FORESTERS.

Year.	Membership.	Benefits paid.
1880	850	\$ 5,838.50
1890	10,282	51,800.00
1897	27,165	191,986.42
Total Benefits paid, 1880-1897, \$1,008,182.52.		

Year.	Membership.	Benefits paid.
1878	6,416	\$ 19,517.00
1888	17,204	499,920.00
1898	52,551	1,120,521.04
Total Benefits paid, 1878-1898, \$12,161,963.06.		

CANADIAN ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS.

Year.	Membership.	Benefits paid.
1852	191	\$ 182.50
1872	2,300	2,050.90
1885	3,450	8,270.85
1897	3,808	5,022.63
Total Benefits paid, 1852-1897, \$146,888.91.		

CANADIAN ORDER OF CHOSEN FRIENDS.

Year.	Membership.	Benefits paid.
1887	175	\$ 1,092.40
1897	15,027	113,505.60
Total Benefits paid, 1887-1897, \$485,534.75.		

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS.

Year.	Membership.	Benefits paid.
1856	605	\$ 299.00
1866	647	1,239.00
1876	11,322	19,403.20
1886	14,847	47,507.13
1897	22,742	82,618.89
Total Benefits paid, 1856-1897, \$1,213,906.11.		

ORDER OF CANADIAN HOME CIRCLES.

Year.	Membership.	Benefits paid.
1885	857	\$ 2,365.30
1895	10,174	111,000.00
1897	10,614	156,646.46
Total Benefits paid, 1885-1897, \$966,531.22.		

ODD FELLOWS RELIEF ASSOCIATION.

Year.	Membership.	Benefits paid.
1875	364	\$ 1,400 00
1885	2,187	14,500.00
1895	8,372	76,500.00
1897	9,571	68,000.00
Total Benefits paid, 1875-1897, \$655,837.00.		

ANCIENT ORDER OF UNITED WORKMEN.

Year.	Membership.	Benefits paid.
1880	3,208	\$ 12,000.00
1890	22,413	286,000.00
1897	31,954	1,493,742.85
Total Benefits paid, 1880-1897, \$4,460,092.99.		

KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS (Relief Department).

Year.	Membership.	Relief granted.
1864	78	.....
1874	101,453	\$262,679.30

ANCIENT ORDER OF FORESTERS.

Year.	Membership.	Benefits paid.
1881	1,938	\$10,000.00
1891	10,606	53,030.00
1898	15,729	64,945.00
Total sum paid, 1881-1898, \$827,817.00.		

The following table, compiled from the Report of the Superintendent of Insurance for 1898, affords some further details in this connection :



*Abstract of Life Insurance in Canada (Assessment Plan) 1898.*

	CANADIAN COMPANIES.					AMERICAN COMPANIES.	
	Catholic Mutual Benefit Association.	Commercial Travellers' Mutual Benefit Society.	Home Life Association.	Independent Order Foresters (Canadian business).	Woodmen of the World.	Governor Mutual.	Mutual Reserve Fund.
Total Amount paid by Members.....	\$223,643	\$24,442	\$23,354	\$785,202	\$52,709	\$47,907	\$455,567
Number of Certificates reported as taken..	977	144	478	9,715	1,543	101	643
Amount of Certificates new and taken up..	\$1,178,000	\$144,000	\$583,630	\$10,716,500	\$1,627,500	\$110,625	\$1,049,200
Number of Certificates in force at date....	12,145	2,383	1,180	62,215	4,793	1,452	14,447
Net Amount in force.....	\$18,151,000	\$2,383,000	\$1,386,130	\$73,854,000	\$6,268,500	\$2,345,500	\$29,398,974
Number of Certificates become Claims....	109	23	4	421	29	22	154
Net Amount become Claims.....	\$165,000	\$23,000	\$4,000	\$481,374	\$44,212	\$40,000	\$328,800
Claims Paid.....	\$198,750	\$23,000	\$5,425	\$484,016	\$41,012	\$41,860	\$300,693
Unsettled Claims not Resisted.....	9,750	none	1,000	40,648	3,400	12,500	138,350
Resisted.....	none	none	2,000	none	1,500	none	2,000

There have been a number of Fraternal Assurance Societies in Canada which existed for a short time and then disappeared. The Select Knights of Canada, the Canadian Masonic Mutual Benefit of London, and the St. Pierre Association were perhaps the longest lived. The Canadian Relief Association went out of business after five years, while the Canadian Educational Endowment Association, the British North American Benefit Association, the Equitable Provident Savings Association, the Reserve Fund Accident Association, were all refused a renewed registration by the Government in 1892. The Septennial League in 1890, the Knights of Honour in 1891, the Brotherly Union Society in 1878, the Knights of

Humanity in 1888, the Good Templar's Benefit Society in 1897, were some other Canadian organizations which have failed. The St. Antoine de Purdue was a French-Canadian society which suspended in 1898, as did the Union of St. Thomas—in the same year. A number of United States societies of this nature have flourished for a short time in Canada and then collapsed. Amongst them were the Fraternal Mystic Circle, the Iron Hall, the Fraternal Union, the Order of Tonti and the Golden Circle, 1892-3. The Fraternal Alliance, the American Order of Chosen Friends and the Scottish Clans were refused registration by the Government.

**Accident Insurance in Canada.** The facts which follow are supplied to the Editor through the kindness of Mr. G. G. Burnett, Chief Agent for Ontario of the *Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation, Limited*, of London. The business of accident insurance in Canada is an infant industry when compared to fire and life insurance, but an infant of strong and rapid growth. The idea of granting an indemnity for bodily injuries was first put into practical shape in 1849 in England. The first license issued in Canada was to the well-known *Travelers Company*, of Hartford, Conn., August, 1868. The first license to a Canadian company was issued in July, 1893, to the *Citizens*, which did also a life business. The first purely accident company licensed was the *Accident Insurance Company of North America*, in April, 1874. In 1880

the field was entered from England by the *London Guarantee*. Including the above named, thirteen companies have been licensed to date, of which one was American, four British and eight Canadian.

Alike with all other undertakings of a financial nature the business of accident insurance in Canada shows a wonderful expansion, more especially in the last ten or fifteen years. At first attention was almost wholly devoted to insuring travellers by railway or steamship, but gradually the system was extended to embrace almost all men in almost every walk of life; and the policies have been made so attractive as to command a large support from the public. The statistics prior to 1876 are not available but since that time have been carefully collected. The following are the premiums paid in Canada in the years named:

1875.....	about \$ 65,000
1880.....	“ 71,218
1885.....	“ 145,202
1890.....	“ 295,553
1895.....	“ 357,295
1897.....	“ 493,295

The Canadian, British and United States companies in the last-named year had eighty-two millions of dollars at risk, under 28,366 policies, and paid in losses \$262,311—about one-half of the premiums being taken by one British and one United States company. This is not unlike the experience in other lines of trade—the large companies are ousting the smaller ones. Of the six Canadian companies started prior to 1895 only one is still taking risks. With the passage of the “Workmen’s Compensation for Injuries Act” (1892) in Ontario, and similar enactments in other Provinces about that time, a wide field was opened up to the companies.

The increasing tendency of the public to hold corporations strictly to account for the personal safety of the people coming in contact with them, and the heavy damages now given by juries, have made it necessary for the smaller railways, the steamship lines, the contractors for public works, etc., to insure themselves against loss from this liability. Policies are now written to individual persons to provide an indemnity in case of death or disablement by accident; to employers to cover their liability to workmen; to provide indemnity for accidents falling outside of the liability laws; to common carriers to cover their liability to passengers and the general public; to owners of public buildings to cover liability to tenants and the public; to omnibus and cartage companies to cover liability to persons on the streets; and in many other forms suited to individual requirements.



SECTION V.

NATURAL HISTORY IN CANADA.

# THE BIRDS OF ONTARIO.

BY

THOMAS McILWRAITH.

**I**N every habitable part of the globe, birds are to be found. They are the delight of the young wherever they appear, and even a few of the more advanced in years find enjoyment in watching their habits and writing their history, though the mass of the people give no more than a passing glance at the beautiful creatures. In tropical countries the plumage of the birds is of the most gorgeous description, but few, if any, of them have the power of song. The parrots, peacocks, birds of paradise and others are beautiful to look at, but they lack the musical attraction possessed by many less gaily attired. The total number of species of birds has been variously estimated at from twelve to fifteen thousand, but so much difference exists in the division and classification of the various groups that it is not an easy matter to come to a correct conclusion on the subject.

For many years this difficulty existed in regard to North American birds, each writer choosing his own classification and nomenclature, which led to endless confusion. To try to overcome this trouble a number of continental ornithologists, among whom was the present writer, met in New York, U.S.A., in September 1883, and remained in session for three days. One result of the meeting was the formation of the American Ornithologists' Union, five members of which were appointed a Committee to revise the nomenclature and classification of North American birds. The publication of a quarterly magazine entitled *The Auk* in which all matters relating to North American birds should be fully reported was also approved. These resolutions have been faithfully carried out and have placed the subject in much better shape than formerly. The revised check list appeared in due course and though to beginners it presents the usual number of unpronounceable names, each of

these is followed by a carefully selected vernacular one, so that we can still recognize our old friends notwithstanding the alteration which may have been made in their scientific title.

The order of arrangement decided upon was to start with the lowest forms of bird life and work up to those of more perfect organization. According to this plan, the grebes and loons come first, while the thrushes and blue-birds close the list as being the most fully developed. The first list was published in 1886, and the second edition came out in 1895, revised up to that date. It describes seven hundred and sixty-eight continental species with a hypothetical group of twenty-six about whose specific position there seems to be still some difference of opinion. Some are inclined to think that there has been too much subdivision, the differences between certain species being too slight to be recognized, but even if they are slight so long as they are constant and regular it makes the subject more complete to have them described separately. From the southern country all the way up to the northern limit, certain groups are found which remain in the same locality all the year round, but the extremes of temperature are so wide apart that, as a general rule, the mass of North America birds are migratory, passing north or south according to the season. Some species which raise their young even in Alaska, visit South America in winter, so that save the short time they are engaged in family duties they are continually on the move.

These movements of the birds, north and south, are now pretty well understood. They extend all the way across the continent, some species taking the Pacific Coast, others the Atlantic shore, while many prefer the line of the Mississippi Valley or another route inland to the east. Over all these routes the flocks pass up and down with so much

regularity that observers can tell within a day or two at what time certain species will arrive at a given point. This subject of bird migration is one about which a great deal has been said and written but no one has yet told us how it has all been brought about. We know that the birds travel in flocks and are supposed to be led by a veteran who has been over the ground before and knows the route to take. Inherited memory is spoken of in this connection and there may be much truth in the supposition that our present race of birds inherit the memory of what has been done by their predecessors for centuries back, but when we follow them in that direction, we soon come to the beginning when we have to enquire what veteran led the first flock and what memory he inherited to help him on the way? This is an interesting subject for enquiry though at present we can only admire the regularity with which the movements annually occur.

Ontario has many attractions to offer to the birds as there are within her boundaries large lakes where the swimmers find a summer home, while the waders line the shores. There are also large tracts of marsh where the rails and the bitterns can raise their young without being disturbed, thick woods where the owls can snooze away the hours of daylight, and many clear grass fields where the merry rollicking song of the bobolink may be heard at all hours during the long summer day. Like other parts of the continent, this Province has a few resident species but the majority are migratory. The total is three hundred and sixteen species, though no doubt others may yet be added which from their scarcity are seldom seen. Not many changes have of late years taken place in the number or distribution of the birds of Ontario though we can in fancy look back to the time when the country, being only partially cleared, the number of meadow larks, bobolinks, and some others which frequented the grass fields would be fewer than at present, while such species as the large black woodpecker and some of the birds of prey have since moved farther north.

The only marked change of recent date has been the almost total disappearance of the bluebird, once so familiar around our homes and a general favourite everywhere. The only explana-

tion given of the absence of the birds from the points where they used to be so regular in their visits is that two years ago there came a severe frost along the line which for many years they had adopted as their southern habitat and very many of them fell victims to the unusually intense cold. If this be the true explanation of the case it is the first of the kind I have noticed on record and I trust it may be the last for many years to come. The chief addition which has recently been made to our list is (*Passer domesticus*) the European house sparrow, an imported species which many people thought would not be able to stand the severity of our winters, though that question has now been settled by experience. The sparrows are here for good or for bad as the case may be viewed. Those who wish to have them will soon have more, as they are rapidly increasing, and those who desire to have the numbers reduced do not at present see how this is to be accomplished. They keep mostly to the towns and villages where they find food enough in the streets, and though the introduction of the trolley car system has seriously affected this section of their feeding ground, they still seem to get sufficient to keep them alive. During the summer they are met with all over, but in winter they cling more to the centre of the cities where they can be seen nestling around the sunny side of the house chimneys, grim and sooty, but full of life and ready at any time for a fight.

Referring more particularly to the birds of Ontario, it is not to be expected in a paper of this nature that a full description of every species can be given, but the attention of the reader may be directed to one or two of the leaders in each order. Following the arrangement in the new list, we find the first group mentioned is the Order *Pygopodes*—Diving Birds. These are mostly northern, and therefore well represented in Ontario, though the fact of their being unsuitable for the table saves them from the gun of the hunter. The Loons are the most conspicuous of the group, and their fine coats of black spotted with white are greatly admired. They go as far north as Alaska to breed, where their skins are much used by the Indians in dressmaking. The Grebes also belong to this order, and of these we have four species which are well known

by the fine silky coats once so much used in trimming ladies' dresses. The Black Guillemot and Puffin are occasional wanderers from the sea-coast, but their visits are mostly the result of stormy weather, and are of but short duration.

Order *Longipennes*—Long-Winged Swimmers. These are mostly birds of the sea-coast, but even from them we get a call when they are on the move. The Gulls are the leading members of this group, and during the winter they wander at will in search of supplies. Hamilton Bay being frozen over at this season, they do not appear there, but, around the west end of Lake Ontario, the great Black-backed Gull, Ivory Gull, Glaucous Gull and others are often observed. Seven different species of the beautiful Terns appear on the Bay early in spring, just as the ice is breaking up, and give life to the scene by their shrill cries and light, graceful flight. Of the Order *Tubinares*—Tube-nosed Swimmers—I have only one specimen to report, viz., that of a Black-capped Petrel, whose body was found on the shore of the Island, near Toronto, its usual haunt being along the sea-coast farther south.

Order *Steganopodes*—Totipalmate Swimmers. We have not many species to represent this group, the Cormorants being the only members which appear pretty regularly in spring and autumn while not engaged in family duties, which are carried on along the sea-coast. The Solan Goose has also been observed occasionally after a northeast storm. In 1864 five white Pelicans took shelter in Hamilton Bay, one of which came into my possession, and in 1889 a female was shot at the mouth of the Grand River, near Dunnville, which completes the record for Ontario so far as known.

Order *Anseres*—Lamellirostral Swimmers. This order includes a large number of species, many of which are well known throughout Ontario, but of the group none are so highly prized as the Grey and Black Ducks. In the spring they are now well protected by the Game Act and its officers, but in the autumn their numbers are greatly reduced at the different shooting stations throughout the country. Of the two species the Grey Duck is the more numerous, and is much prized for the table. The Black Duck is also well represented, but its line of migration is nearer the sea-coast. These birds possess a strong migratory feeling, which, when

the season arrives, is hard to overcome. A few years ago a farmer residing on the Bay shore wounded a Black Duck in the wing as it flew past him one evening in the autumn. It fell in the marsh, and he did not take the trouble to search for it. Soon afterwards, when the inlet, and finally the Bay, were coated with ice, it came into the barnyard in company with the domestic Ducks, and there quietly spent the winter, but when the spring came round it was animated with the strong migratory impulse. It became restless and excited, trying the power of its wings, stretching its neck upwards, and calling loudly to the passing flocks, which it evidently longed to join in their annual journey. As the season advanced this feeling passed off, and it remained contentedly about the place, and even raised a brood of young ones, but as long as it lived it was seized in spring and autumn with these migratory paroxysms, and had it been able would certainly have gone with the flocks, despite family and other ties.

The most gaily-attired of all our waterfowl is the Wood Duck, the male of which is beautifully marked with various colours and carries a handsome crest. It is a gentle, timid bird, not very abundant, and does not travel so far north as many of the others. It takes its name of Wood Duck from its habit of building its nest in a tree, usually in a deserted squirrel's hole, or a natural cavity, where the female sits her appointed time. When the shells break and the ducklings appear she keeps them carefully for a few days. Then she takes them, one at a time, by the nape of the neck in her bill and drops them lightly into the water, where she attends them faithfully till they are able to shift for themselves. Another much admired member of this Order is the Hooded Merganser, not so showy in colour as the Wood Duck, but very handsome in figure. His head is adorned with a fine, regular crest of white edged with black, which is raised or depressed at pleasure. This species resembles the Wood Duck in building its nest in a tree, but it belongs to quite a different class. Being a saw-bill, and living on fish, it is not sought after for the table. The Order *Anseres* includes many other interesting species that visit our waters, but space will not admit of more than the naming of a few whose history is well worth recording. The two Teals, Pintail, Shoveller, Gad-

wall, Canvas-back, Red-head, Bald-pate, Scaup-back, Ring-neck, and others are all spring and autumn visitors, and during the latter season are sent to the market in great number. Geese are seen every spring and autumn passing north and south in their usual V-shaped flocks, but they are very careful where they alight, and are seldom taken. A few Swans are seen now and then, usually during a storm.

Order *Herodiones*—Hérons, Storks, Ibises, etc. These are marsh-frequenting birds and there being ample accommodation for them in Ontario we have our share of the northern species. They are not an abundant class and as they do not travel in flocks we are accustomed to see only one or two at a time. The Great Blue Heron from its large size is the most conspicuous of the group. It seems slow and clumsy in flight but takes good care of itself. When wounded, if approached by a dog, it strikes with its sharp-pointed bill direct for the eye, and has been known in this way to deprive its adversary of sight. The Common Bittern is generally distributed throughout the marshes but having nothing to commend him to public favour is treated with something like contempt. The Least Bittern is also here and though a tender species, many of them not coming north of New York State, the species has been found breeding in Manitoba. They are seldom seen on land and their flight seems weak and uncertain, but in their favourite marsh, when near their nest, they show a great deal of life and activity, running like rats through the roadways among the flags.

Order *Paludicola*—Cranes, Rails, etc. The Sandhill Crane is a western species, seldom coming east of the Mississippi valley, but it has been found once or twice in Western Ontario, which gives me the privilege of including it here, though only as a rare visitor from the west. The Rails and Coots are generally distributed throughout the marshes, but their haunts are not easy of access and their bodies not in demand, so that they are allowed to pass except by collectors who like to have all classes represented.

Order *Limicola*—Shore birds. This order includes a very large number of species, many of which pass through Ontario in spring and autumn, though most of them breed farther north. The

Phalaropes, as a class, are quite interesting, forming, as they do, the connecting link between the Waders and Swimmers. They associate with the Waders but have web feet that enable them to swim gracefully and swiftly. The Red Phalarope is a northern species which raises its young on the shores of the Arctic Sea and is seen in Ontario only in winter when it comes south for a change. The Northern Phalarope has much of the same range, but Wilson's Phalarope is quite a different bird, larger in size and more southern in its habitat. None of the species is common, but all have been



Thomas McIlwraith.

found occasionally in Ontario. Wilson's Phalarope has some peculiarities which make it remarkable. The female is larger in size than the male, is more gaily attired, and, what is even more unusual, the male incubates the eggs. In some other respects their relations are unusual, but they seem to understand each other and live happily together—so we will not interfere. This group includes many species of Sandpipers and Plovers.

Order *Gallina*—Gallinaceous birds. This includes the Turkey, Pheasant, Grouse, Quail,



etc. We have now come to the sportsman's class which is by no means neglected through their pursuit is attended with considerable hard work and the "bags" are not often very large. The wild turkey in former years was often met along our southwestern frontier but it did not get much farther north on account of the severity of the climate. Now it is so closely followed by the gunners wherever it appears that it may soon be placed amongst the extinct species in Ontario. In Kent and Essex, where they used to be found, the farmers have a race domesticated which is supposed to be descended from the wild species and is said to be much superior in flavour to the ordinary stock. Two species of Ptarmigan visit our northern border in winter—the Rock Ptarmigan being the more northerly of the two and raising its young as far up as Behring Strait. The Willow Ptarmigan does not go quite so far north but both contribute largely to the food supply of the Eskimo and the Indians.

Nature has made a wonderful provision for their protection in the colour of their plumage which during the summer months is brown barred with black and closely assimilates with the scrub bush which they frequent. But when the snow falls and every dark spot becomes visible, the plumage of the Ptarmigan changes to white so that at a distance they cannot be observed. Notwithstanding this, the Indians, knowing their habit of flying in large flocks close over the snow in the evenings, have a way of spreading a net by which large numbers are captured. The Canada Grouse is a plump handsome little bird that sometimes visit us in Southern Ontario, though its home is farther north. It also breeds abundantly in Alaska and is common in the Muskoka district of Ontario. The species is not migratory, but generally remains all the year in the district selected.

Order *Columbæ*—Pigeons. There are several species of Doves and Pigeons distributed over the continent, but we have only two in Ontario, viz., the Passenger Pigeon and the Mourning Dove. The coming of the first of these used in former years to be looked forward to with a great deal of interest by the Hamilton boys as one of the annual holiday seasons. The flight was from east to west and usually commenced in April—chiefly in the

morning. No sooner were they observed than the word was passed around, "The pigeons are flying," and every old gun in the town was scoured and made fit for use. The birds came up over the lake and were nearest the ground just where they rose over the edge of the mountain. There the boys were stationed in groups and often had good bags before the flight stopped in the forenoon. This sport was at its height in 1854. The season was very hot and the pigeons had never before been so numerous. They kept on flying at all hours of the day until June. Large numbers were killed and taken to the market where they were sold for what they would bring.

The flocks passing over the place seemed so weak and weary that they could scarcely clear the chimney tops, indeed, in many places boys armed with sticks were stationed on the house tops where they knocked down many as they passed over. So abundant was the supply that for a time pigeons were on every table in the town, but in that year cholera was epidemic in the country, and, fortunately for the birds, a report was spread that eating pigeons had caused it. This brought the slaughter quickly to an end, and since that time there have been no flights of pigeons in Ontario, though an odd pair is found now and then breeding in the Province. In the far northwest they are still found in great numbers in reserved localities, but it looks as if this is one of the groups which will die out with the advance of civilization. The Mourning Dove is a quiet, timid little bird which we sometimes meet in the woods, but it is so small in size and its numbers are so few that it is little molested.

Order *Raptores*—Birds of Prey. The Eagles take the first place in this group in regard to size and of these we have two species which visit us, mostly in winter. The Bald Eagle is readily recognized by the white head and tail that in immature birds are uniform brown. For many years this species used to frequent the banks of the Niagara river below the Falls where they would pick up the dead bodies of such animals as came down the river, but their skins came to have a market value and soon the birds were picked off by the rifle so that their former haunt is to a great extent deserted. The Golden Eagle is not so often seen as the bald-head but it is found

breeding in the retired parts of the country, where it excites the ire of the farmer by occasionally appropriating one of his lambs. Among the hawks, the Peregrine Falcon is the one which attracts most notice, though he is not seen so often as some of the others. He is a regular visitor at the shooting stations in the autumn, when he shows great dexterity in striking down ducks while on the wing. He is said to be identical with the falcon which in Europe in the olden time was trained for the chase. Here he takes it in his own fashion, and has the proceeds for himself and family. The Goshawk is another much admired member of the group, and a male of that species in autumn plumage is certainly a very handsome bird. In spirit he is more daring and regardless of his safety than any of the others. He will often dart down and carry off a fowl from the very feet of a farmer in his barnyard, and the peculiar shape of his wings and tail give him the ability to turn and alter his course within a very small space. The species is not abundant, but by the farmer he is not regarded as a friend.

Of the Owls we have quite a goodly number on the list, some being migratory, while others are resident. Perhaps the finest of the group is the Great Grey Owl which visits us from the north in winter. It is not so strong nor heavy as some of the others but its long loose plumage of marbled grey and its fine full face give it a very dignified presence. The Snowy Owl is the heaviest of the group. It comes down from the north in November and spends some time (if allowed to do so) about the shores of the Lake, where it picks up any fish that may have been cut out of the nets. In some seasons they are quite plentiful, while in others only one or two are seen. Their skins also have now a money value, so that few which come so far south are allowed to return. The Great Horned Owl is probably the most numerous and destructive of the large owls. During the summer they have good shelter and plenty of food in the woods, but in winter they come about the farm houses and work mischief amongst the poultry. They are of a fierce, vicious disposition and will even attack and eat hawks, crows and other owls. Therefore they are no favourites in the country and their carcasses may often be seen nailed up on the end of a barn. The smaller owls are more

in favour, and are encouraged to take up their winter quarters in the out-houses on the farm, where they do good service in killing off the mice that are so destructive to the grain, and in this way the little Screech Owl becomes semi-domesticated, as he is not annoyed and is allowed to catch all the mice he can; but on the return of spring he again betakes himself to the woods and is seen no more for the season. The Barn Owl, which is by many believed to be identical with the British bird of the same name, has recently been found on one or two occasions in Ontario. It is quite common farther south and has the reputation of living almost exclusively on small quadrupeds, rats and mice being specially preferred. On this account he is welcome wherever he appears and we would gladly see his numbers increase. But our climate is too severe for his delicate constitution.

Order *Coccyges*—Cuckoos, etc. This is but a small Order of which we have three species in Ontario, viz., the Black-billed and the Yellow-billed Cuckoos, and the Belted King-fisher. Of the two Cuckoos, the Black-billed is the hardier, but neither is very common, and both retire to the south early in the autumn. The King-fisher arrives from the south early in the spring, and his rattling call is heard along the shores of our lakes and streams all through the summer. He remains with us in the autumn till the ice interferes with his operations, when he retires to the south.

Order *Pici*—Woodpeckers, etc. This is a numerous group which is well represented in Ontario, where there is abundance of wood to furnish supplies and ample shelter where the young can be raised in peace. The Pileated Woodpecker, or large black Log Cock used to be a resident in southern Ontario, but as the heavy timber was cut down he moved farther north, and is now found in Muskoka. We also have the Hairy, the Downy, the Red-head, the Gold-winged, the Yellow-bellied quite commonly, while occasionally in winter the two species of the Three-toed Woodpecker are found in Muskoka. It is somewhat singular that this species, so like the rest in other respects, should lack the hind toe. Most likely the arrangement is suited to travelling on the bark of the pines, amongst which it is most frequently observed.

Order *Macrochires*—Goatsuckers, Swifts, etc.

The Swifts are well known in Ontario, as are also the Night Hawk and Whip-poor-will, though the latter is more frequently heard than seen. This group includes also the Humming Bird, of which we have only one species, the Ruby-throated, which, though small in size, finds its way up north to the fur-countries, and has even been observed breeding in Labrador. It is rather singular that in this large family, in which the individuals resemble each other so closely, only this one species comes so far north, but such is the case, and, though we cannot see why, it must probably be best fitted by nature to withstand the changes of temperature.

Order *Passeres*—Perching Birds. This is the largest order in the arrangement, and the individuals it contains, though comparatively small in size, are highly prized by the collector—many of them being handsome in form, rich in colour, and exceedingly rare. A good many of these belong to the south and west, but Ontario has her full share. The King-bird stands in this group, and so does the Pee-wee and the Great Crested Fly-catcher. The last is seen only in the woods, where his loud, harsh cry is often heard during the summer. The list also includes the Meadow Lark, Cow-bird, Red-winged Blackbird, Bobolink, Oriole, Blue Jay, Canada Jay, Purple-finch, Crossbill, Red Poll, Goldfinch, Snow-bird, Longspur, Tree Sparrow, Song Sparrow, and a whole crowd of other sparrows, each of them with a history of its own worthy of being recorded. The Shrikes are also included in the group. Of these we have two, the Great Northern, as a winter visitor, and the White Rumped, as a summer resident.

Reference has already been made to the regularity with which the migratory birds arrive year after year at the same time and place, but occasionally, though rarely, circumstances arise which cause them to deviate from their usual course. A case of this kind occurred with the Evening Grosbeak, which is a western species, its usual line of migration being along the Mississippi Valley in the United States. In December, 1890, I was told that in one of the cemeteries which is near the Hamilton Bay shore, where the banks are grown over with bushes of the red cedar, a number of birds with thick bills and short tails were seen,

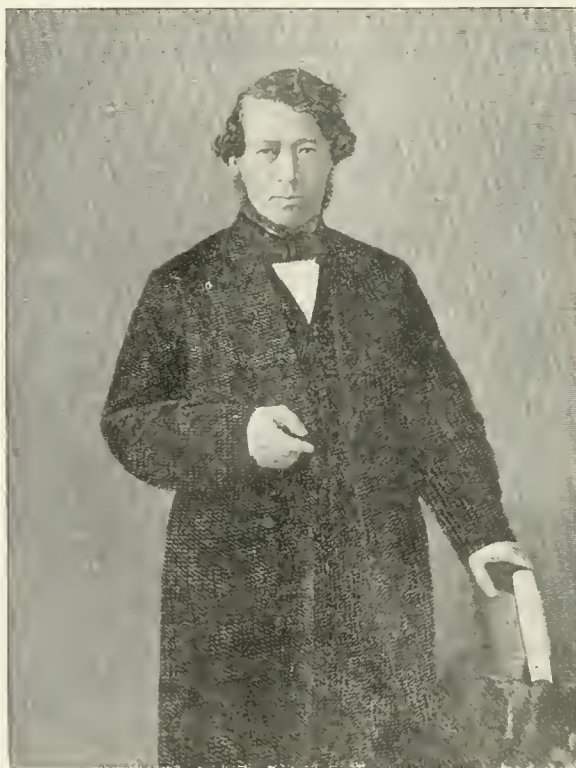
differing from any which had ever been observed there before. I was at the place indicated early next morning, and was delighted to find a flock of twenty-five or thirty Evening Grosbeaks feeding on the berries which still hung to the cedar bushes. They were in full vigour and fine plumage; presenting a grand sight to a lover of birds who had never seen the species in life before. When disturbed they passed on to the east, but their place was soon taken by another flock, and this went on day after day, for two weeks. Of course many were collected, of which I got my share. I learned afterwards that a succession of strong gales from the north-west was the cause of this divergence from their usual route, and that they went as far east as Quebec. The return trip began early in March by the same route as before, but the birds passed rapidly, as the berries were mostly gone, and the breeding season being close at hand, they were, no doubt, anxious to get back to their summer haunts. Since that time none of this species has again been observed in Ontario.

The most interesting family of the group are the Wood Warblers, all of them light and graceful in their movements, and many of them beautiful in colour. Where all are so rich, it would seem needless to select, but I cannot help giving the names of a few which many collectors would travel miles to see. The Cape May, Mourning Prothonotary, Hooded, Connecticut, and Golden-winged Warblers are all found here occasionally, and there are others which, though more common, are equally beautiful. The Cerulean, Blackburnian, Bay-breasted, and Magnolia, are quite plentiful during the latter part of May. It is always interesting to see a mounted collection of these little birds in a museum, but how much more so to see them, male and female, full of life and giving and receiving the attentions of the season, their little throats swelling with their love notes, and all their charms displayed to the fullest advantage. The Thrushes, of which we have five species as summer residents, are usually classed as songsters, and those we have are entitled to the honour, the only drawback being that the songs are not continuous. Their voices are seldom heard save by those who are in the habit of visiting the woods. There the notes of the Wood-thrush, loud and clear, yet full of tenderness, are occasionally heard from

the top of a low growing tree. We eagerly listen for a continuation of the music, but it stops suddenly short as the musician drops into the bush and becomes silent.

Others of the class have clear, flute-like voices, but their notes are few in number, and hardly take the form of a song. About the blue-bird, whose gentle disposition and familiar habits made him such a general favourite, I would fain say a word in closing the list, but his case has already

been referred to, and I can only now express the hope that his numbers may soon increase, so that we may again hear his soft warbling notes around our homes. I have glanced but lightly at a few of our more interesting species of birds, with the hope that others of our people may be led to pursue the study. They cannot find a more elevating subject, nor one which, if followed in the woods, will be productive of more enjoyment and good health.



The Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee.

# THE BIRDS OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

BY

SIR JAMES McPHERSON LeMOINE, F.R.S.C.

ONE of the most attractive branches of Zoology is that treating of birds—termed Ornithology. It has been, one regrets to have to admit, comparatively neglected for a time, as a study, in several of the Provinces of our nascent Dominion. Of late, however, an awakening has undoubtedly taken place. Credit is due for this onward movement to the recent researches, field-work and publications of several students of bird-life; to the action of the Dominion Government in the formation at Ottawa of a National Museum; to our Universities for the formation of collections of specimens of our avi-fauna. Though our young and sparsely inhabited country is not yet in a position to point amongst her sons to brilliant naturalists such as Audubon, Wilson, Allen, Merriam, Ridgway, Couës, Brewster, Bendire—still she is, I think, producing some who will “leave their foot-prints on the sands of time.”

An incident which recently took place beyond our border, by its far-reaching aims as well as through the brilliant array of talent which gave it birth, is likely to promote powerfully on this continent the study of bird-life under its various aspects. I allude to the foundation in New York, in September, 1883, of the American Ornithologists' Union, whose labours appear quarterly in *The Auk*, its accredited organ. The Bird-Congress embraced among its members leading amateurs and professional ornithologists of the United States and Canada. It was presided over by an eminent naturalist, J. Allen, of Cambridge, Mass., and had for its Secretary the learned and acute observer, Dr. Hart Merriam, of Washington. At its very first meeting it set forth for investigation several most important subjects: the nomenclature, classification, migration, osteology, distribution of species and faunal areas

of the entire continent. It must be admitted that Ornithology has made great strides since the writings of the great ornithologist John Wilson, as appears by the following table of North American species known to and described by him, and by others:

1814.....	Wilson .....	283	birds.
1838.....	Bonaparte.....	471	“
1840.....	Brewer .....	491	“
1844.....	Audubon .....	506	“
1859.....	Baird.....	738	“
1874.....	Couës .....	778	“
1881.....	Ridgway .....	930	“
1882.....	Couës .....	888	“
1884.....	Couës .....	902	“
1886.....	A.O.U. Committee.....	960	“
1887.....	Couës .....	960	“
1887.....	Ridgway .....	1,028	“

“This list”, remarks Mr. Chamberlain, “requires some explanation, for the apparent increase has not been wholly due to the discovery of new species, as might be inferred. A portion of the increase is due to the extension of the territorial limits embraced under the term ‘North America’ when used for ornithological purposes. Lower California, Greenland, Guadeloupe, were included in some and excluded in other lists”. The earliest ornithological record in Canada, I might say, possibly in America, occurs in Jacques Cartier’s *Voyages* up the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 of the *Narrative* of his first voyage in 1535, as well as in an entry in the log of De Roberval and his first pilot, Jean Alphonse, in 1542, mention is made of the myriads of gannets, gulls, guillemots, puffins, eider-ducks, cormorants and other sea-fowl nesting on the Bird Rocks, and on the desolate islands of the Labrador coast. Jacques Cartier goes so far as to say that the whole French navy might

be freighted with these noisy denizens of that wild region without an apparent diminution in their numbers. (Chap. 1-2, *l'oyages*.) Reliable American naturalists such as Henry Bryant, of Boston, who visited the Bird Rocks in 1860, and Charles A. Cory, in 1878, confirm these statements of early discoverers as to the number and species of birds frequenting the Lower St. Lawrence. The Jesuit Le Jeune, in the *Relations des Jésuites*, for 1632, dwells on the multitude of aquatic birds on Ile-aux-Oies (County of Montmagny), and to be found on the shores of our noble river.

Frère Gabriel Sagard-Theodat in the same year furnished in his *Grand Voyage au Pays des Hurons* a list of Canadian birds. In 1636 he mentions, among other things, some of the leading species, such as jay, eagle, crane, etc., and has left us a lovely piece of word-painting in his glowing description of the humming-bird. In 1663 Pierre Boucher, Governor of Three-Rivers, in an agreeably written memoir, addressed on the 8th of October, 1663, to Minister Colbert, at Paris, depicted the birds, mammals, fishes, etc., of New France. In Volume 1, of Baron La Hontan's *Voyages a l'Amérique*, published in France, in 1703, there occurs an annotated "List of the Fowls, or Birds, that frequent the South Countries of Canada" and also a second "List of the Birds of the North Countries of Canada." Father Charlevoix, in 1725, devotes a few pages of his voluminous history to the Canadian fauna. Peter Kalm, the Swedish *savant*, the friend of Governor Le Galissonnière, and his guest at the Chateau St. Louis, at Quebec, in 1749, in an edition of his *Travels* republished in London in 1777, furnishes plates of American birds and mammals. Thomas Jefferys, Geographer to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in an elaborate folio volume issued in London, in 1760, devoted a few pages to the avi-fauna of Canada. The year 1831 gave us Swainson's and Richardson's standard work on the birds of the fur countries: *Fauna Boreali-Americana*.

In 1853 the Hon. George W. Allan, of Toronto, furnished a list of the land birds wintering in the neighbourhood of that city. In 1857 a Committee of Canadian naturalists, Messrs. Billings, Barnston, Hall, Vennor and D'Urban founded in

Montreal a monthly magazine, the *Canadian Naturalist and Geologist*. This valuable storehouse of many good things flourished for twelve years and is still of daily reference. Three years later, in 1860, I published, at Quebec, under the title *Ornithologie du Canada*, in two volumes, the first French work edited in Canada upon Canadian birds. Professor William Hincks, of Kingston, furnished, in 1866, a list of Canadian birds observed by Mr. Thomas McIlwraith around Hamilton. In 1868 an industrious entomologist, the Rev. Abbé Louis Provancher, started at Quebec a monthly publication, *Le Naturaliste Canadien*, which, with the aid of a Government subsidy, he kept up for fourteen years. Canadian birds often found a corner in it, though not a large one. The work has since been continued up to the present time. Mr. C. E. Dionne, the Taxidermist of the Laval University, Quebec, brought out, in 1883, a useful volume, *Les Oiseaux du Canada*. Six years later, in 1889, he supplemented it with a *Catalogue des Oiseaux de la Province de Quebec*, a carefully prepared record. We owe to Messrs. J. A. Morden, of Hyde Park, London, Ontario, and W. E. Saunders, also of London, Ontario, well prepared notes on the feathered tribes of Western Canada, whilst an erudite Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, the late Dr. J. Bernard Gilpin, of Nova Scotia, drew attention to the birds of prey of his native Province.

In 1881 the late William Couper edited, in Montreal, a valuable little monthly journal, *The Canadian Sportsman and Naturalist*, to which for three years, our leading field-naturalists and amateurs generally contributed useful notes and observations. Among other reliable records, it contained Mr. Ernest T. Wintle's list of birds observed round Montreal. Mr. Wintle has since published this list, with most valuable annotations, in a separate volume; thus rendering yeoman's service to the cause of Ornithology in Canada. In 1886 that veteran field-naturalist, Thomas McIlwraith, of Hamilton, Ontario, put forth his excellent treatise, *The Birds of Ontario*, and re-edited it in 1894 with elaborate notes. It is the standard work for the avi-fauna of Ontario and was published by William Briggs, Toronto. In 1887 Montague Chamberlain, late of St. John,

N.B., published his useful *Catalogue of Canadian Birds*; and in 1888 this industrious writer, one of the founders of the American Ornithologists' Union, published his elaborate work, *A Systematic Table of Canadian Birds*. I must not omit mention here of my former neighbour at Sillery, the late John Neilson, Provincial Land Surveyor and a zealous student of the bird-world.

Canadian Ornithology is also indebted to the late Dr. T. D. Cottle, of Woodstock, Ontario, for a *List of the Birds found in Upper Canada* in 1859. To H. Hadfield, "Birds of Canada observed near Kingston during the spring of 1858"; to A. Murray, "Contributions to the Natural History of the Hudson's Bay Territories," 1858; to J. F. Whiteaves, "Notes on Canadian Birds, 1870"; to A. L. Adams, "Field and Forest Rambles, with Notes and Observations on the Natural History of Eastern Canada, 1873"; to the late Dr. J. H. Garnier, of Lucknow, Ontario; to Professor Macoun, of Ottawa, Ontario; to Professor J. I. Bell, of Kingston, Ontario; to Ernest E. Seton Thompson, Toronto, Ontario, (now of New York); to W. A. O. Lees, of Kingston, Ontario; to John Fannin, of Victoria, B.C.; to W. L. Scott and George R. White, Ottawa, Ontario; to Harold Gilbert and James W. Banks, St. John, N.B.; to A. H. Mackay, of Halifax, N.S.; to Napoleon A. Comeau, of Natasquan, P.Q.; to the Rev. Duncan Anderson, Chaudière Basin, P.Q.; and to others whose names escape me, due credit must be given for their contributions to Zoology, etc. The Bulletins of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick and the Transactions of the Ottawa Field Naturalist Club have also proved useful auxiliaries to the cause of natural science in Canada.

Such are some of the materials available to students of Canadian bird-life. Such, I may add, is the ornithological outfit of our vast Dominion for the prosecution of research in this attractive branch of human knowledge. For the present, I purpose to confine myself to enumerating the birds found in the Province of Quebec. The avi-fauna of Ontario in the main is similar to that of the Province of Quebec, with the exception that the severity of our winter and our proximity to salt water brings us occasionally accidental visitors of the bird world, hardly met

with in Ontario. Subjoined is a list of 54 species, among the 317 mentioned in McIlwraith's *Birds of Ontario*, 1894, and which also belong to Quebec—with the exception of the Meadow Lark, one of which Mr. Dionne, Taxidermist, mounted in the flesh, at Quebec, in 1896; and the other, the Evening Grosbeak, one of which was brought to him to be mounted in 1895, and one in 1897. These latter are recorded as pertaining to the avi-fauna of Ontario and do not appear in Dionne's *Catalogue* prepared in 1889:

## BIRDS COMMON TO ONTARIO AND QUEBEC.

	A. O. U. CHECK LIST.*
Brunnich's Murre.....	31
Laughing Gull.....	58
Franklin Gull.....	59
Caspian Tern.....	64
Cabot's ".....	67
Foster's ".....	69
American White Pelican.....	125
Trumpeter Swan.....	181
Glossy Ibis.....	186
Snowy Heron.....	197
Whooping Crane.....	204
Sandhill Crane.....	206
Black Rail.....	216
Purple Gallinule.....	218
American Avocet.....	225
Stilt Sand-piper.....	233
Baird's ".....	241
Curlew ".....	244
Willet.....	258
Ruff.....	260
Long-billed Curlew.....	264
Bob-white (quail).....	289
Richardson's Grouse.....	297b
Prairie Hen.....	305
Wild Turkey.....	310
Turkey Vulture.....	325
Swallow-tailed Kite.....	327
Western Red-tail.....	337b
Audubon's Caracara.....	362
American Barn Owl.....	365
Screech Owl.....	373
Red-bellied Woodpecker... ..	409
Scissor-tailed Fly catcher.....	443

\* NOTE. These numbers are those given in the American Ornithologists' Union Club List.

Acadian Fly catcher.....	465	Razor-billed Auk.....	32
Meadowlark.....	501	Great Auk.....	33
Orchard Oriole.....	506	Dovekie (Sea Dove).....	34
Evening Grosbeak.....	514	Pomarine Jaeger.....	36
Greenland Redpoll.....	527	Parasitic ".....	37
Hoary Redpoll.....	527 a	Long-tailed ".....	38
Grasshopper Sparrow.....	546	Ivory Gull.....	39
Lark Sparrow.....	552	Kittiwake.....	40
Cardinal.....	593	Glaucus Gull.....	42
Dickcissel.....	604	Iceland Gull.....	43
Rough-winged Swallow.....	617	Great-black-back Gull.....	47
Prothonotary Warbler.....	637	American Herring ".....	51
Golden-winged ".....	642	Ring-billed ".....	54
Orange-crowned ".....	646	Short ".....	55
Cerulean Warbler.....	658	Bonaparte's.....	60
Lousiana Water Thrush.....	676	Caspian Tern (Sea Swallow).....	64
Connecticut Warbler.....	678	Common ".....	70
Yellow-breasted Chat.....	683	Arctic ".....	71
Hooded Warbler.....	684	Least ".....	74
Mockingbird.....	703	Black Tern.....	77
Carolina Wren.....	718	Yellow-billed Albatross.....	83
Blue-grey Gnatcatcher.....	751	Black Puffin.....	97

Stormy Petrel.....	106
Gannet (Solán Goose).....	117
Cormorant.....	119
Double Crested Cormorant.....	120
Man-of-War Bird.....	128
American Morganser.....	129
Red-Breasted ".....	130
Hooded ".....	131
Mallard.....	132
Black Duck.....	133
Gadwall.....	135
Baldpate (American Widgeon).....	137
Green-winged Teal.....	139
Blue ".....	140
Shoveller Duck.....	142
Pintail ".....	143
Wood ".....	144
Red-head ".....	146
Canvas-back ".....	147
American Scaup Duck.....	148
Blue-billed Lesser Duck.....	149
Ring-necked Duck.....	150
Golden Eye Duck.....	151
Barrow's Golden Eye Duck.....	152
Buffalo-headed Duck.....	153
Old Squaw (Kowheen) Duck.....	154
Harlequin Duck.....	155

Dionne's *Catalogue* records the occurrence of 273 species of birds in the Province of Quebec, whilst 317 are credited to the Province of Ontario by McIlwraith. Owing probably to the more genial temperature of that Province and to the existence of the Great Lakes within its borders, so attractive to beach birds, several southern species sojourn there, without extending their spring migration as far north as Quebec. On the other hand our northern latitudes and greater proximity to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and sea shores bring us many interesting members of the feathered tribe not met with in Ontario.

THE BIRDS OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

A. O. U. CHECK LIST,

Western Grebe.....	1
Holboell's ".....	2
Horned ".....	3
Pied-bill ".....	6
Loon (Great Northern Diver).....	7
Black-throated Loon.....	9
Red-throated ".....	11
Common Puffin.....	13
Black Guillemot.....	27
White-breasted Guillemot.....	30
Brunnich's Murre.....	31



Northern Eider Duck .....	159	Black-bellied Plover .....	270
American " " (Mourning) .....	160	American Golden Plover .....	272
King " " .....	162	Killdeer " .....	273
American Scoter " .....	163	Semi-palmated " .....	274
White-Winged " .....	165	Piping " .....	277
Surf Scoter " .....	166	Turnstone .....	283
Ruddy " .....	167	Canada Grouse (Spruce Partridge).....	298
Greater Snow Goose.....	169a	Ruffed " .....	300
American White-fronted Goose .....	171a	Willow Ptarmigan.....	301
Wild Goose, Canada.....	172	Rock " .....	301
Brant .....	173	Sharp-tailed Grouse .....	302
American Swan .....	180	Passenger Pigeon... ..	315
Glossy Ibis .....	186	Mourning Dove .....	316
American Bittern .....	190	Marsh Harrier .....	331
Least Bittern .....	191a	Sharp-shinned Hawk.....	332
Great Blue Heron .....	194	Cooper's Hawk .....	333
American Egret.....	196	American Goshawk .....	334
Blue Heron.....	200	Red-tailed Hawk .....	337
Black-crowned Night Heron .....	202	Red-shouldered Hawk .....	339
Virginia Rail .....	212	Swainson's Hawk .....	342
Sora " .....	214	Broad-winged Hawk.....	343
Yellow " .....	215	American rough-legged Hawk.....	347a
Florida Gallinule .....	219	Golden Eagle.....	349
American Coot .....	221	Bald " .....	352
Red Phalarope .....	222	White Gyrfalcon .....	353
Northern Phalarope .....	223	Black Hawk .....	354
Wilson's " .....	224	Duck " .....	356
European Woodcock .....	227	Pigeon " .....	357
American " .....	228	Sparrow " .....	360
Wilson's Snipe .....	230	Osprey .....	364
Dowitcher .....	231	American Long-eared Owl .....	366
Red-breasted Snipe .....	234	Short-eared Owl .....	367
Purple Sand-piper.....	235	Barred " .....	368
Pectoral " .....	239	Great Grey " .....	370
White-rumped Sand-piper .....	240	Richardson's Owl .....	371
Least " .....	242	Saw-whet Owl .....	372
Red-backed " .....	243a	Screech " .....	373
Semi-palmated " .....	246	Great Horned Owl .....	375
Sanderling " .....	248	Dusky " " .....	375c
Marbled Godwit.....	249	Snowy Owl.....	376
Hudsonian Godwit .....	251	American Hawk Owl.....	377a
Greater Yellow-legs .....	254	Yellow-billed Cuckoo .....	387
Yellow Legs .....	255	Black " " .....	388
Solitary Sand-piper .....	256	Kingfisher .....	390
Bartanian " (Field Plover).....	261	Hairy Woodpecker .....	393a
Buff-breasted Sand-piper ... ..	262	Downy " .....	394
Spotted " .....	263	Arctic-three-toed Woodpecker.....	400
Hudsonian Curlew.....	265	Great American three-toed Woodpecker ...	401
Eskimo " .....	266	Yellow-bellied Woodpecker.....	402

Pileated Woodpecker .....	405	Slate coloured Junco, (Wilson's Snowbird)	567
Red-headed " .....	406	Song Sparrow.....	581
Flicker Golden-winged Woodpecker.....	412	Lincoln's Sparrow.....	583
Whip-poor-will .....	417	Swamp " .....	584
Night Hawk .....	420	Fox " .....	585
Chimney Swallow .....	423	Towhee .....	587
Ruby-throated Hummingbird.....	428	Rose-breasted Grosbeak .....	595
Kingbird-Tyrant Flycatcher .....	444	Blue Grosbeak .....	597
Crested Flycatcher .....	452	Indigo Bird.....	598
Phæbe " .....	456	Scarlet Tanager.....	608
Olive-sided Flycatcher.....	459	Vermilion Tanager (Summer Redbird).....	610
Wood Pewee " .....	461	Purple Martin.....	611
Yellow-bellied " .....	463	Cliff Swallow .....	612
Alder " .....	466a	Barn " .....	613
Least " .....	467	Tree " .....	614
Horned Lark .....	474	Bank " .....	616
Prairie " .....	474b	Bohemian Waxwing.....	618
American Magpie .....	475	Cedar " .....	619
Blue Jay .....	477	Northern Shrike.....	621
Canada Jay.....	484	White-rumped Shrike .....	622a
Northern Raven.....	486a	Red-eyed Vireo .....	624
American Crow .....	488	Yellow-green Vireo .....	628
Bobolink .....	494	Warbling " .....	627
Cowbird .....	495	Yellow-throated Vireo .....	628
Yellow-headed Blackbird.....	497	Blue-headed " .....	629
Red-winged " .....	498	Black and White Warbler .....	636
Meadow Lark.....	501	Orange-crowned " .....	643
Baltimore Oriole .....	507	Nashville " .....	645
Rusty Blackbird.....	509	Tennessee " .....	647
Bronzed Grackle .....	511b	Parula " .....	648
Pine Grosbeak .....	515	Cape May " .....	650
Purple Finch .....	517	Yellow " .....	652
American Crossbill .....	521a	Black-throated blue " .....	654
White-winged Crossbill .....	522	Myrtle " .....	655
Redpoll .....	528	Magnolia " .....	657
Holboell's Redpoll.....	528a	Chestnut-sided " .....	659
American Goldfinch .....	529	Bay-breasted " .....	660
Pine Siskin .....	533	Black Poll " .....	661
House Sparrow .....		Blackburnian " .....	662
Snowflake; <i>Snowbird</i> .....	534	Black-throated green " .....	667
Lapland Longspur.....	536	Pine " .....	671
Vesper Sparrow .....	540	Yellow Palm " .....	672a
Savanna " .....	542a	Oven bird; Golden-crowned Warbler .....	674
Acadian sharp-tailed Sparrow.....	549b	Water Thrush .....	675
White-crowned Sparrow .....	554	Kentucky Warbler.....	677
White-throated " .....	558	Mourning " .....	679
Tree " .....	559	Maryland Yellow-throat .....	681
Chipping " .....	560	Wilson's Warbler .....	685
Field " .....	563	Canadian " .....	686

American Redstart .....	687
American Pipit .....	687
Catbird .....	704
Thrasher (Brown Thrush) .....	705
House wren.....	721
Winter wren .....	722
Long-billed Wren.....	725
Brown Creeper.....	726
White-breasted Nuthatch.....	727
Red " " .....	728
Black-capped Chickadee.....	735
Hudsonian " .....	740
Golden-crowned Kinglet.....	748
Ruby " " .....	749
Wood Thrush.....	755
Wilson's Thrush.....	756
Grey-cheeked Thrush.....	757
Olive-backed " .....	758a
Hermit Thrush.....	759b
American Robin.....	761
Stonechat... ..	765
Bluebird.....	766

The Laval University Museum contains a specimen of the Yellow-billed Albatross, a straggler, no doubt, from the Pacific coast. It was shot on the 22nd August, 1885, at the mouth of the River Moisie, on the North Shore of the Lower St. Lawrence. In the Natural History Museum at Montreal may be seen a specimen

of the Labrador Duck, a species nearly extinct. It was shot at Laprairie, opposite Montreal, in the spring of 1862 and is figured in Mr. Ernest T. Wintle's *Birds of Montreal*, 1896. My own collection at Spencer Grange contains a handsome specimen of the Glossy Ibis, shot in a flock of five on the beech of Deschambault, by Paul J. Charlton, of Quebec, in 1864. The King Eider, Sharp-tailed Grouse, Blue Grosbeak, Man-of-war Bird and Philadelphia Vireo, which have been met in the Province of Quebec, are not quoted in McIlwraith's *Birds of Ontario*. The Dusky Horned Owl (375, A.O.U.), of which Mr. Wintle purchased at Montreal a specimen in 1892, shot at Boucherville, P.Q., has not been met around Quebec. Of the five varieties of humming-birds preserved in the Geological and Natural History Museum at Ottawa, viz., the Ruby-throated, Black-chinned, Rufus, Allen's, and the Calliope, one variety only, the Ruby-throated, visits the gardens of the Province of Quebec during the summer months. Specimens of the birds of the Province of Quebec are available for inspection at the Geological and Natural History Rooms, Montreal; in Ernest T. Wintle's collection of skins, Montreal; in Laval University Museum, in Quebec; in the private collection of C. E. Dionne, Curator to the above; in the Spencer Grange Museum, Sillery, Quebec.

## CANADIAN ENTOMOLOGY

BY

The REV. C. J. S. BETHUNE, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S.C., Editor of the *Canadian Entomologist*.

THE history of entomology in Canada covers a period of very little more than half a century. The early settlers of this country were too much occupied with the labourious task of clearing the forests for cultivation to pay much attention to its natural history. The fur-bearing animals and game birds were always objects of great interest, and their habits were well known, but the lesser creatures that peopled the woods and swamps and fields were little regarded, except when they made themselves obnoxious in the form of mosquitoes and flies. The first person to draw attention to the beauties of nature in Canada was Mr. Philip H. Gosse, an Englishman, who tried his hand at farming at Compton in the Eastern Townships, P.Q., and in the winter taught the little country school. In 1840 he published *The Canadian Naturalist* (Van Voorst, London), in which he most delightfully described the natural history of Lower Canada. The work is in the form of a series of conversations supposed to be carried on between a father and son during each month of the year, and describes, in a most charming manner, the ever-changing beauties of the landscape, the woods and fields, rivers and brooks, flowers, trees and plants, insects, birds and lesser beasts, as they come and go. Many a lover of nature has had his interest quickened and his knowledge increased by the perusal of this book, and from its pages most of our earlier Entomologists learnt the names of some of our commonest butterflies, moths and beetles. There were not very many insects described, but still it was a beginning, and, undoubtedly, it encouraged others to study and observe for themselves when the way was thus charmingly pointed out. Mr. Gosse subsequently returned to England, and became a naturalist of distinction, and the author of

many popular books on natural history subjects.

While I regard Gosse as the first Canadian Entomologist, inasmuch as he lived in the country and described what he saw and collected in his own neighbourhood, it must not be overlooked that travellers had made collections in parts of Canada even before him. The most notable expedition, as far as entomology is concerned, was under the command of the famous Arctic explorer, Sir John Franklin, R.N., who came to this country in 1825 and made a scientific exploration of the almost unknown regions from the head of Lake Superior to the Mackenzie River. A considerable number of insects were collected, chiefly beetles, and were subsequently described, most of them being new to science, by the Rev. William Kirby, F.R.S. Four large quarto volumes, handsomely illustrated, were published by Sir John Richardson, one of the party, on his return to England. The first three volumes were published in London in 1829 and contained descriptions of the wild animals, birds and fishes collected during the two years spent in the North-West; but the fourth volume did not appear till 1837 and was published at Norwich. It is entirely devoted to the descriptions of the insects found throughout that region of country. The whole work bears the title of "Richardson's Fauna Boreali-Americana." Very few copies reached Canada, and the fourth volume was consequently so scarce and unattainable by students that it was reprinted in the *Canadian Entomologist* in 1870-76 with notes on synonymy, etc., by the Editor and afterwards issued in book form.\*

In 1848 Professor Louis Agassiz, the famous

\*NOTE. Insects of the Northern parts of British America, compiled by the Rev. C. J. S. Bethune from Kirby's *Fauna Boreali-Americana: Insecta*; with a supplement on the Coleoptera by Dr. George H. Horn, of Philadelphia. Published by the Entomological Society of Ontario. 1 vol. 8vo., pp. 170.

naturalist, formed a party for the scientific exploration of the northern shores of Lake Superior, and afterwards published a volume on its "Physical character, vegetation and animals." Dr. John L. Le Conte, the eminent Coleopterist, who was one of the party, made a large collection of beetles, and contributed a chapter to the work, in which he gave a list of several hundred species, many of which he described for the first time. The few butterflies and moths collected were described by Dr. T. W. Harris, author of the well-known "Treatise on the injurious insects of Massachusetts." The next event in the annals of Canadian entomology was the publication of a series of papers by Mr. William Couper, in the *Canadian Journal*, Toronto (Vol. II., 1853-4), entitled "The Naturalist's Calendar." In these the author gave the dates of appearance of a number of butterflies, moths and other insects during the spring and summer, and notes on winter collecting. In the succeeding volume (1855) he began a series of valuable papers on Canadian Coleoptera, in which he described a large number of the more conspicuous species of beetles. They were found very useful in later years by the writer and other young collectors, who were enabled by their means to identify their captures. Mr. Couper's pioneer work was supplemented by Professor Croft, of the University of Toronto, who gave a list of the beetles he had collected in that neighbourhood, and by Mr. F. H. Ibbotson, Assistant Commissary-General, Montreal, who added the names of the species that he had obtained in Upper and Lower Canada. It is significant that the latter was only able to give the names of 120 species out of the 780 that he had collected; so little was known at that time of the insect fauna of this country. In the same magazine (April, 1854) there also appeared an article by Dr. Thomas Cottle, of Woodstock, "On some of the Canadian Saturiæ, and suggestions on the possibility of using their silk for textile purposes." For this paper the distinction may be claimed of being the first Canadian contribution to economic entomology.

While a few enthusiastic naturalists were thus beginning to extend the knowledge of systematic entomology, the whole community were compelled to turn their attention to the economic

importance of insects by the terrible ravages inflicted upon the grain crops of the country by two minute foes, the Wheat Midge and the Hessian Fly. The Wheat Midge (*Cecidomyia tritici*), though long known in Europe for its destructive powers, was not observed on this side of the Atlantic till the year 1820, when it appeared in north-western Vermont. It had probably been brought over a few years earlier by shipping to Quebec or Montreal, but was unnoticed until its ravages became serious. In 1828 it became so numerous and destructive as to cause considerable alarm in Lower Canada and the neighbouring State of Vermont, and from that year onward it continued to increase and spread till it gradually swept over almost all the wheat-producing regions of North America and became a frightful scourge to the whole community. In 1854 the loss caused by this tiny insect in the State of New York alone was estimated, after placing everything at the lowest figure in order to avoid exaggeration, at fifteen millions of dollars. Three years later it destroyed one-third of the entire wheat crop of the Province of Upper Canada, amounting to upwards of eight million bushels, and it continued its work of destruction, varying slightly from year to year, down even to 1858, when its ravages were reported to be "something frightful to contemplate." Since that time it has ceased to be a serious pest in this country, owing largely to improved varieties of grain being sown and more intelligent methods of farming being employed, as well as to the counteracting influences of its natural enemies.

The Hessian Fly (*Cecidomyia destructor*) received its name from the popular belief that it was imported from Europe in straw brought by the Hessian soldiers during the War of Independence in 1776. Its injuries were first observed in Lower Canada in 1816, and it was not till thirty years later that it became troublesome in Upper Canada. Since that time it has continued its ravages upon the wheat crops, and seldom a year passes by that we do not see mention made in the crop returns of Ontario of damage done here and there by this very destructive insect. In 1856 so serious was the loss occasioned by these two insects to the farmers, and consequently to the whole community, and so widespread was the

alarm created by them that the Government of Canada was impelled to take action and the Bureau of Agriculture offered prizes for the three best Essays on these and any other insects that affected the wheat crops. Out of twenty-two competitors Professor H. Y. Hind, of Trinity College, Toronto, was awarded the first prize of forty pounds currency, and his Essay was published by the Department and widely distributed throughout the two Provinces of Canada. The second prize of twenty-five pounds was awarded to the Rev. George Hill, Rector of Markham, who published his Essay at his own expense. These were the first publications on economic entomology appearing in this country and they thus mark an epoch in the history of the science in Canada. The excellent Essay of Professor Hind brought into a convenient and accessible form all that was known at that time regarding the life histories of these two formidable pests and the best methods of dealing with them; it is still a useful work of reference and may be consulted with advantage by any one interested in the habits and ravages of these insects.

It seems strange that the Government of the day were content merely to publish and distribute this Essay, when the losses annually caused by insects were amounting to many millions of dollars. We should naturally have expected that they would have followed the example of the neighbouring State of New York and appointed a competent Entomologist to study the life histories of the injurious insects affecting not only grain but other field crops, and fruits and vegetables as well. But nothing further was done and it was left to private individuals in later years to do the work and supply the information that was so badly needed then. In February, 1857, Mr. E. Billings, who subsequently became eminent as a paleontologist, began the publication of a bi-monthly magazine at Montreal called "The Canadian Naturalist and Geologist," which proved to be of the utmost interest and value to all those who paid any attention to the living or fossil remains to be found in this country. In the second volume attention began to be paid to entomology, and a series of papers appeared by Mr. W. S. M. D'Urban on the Butterflies of Canada, and by Mr. William Couper on the distribution of insects

and the methods of collecting and preserving them. These were followed in subsequent years by a steadily increasing number of papers by additional writers, among whom may be mentioned the familiar names of Dr. LeConte on "The Coleoptera of Hudson's Bay Territory"; Mr. D. W. Beadle, "List of the Coleoptera of St. Catharines"; Mr. William Saunders, "List of the Butterflies of London, C. W."; Dr. R. Bell on "The Natural History of the Gulf of St. Lawrence." These entomological contributions were highly valued by Canadian collectors and aided many a young student in the identification of his specimens and a systematic knowledge of the subject. The study of insects gradually became more widespread, and enthusiastic collectors were encouraged to persevere in their isolated efforts.

We now come to the most important event in the history of this branch of science—the formation of the Canadian Entomological Society. In 1862 Mr. William Saunders and the writer prepared a list of the Entomologists in Canada, which was published in the *Canadian Naturalist and Geologist*. It contained only thirty-six names, but it led to great things in the future. The immediate result of the publication was the determination to hold a meeting in Toronto and to make some effort for the establishment of a society, in order to bring together the isolated workers in this department of science, and unite them all in friendly co-operation. A meeting was accordingly held on the 26th of September at the residence of Professor Croft, at which ten gentlemen were present. They were all very enthusiastic, and determined upon the formation of a Canadian Entomological Society, but, owing to the smallness of the number present, definite action was postponed till another meeting could be held. On the 16th of April following (1863) the Entomological Society of Canada was duly organized, Dr. Henry Croft, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Toronto, being the first President, Mr. William Saunders, London, Secretary-Treasurer, and the Rev. Professor Hubbert, of Knox's College, Toronto, Curator; about twenty-five persons were enrolled as original members. Regular meetings were held, and a series of useful papers were published in the *Canadian Journal*, Toronto, the first of these

being "Nocturnal Lepidoptera found in Canada," by the Rev. C. J. S. Bethune, and a "Synopsis of Canadian Arctiadae," by Mr. William Saunders.

The Society grew rapidly and attracted into its ranks all who were interested in collecting or studying insects in Canada. At the close of its first year its numbers were more than doubled and active branches were formed at London and Quebec. In 1864 it issued its first publication—a label list of Canadian Lepidoptera which contained the names of 144 species of Butterflies, Hawk Moths and Bombyces. This was followed during the next year (1865) by a further list of 350 species, which included Nocturnal Moths and Geometers. In 1867 a label list of Canadian Coleoptera was published, containing the names of 55 families, 432 genera and 1231 species. The progress thus effected may be understood when it is mentioned that this was a number nearly ten times as great as that given by Mr. Couper in 1855. Entomological work, however, was not confined to collecting, naming and arranging specimens; a beginning was made in its practical and more generally popular aspect. The Hon. George Brown, Editor and proprietor of the *Toronto Globe*, had begun the publication of a fortnightly periodical, *The Canada Farmer*, and in 1865 engaged the present writer, then Secretary of the Entomological Society, to take charge of the department relating to noxious and beneficial insects. This he conducted for eight years and treated of insect friends and foes in a popular manner for the benefit and instruction of the farmers and fruit-growers of Canada.

The year 1868 marks another epoch in the annals of Canadian entomology. In August the Society issued the first number of a monthly magazine, *The Canadian Entomologist*, which, as stated in the introductory article, was to "contain original papers on the classification, description, habits and general history of insects; the transactions of the Entomological Society of Canada; short notices of new books on entomology; accounts of the capture of new or rare species, etc." It was to be published "not oftener than once a month, and only when there should be a sufficiency of suitable matter for publication." The writer of this paper, at that time Secretary-

Treasurer of the Society, was appointed Editor, and conducted the magazine during its first six volumes. He was then obliged to resign owing to the pressure of other duties. He was succeeded by Mr. William Saunders, of London, who edited the next twelve volumes, but was compelled to relinquish the task in 1886, when he was appointed to his present high and arduous position of Director of the Experimental Farms of the Dominion. The first Editor resumed the position, and has continued to the present time. At the close of 1898 he issued the last number of his eighteenth volume, the thirtieth of the *Canadian Entomologist*. The magazine long ago won for itself a high reputation in its own department of science, and has attracted contributions from all the most eminent writers on entomology in the United States and Canada. It circulates through all the civilized countries of the world, and has occasionally published articles by writers of South Africa and Australia, as well as of England, Germany and France. The volume completed in 1897—the twenty-ninth of the series—contained over three hundred pages of entirely original matter, and was illustrated with eight full-page plates, and thirty-six wood cuts; forty-four writers contributed to its pages. It is the only monthly publication on insects in America that has so long a record of years, and few in any country can boast of so eminent a list of contributors and a reputation so well maintained.

Very soon after the first issue of the *Canadian Entomologist* the late Abbé Leon Provaucher began (in 1869) the publication of a French magazine which devoted a large portion of its space to entomological matters. It was called *Le Naturalist Canadienne* and was maintained by its zealous Editor, almost single-handed and in spite of great disadvantages, down to 1898, when he completed its twentieth volume. In 1874 he began a more distinctly scientific work, the *Faune Entomologique du Canada*, on which he spent sixteen years, finishing the first volume, with its three supplements on the Coleoptera, in 1880; the second on the Orthoptera, Neuroptera and Hymenoptera in 1883; and the last on the Hemiptera in 1890. This earnest naturalist devoted the greater part of his life to his scientific pursuits, and laboured hard and diligently in the

effort to attract his fellow-countrymen in the Province of Quebec to pay more attention to the wonders and beauties of nature. In this design he met with much disappointment and little encouragement, but still he laboured on, an ardent votary of science for its own sake. He died at Cap Rouge, near Quebec, in 1892, in the seventy-second year of his age. His published works, however defective they may be in some respects, will prove an enduring monument to his memory, and will, it is to be hoped, encourage other French-Canadians to cultivate the fields of natural science that he tried so long and so well to till.

To return to the Entomological Society. By the year 1870 its work and usefulness had succeeded in attracting attention, and were substantially recognized by a grant of \$400 from the Board of Agriculture and Arts Association of Ontario. This was given on condition that it "furnished an annual Report, formed a cabinet of insects useful and prejudicial to agriculture and horticulture, and continued the publication of the *Canadian Entomologist*." Thus originated the series of annual Reports of the Society which have done so much to disseminate throughout the country a knowledge of our many insect enemies and the best methods of dealing with them. The first Report was issued early in 1871, and contained essays on the insects affecting the Apple, by the Rev. C. J. S. Bethune; the Grape, by Mr. William Saunders; and the Plum, by Mr. E. Baynes Reed. The writers confined themselves to these three subjects in order to render as complete as possible an account of all the injurious insects to be found at that time on these important fruits. The volume contained 63 octavo pages and was illustrated by 61 wood-cuts, a figure being given of nearly every insect referred to. As these illustrations involved an expense beyond what the limited funds of the Society could bear, a grant of fifty dollars was made by the Fruit Growers' Association of Ontario, and an additional sum of \$100 by the Agriculture and Arts Association. Three thousand copies were printed and distributed, and so constant has been the demand for it since that it was reprinted in 1895 by order of the Minister of Agriculture of Ontario. That a Report of this kind should be

reprinted at the public cost twenty-five years after its first issue is not only a notable event in the annals of the Society but a remarkable testimony to the value and usefulness of the work done by its members in those early days of its history.

Entomology was now recognized as a very important adjunct to agriculture and horticulture, and its practical usefulness was established. It not unnaturally followed then that the Society which did such good work should receive public recognition, and accordingly it was incorporated by the Legislature of Ontario in 1871 under the title of "The Entomological Society of Ontario," and given a grant of \$500 per annum; its President, by the same Act of Parliament, became an *ex-officio* member of the Board of Agriculture and Arts of the Province. The next year the Legislature made an additional grant of \$200 for the purchase of wood-cuts, etc. Up to this time the Society had no dwelling-place of its own, but was kindly allowed to make use of the rooms of the Canadian Institute in Toronto. As this became inconvenient, the headquarters were removed to London, which already had a flourishing branch of the Society, and a room was rented and fitted up with shelves and cabinets for the accommodation of the growing library and collections. This was followed the next year (1873) by an extra grant of \$500 from the Legislature, and the annual grant in 1874 was increased to \$750, at which sum it continued until 1880, when it was finally raised to \$1,000.

By its constitution, under the Act of Incorporation, "branches of the Society may be formed in any place within the Dominion of Canada on a written application to the Society from at least six persons resident in the locality." As already mentioned, a branch had been early formed at London, and continued in vigorous life till 1881, when it was found more convenient that it should be merged in the parent Society. In 1871 a branch was formed at Kingston under the auspices of Mr. R. V. Rogers, and continued in active operation for some years. In October, 1873, a branch was organized at Montreal, with Mr. William Couper as President, and has continued to flourish down to the present time. For many years past it has owed much to the ability and generosity of Mr.



Henry H. Lyman, its President, at whose house most of its meetings have been held. It has recently celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary by a general meeting of the Society, a *conversazione*, etc., in Montreal (November 8th and 9th, 1898), and Mr. Lyman was deservedly elected President of the parent Society at the annual meeting in 1897 in recognition of his services to the branch, and of his attainments in scientific entomology. Very early in the history of the Society a branch was formed at Quebec, but it ceased to exist in 1872, when its President, the late Mr. G. J. Bowles, removed to Montreal. It was revived again last year as the result of a series of lectures on natural science given in Morrin College by the Rev. T. W. Fyles, who was very properly elected President. Almost at the same time a branch was formed at Toronto by the affiliation of a local Society under the Presidency of Mr. E. V. Rippon. Both these new branches are very vigorous and doing much good work. Thus has the influence and usefulness of the Society become more and more widely diffused.

Returning to our annals we find the year 1876 marked by the exhibit of a large collection of insects formed by the Society at the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, U.S. To aid in its preparation the Society had received an extra grant of \$500 from the Legislature of Ontario during the preceding year. The collection consisted of forty-five cases of butterflies and moths; twenty-seven of beetles and fourteen of insects of other orders; eighty-six in all, which formed a double row upon a table over seventy-five feet long, and attracted very great attention. This collection was subsequently exhibited at Ottawa, in 1879, when it was awarded the Dominion Gold Medal, and in 1883 at the Fisheries Exhibition in London, England, for which the Society received a silver medal. Since then it has been kept in the rooms of the Society in order to avoid any risk of injury from transportation or exposure. During the year 1883 there was published an admirable work by Dr. William Saunders on "Insects Injurious to Fruits." It contained the results of twenty years' study of entomology in both its practical and scientific aspects, combined with an extensive knowledge of fruit culture. The book has been highly appreciated by fruit-growers

and gardeners in Canada and the Eastern and Middle States of North America, and its usefulness has been attested by the publication of a second edition in 1892. It is enough to say that it is the best manual of the kind in the English language.\*

The history of entomology in Canada becomes now the record of the work of the Entomological Society of Ontario, inasmuch as it includes within its ranks all the students of this department of science in the Dominion. What this work means is chiefly manifested by the goodly array of thirty volumes of the monthly magazine, the *Canadian Entomologist*, and twenty-eight volumes of the annual Reports. There are also to be found in the rooms of the Society at London a large number of cabinets filled with specimens of insects of all orders and a valuable scientific library containing over 1,500 volumes. The annual Reports were for some few years prepared by the three writers already mentioned, Messrs. Saunders, Reed and Bethune. Other contributors gradually made their appearance and in course of time over fifty Canadian writers are found to have furnished articles, besides many from the United States. Among those who have contributed important papers may be mentioned G. J. Bowles, Quebec; Dr. W. Brodie, Toronto; F. B. Caulfield, Montreal; W. Couper, Montreal; J. Dearness, London; Dr. James Fletcher, Ottawa; Rev. T. W. Fyles, South Quebec; Captain G. Geddes, Toronto; W. H. Harrington, Ottawa; J. G. Jack, Chateaugeay Basin; Henry H. Lyman, Montreal; J. A. Moffat, London; Professor J. H. Panton, Guelph; R. V. Rogers, Kingston; Rev. G. W. Taylor, Victoria, B.C. The Reports have contained full and complete papers on the life histories and best modes of dealing with the insects injurious to the apple, grape, plum, currant and gooseberry, potato, cabbage, strawberry, wheat, hops, maple and other trees, domestic animals, also on beneficial insects, spiders, ants, locusts and grasshoppers, blistering beetles, wood-borers, silk-producers, scale insects and numerous others. In fact all the insects that from year to year have forced themselves upon the attention

\* *Insects Injurious to Fruits*, by William Saunders, LL.D., F.R.S.C., F.L.S., F.C.S., Editor of the *Canadian Entomologist*, etc. Illustrated with 440 wood cuts. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1883, 1 vol., 8 vo., pp. 436. Second Edition, 1892

of farmers, fruit growers and gardeners have been dealt with in an able and exhaustive manner in these volumes. The result has been the dissemination throughout the community of a general knowledge of insect friends and foes and the best methods of dealing with them, in place of the dense ignorance that formerly prevailed. The financial saving to the country in consequence of the intelligent use of remedies, such as spraying with arsenicals, washing with kerosine emulsion, etc., is beyond calculation, but must in the aggregate amount to an immense sum. The aid given to the Society by the Legislature has been amply justified and abundantly repaid.

While the Society is essentially devoted to entomology, it has attracted to itself a number of persons interested in other departments of science and in consequence series of sections have been formed at London which meet in the rooms of the Society and devote themselves to Botany, Microscopy, Geology and Ornithology. The head-quarters have thus become a centre of scientific work for South-Western Ontario. It is noteworthy also that five of the more prominent members of the Society have been elected Fellows of the Royal Society of Canada. Before closing this record I must not omit to mention the recognition of the importance of entomology by the Government of the Dominion of Canada. In 1885 Dr. James Fletcher, one of the most active and distinguished members of the Society, was appointed Honourary Entomologist of the Department of Agriculture at Ottawa, and two years later his present position of Entomologist and Botanist of the Experimental Farms of the Dominion was conferred upon him. His work extends from ocean to ocean and he is compelled to travel in the discharge of his duties over all the Provinces from Nova Scotia to British Columbia. With very little assistance in his office he conducts a voluminous correspondence with farmers and fruit-growers all over the Dominion, gives lectures and addresses on insects, plants and weeds all over the country and at the same time carries on much careful scientific work. His name and reputation are widely known not only in Canada but in the United States as well, and no one stands higher in the estimation of competent judges as a thoroughly able, practical and

scientific Entomologist. From this necessarily brief record it will be seen that entomology in Canada has made remarkable progress during the last five and thirty years, and has proved to be of the utmost importance to all who are interested in the products of forest and field, orchard and garden; to all the people in fact who inhabit the fertile lands of the Dominion of Canada.

To give any detailed account of the insects of Canada would be a formidable task and one that would require volumes for its fulfilment. Moreover comparatively little is yet known of the entomological fauna of the vast region stretching from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean. In the Eastern Provinces, that is in Ontario and the country between it and the Atlantic, much collecting has been done and great attention has been paid of late years to the economic aspect of entomology; its insects consequently are fairly well-known and a great mass of material has of course been published regarding them. Confining his attention to this portion of the Dominion the lover of nature will soon find that he has a vast field before him and many years of work and study if he wishes to form some acquaintance with its insect inhabitants. The first to attract his attention on account of their beauty would no doubt be the butterflies, a list of which, published by the writer a few years ago, contained one hundred and seventeen species, and one or two more have since been discovered. Among the more striking forms may be mentioned the *Danaïs Archippus*, a handsome red and black species which abounds in the summer time and often appears in swarms in autumn; ten species of "Silver Spots" (*Argynnis*); several Graptas, marked with a silver sign on the under side, and including *G. interrogationis*, which is remarkable for its dimorphic forms *Umbrosa* and *Fabricii*; the *Vanessa Antiopa* and *Milberti*, which hibernate in the perfect state and come out very early in spring; *Atalanta* and *Cardui*, which are common also in Europe; the white Admiral, *Limenitis Arthemis* and its congener *L. Disippus* which so strangely mimics the *Archippus*; various "Meadow Browns" (*Satyrus*); "Hair streaks" (*Thecla*); "Blues" *Lycæna*; the familiar and destructive cabbage butterfly (*Pieris rapæ*) and other white and yellow species (*Colias*) of the same family;

the magnificent "Swallow-tails" *Papilio Turnus*, *Troilus*, *Ajax*, *Cresphontes*, *Philenor* and *Asterias*; "Skippers" (*Hesperids*) in great number and variety; the list closing with the large and handsome *Eudamus Tityrus*, a black, broad-tailed species ornamented with patches of pearly white on the under side.

The number of moths is legion, and we have in this country some magnificent species, both as regards size and beauty of colour and markings, but, being for the most part nocturnal in habits, they are not familiar objects to those who do not look for them. The exhibition of a good collection usually excites the wonder and admiration of the beholders, who seldom have seen any of the specimens before, and generally have no idea that such are to be found in this country. The swift-flying Hawk-Moths may often be seen at dusk hovering over flowers like humming-birds; of these we have more than thirty species, one of which in the larval state is known as "The Tomato Worm," and often proves very destructive to this useful plant. Our most magnificent moths, as well as the largest, are the Emperor Moths (*Saturniadae*), of which we have five species conspicuous for their size and beauty, and some smaller ones. Our handsome *Cecropia* is a giant among moths, its wings expanding six inches or more; the tawny *Polyphemus* with the peacock eye-like spots on the lower wings; the *Promethea* and *Columbia*, somewhat smaller; and the *Luna*, "Queen of the Night," lovely in its pale green colour, and the beautiful curves of the long tails that terminate the hinder part of the wings. As the caterpillars of moths are vegetable feeders for the most part, many species are only too well-known in consequence of their destructive habits; among these may be mentioned the Tent caterpillars of the orchard and forest (*Clisiocampa*), the numerous species of cut-worms, the Army-worm, the Fall web-worm, the Tussock Moth, the Peach-tree and Currant borers, the Codling worm, which makes its home in the fruit of the apple, Canker worms, Leaf-rollers, Bud-Eaters, grain and clothes Moths.

If we turn to the beetles of the Eastern Provinces of Canada, we are still more embarrassed by the number and variety of forms that we meet with. Some years ago a list was published of

those found in Ontario and Québec alone; it contained 2,300 species, distributed amongst sixty-six families. Since that time a considerable number of species have been found and every year many more will no doubt be added to the list. In the first great division, *Adephaga*, or predaceous beetles, we have several species of the active and graceful tiger-beetles (*Cicindela*), which may often be found frequenting sandy or open spaces; they are beautifully marked and are brilliant in the sun with their handsome metallic colours. The ground-beetles (*Carabidæ*) are exceedingly numerous, but as they live for the most part under sticks and stones and shelter of various kinds, and are generally of sombre colours, they are not conspicuous and are little known except to the collector. Our handsomest species are the "Caterpillar hunters," one of which (*Calosoma Scutator*) is a magnificent metallic green creature, and another (*C. Calidum*) is black, ornamented with rows of sunken copper spots. A variety of species of large water-beetles belong also to this division, which is composed almost entirely of useful insects whose function it is to prey upon other more or less injurious kinds.

The next great division—the beetles with clubbed antennæ (*Clavicornia*)—is well represented with us. The first two families are aquatic, including the water-scavengers, one species of which (*Hydrophilus triangularis*) is a large boat-shaped creature, and the whirligigs, which may often be seen disporting themselves on the surface of the water in large clusters. The useful burying-beetles or "Sextons," come next; we have a number of species which employ themselves in burying small dead animals in order to provide food for their larvæ, or in devouring such carrion in both the grub and perfect states without waiting for the operation of burial. Our curious "Rove-beetles" (*Staphylinidæ*) are represented by a large number of species, individually small as a rule. They may be found in all sorts of decaying animal and vegetable matter, and in fungi, taking their share in the important work of nature's scavengers. The "Lady-birds" (*Coccinellidæ*) we have in great variety. They are familiar to everyone from their bright colours, red or yellow with black spots, or black with red

ones, and their shape oval or round like a split pea. These again are most useful insects, as, with few exceptions, they prey upon the destructive plant lice and scale insects. To this division belong also some very obnoxious creatures, the "larder beetles" (*Dermestes*) which feed on anything containing grease or fat, and are often a grievous trouble to the Entomologist, whose collections they devour if they can obtain access to them.

The *Serricornia*, consisting of beetles with serrated antennæ, forms the next great division. Three of its families may be mentioned on account of their great importance. The Elaters, or "spring-back beetles", of which we have a large number of species, are more widely known in their larval state, when, as "wire worms", they often prove extremely destructive to the roots of vegetation of all kinds. Our largest and most remarkable species, the "Eyed Elater" (*Alaus oculatus*), feeds upon decaying wood and is not therefore to be included amongst the farmer's foes. The second great family, *Buprestidæ*, is very largely represented in Canada, its larvæ being wood borers, distinguished by their large, flat heads. One species (*Chrysobothris femorata*) is especially injurious to young apple trees, others, *Dicera* and *Chalcophora*, to a great variety of forest and cultivated trees. They are for the most part handsome insects, resembling burnished copper of different hues on the under side and sometimes of a brilliant metallic green above. Another genus, *Agrilus*, contains many very destructive species, some attacking raspberry and blackberry canes, and others the trunks of fruit trees. The third family, *Lambyridæ*, includes the sparkling fire-flies which in damp situations afford a pretty spectacle on a summer's night. They are soft-bodied creatures and in the larval state are decidedly beneficial from their habit of feeding upon the eggs and grubs of several injurious insects.\*

The fourth great division, *Lamellicornia*, is distinguished by the club of the antennæ being

\* NOTE. The Entomological reader will understand that no attempt has been made in this paper to give a scientific account of the insects of this country, but merely a general idea of the more common and conspicuous forms. On this account the writer has made use of the old division of seven orders, instead of the more recent classification, in order to make the record as simple and easily intelligible as possible.

divided into a series of thin leaves. All the species are vegetable feeders, and many of them are most destructive; the *Scarabæidæ*, however, form an exception, as they have the useful habit of feeding upon dung or decaying vegetable matter, some of them, like the Egyptian Scarabæus, roll up balls of manure which they bury in the ground after depositing an egg within the mass. The most notorious evil-doers are the many species of "May-beetles" or "June-bugs" as they are commonly called (*Lachnosterna*), whose larvæ are the destructive "white grubs" of fields and gardens; the "rose bug" (*Macrodactylus subspinosus*); the "vine chafer" (*Pelidnota punctata*); and many others. These beetles are very interesting to the collector for their curious forms, as the stag-beetles for instance (*Lucanus*) and often for beauty of colour, as in the *Cetonias*. The *Phytophaga* form the fifth great division. Its members, as the name implies, are all plant feeders, and are divided into two immense families, the long-horned beetles (*Cerambycidæ*), which are all wood-borers, and the leaf-eaters (*Chrysomelidæ*). The former family contains many of our largest and handsomest species and many beautiful beetles of a particularly graceful shape. The pine-borers (*Monohammus*) are remarkable for their immensely long antennæ; they attack the timber wherever it has been damaged by forest fires, and the huge round grubs make their burrows in all directions through the solid wood. Fruit, forest and shade trees are alike attacked by borers of this family and as might be expected in a country once covered with forests the number of species is very great. The members of the other family are much smaller insects, but they are equally injurious, if not more so; they include such familiar pests as the Colorado potato-beetle, the cucumber beetle (*Diabrotica vittata*), the tiny flea-beetles of the turnip, grape, and many other plants, and a vast number of other leaf-eaters.

The sixth division, *Heteromera*, has not many representatives in this country, but is remarkably rich in species in the Western States. The meal-worm (*Tenebrio Molitor*) is our most familiar species, being commonly found in barns, stable-bins and flour-mills. We have also a blistering beetle, *Epicanta cinerea*, which occasionally becomes

very injurious to potatoes and Windsor beans, and the very curious "oil beetle" (*Meloe*), whose larva is parasitic upon bees. The last division, *Rhynchophora*, includes a number of families whose members are all distinguished by the beak or snout which terminates the head. Among our most familiar and injurious species may be mentioned the Plum-Carculio, the white pine weevil, the strawberry weevil. There are also species which attack clover, stored grain, acorns, nuts of different kinds, and those which form their galleries under the bark or in the solid wood of trees (*Scolytus*), whose curious habits have recently been described in the most interesting manner.

Of the other orders of insects, it is not necessary to say much and it would be tedious to endeavour to give even a bare idea of the infinite variety of species with which earth, air and water teem. The *Hymenoptera* include our most remarkable insects, when we consider their intelligence and social organizations. To this order belong the bees, wasps and ants whose colonies are so familiar and whose interesting habits have been so often and so well described. The destructive saw-flies are also members of this order; their larvæ are well known under the names of currant and gooseberry-worms, rose and pear slugs, and the various species that attack grape-vines, raspberries and many other plants. But these are more than set off by the great family of *Ichneumons*, whose function it is to maintain the balance of nature by destroying, as parasites, insects of every description. But for these useful and often most minute creatures all vegetation would disappear from the face of the earth under the combined ravages of the myriad kinds of destructive insects. The order *Diptera* (two-winged flies) is fully represented by the ubiquitous house flies, the worrying mosquitoes, black flies, horse flies, horn flies, gnats, midges, *et hoc genus omne*. In

many places they are incessant tormentors during the summer months, and render life a burden to both man and domestic animals. Other kinds such as the Hessian fly and Wheat midge are excessively injurious to grain crops, but it must not be forgotten that most of the maggots of two-winged flies perform a useful work as scavengers in removing decayed and offensive matter from both land and water.

The order *Neuroptera* contains some splendid creatures, the dragon-flies that hawk about in the bright sunshine seeking their prey, of which we have a number of very handsome species belonging to several genera. The "stone flies" (*Perlidae*), the huge *Corydalidæ*, the useful lace-winged flies, ant-lions and caddis-flies also belong to this order in its old unrestricted sense. The order *Orthoptera* includes such familiar and obnoxious insects as cockroaches, crickets and grasshoppers or locusts and the quaint walking-sticks (*Phasmidæ*). With the exception of the last mentioned they are individually so numerous and so familiar to everyone that it is unnecessary to enter into any details regarding them. The remaining order, *Hemiptera*, includes all the vast army of true "bugs"—insects whose heads are prolonged into a beak and which live by the suction of vegetable juices or the blood of animals. Plant-lice and scale-insects are of vast economic importance, as they attack every form of vegetation and multiply with excessive rapidity. The grotesque leaf-hoppers (*Ceresa*), the cicadas, water-boatmen, (*Notonecta*), the huge water-bug (*Belostoma Americana*), commonly called the electric light bug from its being attracted in large numbers to the arc-lamps in streets, the destructive Chinch-bugs, the squash bug (*Anasa tristis*), the bed-bug and the great variety of ill-smelling bugs that frequent plants of all descriptions, are members of this order.

# ZOOLOGY OF THE MARITIME PROVINCES

BY

R. R. McLEOD, of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

I PROPOSE to give here a summary account of the birds, mammals, fishes and reptiles of Nova Scotia. With some little adjustments here and there New Brunswick could be included. A portion of their shores are washed by the same narrow bay. An imaginary line separates them, and they form one Zoological Province, although man has otherwise delimited them. For a better understanding of the summary, it will be in order to give, in brief outline, some of the leading physical features of Nova Scotia. Its geographical position suggests a bleak and ungenial climate. Viewed on a map of North America, appearances are against this peninsula, but an acquaintance made on the spot dispels all imaginary pictures and reveals a land rich in animal and vegetable forms, as it is in metals and minerals and wealth of forests and sea. Jutting into the ocean like a wharf, the little Province of 18,000 square miles is one of the ancient geological landmarks of the ages, presenting to the waves of the Atlantic a frowning wall of silvarian strata. From Cape Nash on the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Cape Sable on the Bay of Fundy is a distance of 300 miles as the crow flies, and extends through three and one half degrees of latitude. This north and south direction counts for much, other things being equal, in the variety of flora and fauna. The average width of the peninsula is only 60 miles. The breath of the Gulf Stream tempers the southwestern shores; and flotillas of icebergs in summer, and piles of ice in winter, beset the northern coasts. The interior is diversified with low ranges of mountains, a great number of lakes and streams, and extensive tracts of coniferous forests. Bogs and meadows and "barren" grounds afford food for browsing animals. "Hardwood" hills, formed from glacial debris,

offer opportunities to the former, and afford food and shelter to the birds and beasts to be herein described.

In the matter of systematic names of birds, I have followed the nomenclature of the "American Ornithological Union" as set down in their "Check List of N. American Birds." As this is not a formal treatise but a summary, there will be no attempt to indicate the orders and families and sub-families, etc., but the common names alone will be given. Following the designation of each species, there will be such word of comment as seems most instructive. Science has not yet decided to what family of birds belongs the first place, when structure and intelligence are considered; so I shall not violate proprieties if I follow my inclination and begin with the Thrushes, a bright, pretty, tuneful group widely distributed over the world:

## THRUSHES.

Hermit Thrush, the sweetest singer of our woodlands, coming in April and remaining till the last of October, or later in open seasons; Olive-backed Thrush, not so common as the Hermit, but not at all rare; American Robin, very common in villages and clearings, but exceedingly rare far away from such localities; Cat-bird, common.

## WARBLERS.

The loosely arranged group of birds known as Warblers is well represented in Nova Scotia. About the first of June, the deeper woodlands are vocal with the notes of these gems of bird-life. The most domestic and therefore well-known are:

The Summer Yellow-bird; Black-throated Green Warbler, one of the commonest of the family, much oftener heard than seen; Black-

throated Blue Warbler, not very common; Black-poll Warbler, fairly common; Yellow-crowned Warbler. As far as my observations go, this is the most common of all the family, frequenting orchards and bushy roadsides in spring and autumn. Chestnut-sided Warbler, one of the smallest and most common of the group; Bay-breasted Warbler, not common; Cape May Warbler, rare; Black and Yellow Warbler or Magnolia Warbler, common; Parula Warbler, common; Yellow-red-poll Warbler, not very common; Blackburn's Warbler, fairly common and the most beautiful of the family in North America; Pine-creeping Warbler, fairly common; Maryland Yellow-throated Warbler, very common; Mourning Warbler, not common; Connecticut Warbler, very rare; Nashville Warbler, not very common; Tennessee Warbler, not common; Canadian Fly-catching Warbler, fairly common; American Redstart, very common; Black and White Creeping Warbler, very common; Black-capped Fly-catching Warbler. Among the Warblers is classed the Oven Bird, a Golden-crowned Thrush; Water Thrush, not so common as the preceding.

## SPARROWS.

The *Fringillida*, or Sparrow family, is well represented by the following species:

Song Sparrow, common; Swamp Sparrow, common; Snow Sparrow, very common; Savannah Sparrow, not very common; Eastern Fox Sparrow, common; Tree Sparrow, fairly common, winter; Chipping Sparrow, not common; White-throated Sparrow, common in certain localities; White-crowned Sparrow, rare spring visitor; Grass Sparrow, very rare; Yellow-winged Sparrow, very rare occurrence; Rose-breasted Grosbeak, fairly common bird in districts he likes; Pine Grosbeak, common in cold seasons, some all the year; Blue Grosbeak, occasional, very rare; Snow Bunting, common in winter; American Crossbill, common; White-winged Crossbill, common; Pine Finch, Pine Siskin, common; Red-poll Linnet, Lesser Red-poll, common; Purple Finch, common; Lapland Longspur, occasional in winter; American Goldfinch, fairly common; Indigo Bunting, occasional, very rare.

## FLYCATCHER FAMILY.

Water Pewee, rare; Olive-sided Flycatcher, common; King-bird, very common; Traill's Flycatcher, fairly common; Least Flycatcher, common; Wood Pewee, common; Yellow-bellied Flycatcher, rare.

## VIREO FAMILY.

Red-eyed Vireo, common; Solitary Vireo, common in certain favourable localities; Yellow-throated Vireo, not common; Warbling Vireo, rare; Hairy Woodpecker, common; Downy Woodpecker, common; Arctic Three-toed Woodpecker, not common; Red-headed Woodpecker, very rare; American Three-toed Woodpecker, rare; Yellow-bellied Woodpecker, common; Pileated Woodpecker, not very rare in timber country; Flicker, Yellow-ammer; Belted Kingfisher, common; Yellow-billed Cuckoo, very rare; Black-billed Cuckoo, fairly common.

## FAMILY CORVIDÆ.

Common Crow, common; the Raven, not common; Blue Jay, very common; Canada Jay, common; Cow-pen Bird, rare; Rusty Blackbird, common; Red-winged Blackbird, not common; Crow Blackbird, rare.

## MISCELLANEOUS FAMILIES.

Several families are included in the following group of species. To separate the various members requires more space than can be afforded:

Bobolink, common in some parts, absent in other districts; Meadow Lark, not common; Bobolink, common in some localities; Baltimore Oriole, rare straggler; Mourning Dove, rare; Wild Pigeon. Fifty years ago this was a common summer resident, now it must be reckoned a very rare bird. Humming-bird, common; Cedar Waxwing, common resident, sometimes in winter; Wheatear Stone Chat, very rare visitor from the north; Scarlet Tanager, a few stragglers; Titlark, Pipit, sometimes common; Belted Kingfisher, very common; Night Hawk, very common; Whip-poor-Will, not common; Chimney Swift, very common; Butcher-bird, rare; Ruffed Grouse, common; Spruce Grouse, not common, when compared with the preceding. They subsist almost entirely on spruce and fir leaves, of which

there is a superabundance; but they are for that very reason on the way to extinction at a rapid rate. They are stupid, and become the ready victims of owls, hawks, wild-cats, foxes and weasles. The demands of hunger are gratified without exertion of body or exercise of mental faculties. The ability to live on such coarse and simple diet carries a fatal penalty. The path of ease is the way of death. Blue-bird, not common. I have observed them nesting in Queen's County. Golden-crowned Kinglet, a common resident all the year; Ruby-crowned Kinglet, common resident all the year; Chickadee, very common in all seasons; Hudsonian Chickadee, not so common as the preceding, but not very rare at any time; White-breasted Nuthatch, common all seasons; Red-breasted Nuthatch, fairly common all the year through; Brown Creeper, common through the year; Winter Wren, rare in Nova Scotia, common on the eastern boundary of the State of Maine, and doubtless in adjacent portions of New Brunswick; House Wren, very rare occurrence.

#### HAWKS, ETC.

The Family *Falconidæ*, including hawks, buzzards, eagles are represented by the following species:

Sharp-shinned Hawk, common; Cooper's Hawk, not common; American Goshawk, not common; Marsh Hawk, rather common; Sparrow Hawk, common; Pigeon Hawk, not common; Duck Hawk, very rare; Red-tailed Buzzard, common; Rough-legged Buzzard, rare; Broad-winged Buzzard, not very common; Red-shouldered Hawk, common; Bald Eagle, rare; Fish Hawk, common.

#### THE OWL FAMILY

Great Horned Owl, common; Mottled Owl, Screech Owl, very rare; Long-eared Owl, rare; Short-eared Owl, rare; Barred Owl, most common of owls; Hawk Owl, very rare; Great Grey Owl, very rare; Saw-whet Owl, fairly common; Richardson's Owl, very rare; Snowy Owl, rare.

#### THE HERON FAMILY.

Great Blue Heron, common; Night Heron, rare; Green Heron, rare; American Bittern, common.

#### PHALAROPES, ETC.

The following shore birds are representatives of three families, Phalaropes, Snipes and Plovers. Many of them, or most of them, are migrants:

Upland Plover, not common; Golden Plover, common; Wilson's Plover, very rare; Kiddeer Plover, not common; Semipalmated Plover, common; Piping Plover, common; Black-bellied Plover, common; Turnstone, rare; American Avocet, very rare; Northern Phalarope, rare; Red Phalarope, rare; American Woodcock, common; English Snipe, common; Red-breasted Snipe, Robin Snipe; Purple Sandpiper, common; Curlew Sandpiper, very rare; Jack Snipe, rare; Least Sandpiper, Peep, very common; White-rumped Sandpiper, common; Red-backed Sandpiper; Sanderling, common; Semipalmated Sandpiper, common.

#### DUCKS AND GEESE.

The family of Ducks and Geese has a large representation as follows:

Shoveller Duck, rare; Canvas-back Duck, rare; Greater Blackhead Duck, not common; Little Blackhead Duck, not common; Redhead Duck, very rare; Ring-necked Duck, not common; Velvet Scotar Duck; Surf Duck; Surf Scotar; Black Scotar Duck; Eider Duck; King Eider; Gadwall Grey Duck, very rare; Baldpate, Widgeon Duck, common, migrant; Summer Duck, common in some localities; Barrow's Golden Eye Duck, rare; American Golden Eye Whistler Duck, common; Butter-ball, Dipper Duck, common; Harlequin Duck, common, migrant; Old Squaw Duck, common; Ruddy Duck, common; Shelldrake, common; Red-breasted Merganser, very common; Hooded Merganser, migrant; Mallard Duck, not common; Green-winged Teal, rare; Blue-winged Teal, not common; Black Duck, very common; Canada Goose, common; Snow Goose, rare; Brant, not common; Whistling Swan, very rare.

#### LOONS.

Loon, common; Black-throated Loon, rare; Red-throated Loon, fairly common.

#### GREBES.

Red-necked Grebe, very rare; Pied-billed Grebe, not common; Horned Grebe, rare.



## SEA BIRDS.

The following are representatives of several families, but they must in this summary be lumped as sea-birds :

Brunich's Murre, not uncommon; Sea-dove Dovekie, common; Gannet Solan Goose, common; Cormorant, Shag, not very common; Double-crested Cormorant; Leache's Petrel, common; Wilson's Petrel, common; Lesser Fulmar Petrel, common; Greater Shearwater, common; Sooty Shearwater, common; Buffon's Skua, common; Pomarine Jaeger, occasional; Parasitic Gull, Sea Falcon, occasional; Razor-billed Auk; Puffin, Sea Parrot, common; Sea Dove, common; Black Guillemot, common; Common Guillemot, common; Foolish Guillemot.

## GULLS AND TERNS.

Ivory Gull, very rare; White-winged Gull, common; Great Black-breasted Gull, common; Herring Gull, very common; Ring-billed Gull, common; Laughing Gull, not common; Bonaparte's Gull, common; Kittiwake Gull, common; Wilson's Tern, common; Arctic Tern, common; Roseate Tern, rare; Black Tern; Brown Pelican, occasional, very rare.

If it had been an object with me to introduce as many species as possible to swell the list, then a few stragglers and waifs might have been added—some from Europe, some from Greenland, some from far Southern regions. The foregoing list will, I believe, be found to contain all that can fairly be claimed as birds of the Province. Much of the material of foregoing is the result of my own observations during ten years in central Queen's County, a district of the southwestern portion of the peninsula. Doubtless there are species of birds in that locality not to be found in the extreme north. Various other sources of information have been consulted and drawn upon. So far as species are concerned, the list will apply to New Brunswick also; but some will be common there and rare in Nova Scotia, and *vice versa*.

## MAMMALS.

The following list of mammals will, I believe, be found to include all the terrestrial, if not all the marine, mammals. Of the Turtles, Salaman-

ders, Frogs and Serpents about all are included. The more common fishes are named, but no attempt is made to give a complete list of such a numerous race within these narrow limits. Nova Scotia is far-famed for her fisheries, and from the oceans she obtains rich harvests of wealth:

Moose Deer, common in districts remote from settlements; Woodland Caribou, many herds in northern Cape Breton and southwestern counties of Queen's and Shelburne; Otter, not common, rare; Mink, common; Weasel, not often to be seen; American Sable or Marten, rare; Pekan, or Fisher, rare; Porcupine, common; Bear, common; Raccoon, rare; Muskrat, common; Beaver, not common; Pine Squirrel, common; Flying Squirrel, not very common; Striped Squirrel, common; White-footed Deer Mouse, not very common; Meadow Mouse, common; Hare, very common; Hoary Bat, common; Red Bat, common; Star-nosed Mole, common; Common Mole; Common Shrew; Mole Sirew; Wild Cat, common; Loup-cervier, rare; Red Fox, common; Harbour Seal, Hooded Seal, Right Whale, Hump-backed Whale, Fin-backed Whale, Blackfish, Porpoise.

## FRESH WATER FISH OF NEW BRUNSWICK AND NOVA SCOTIA.

The American Yellow Perch, common; the Common Pond Fish, the Yellow Shiner, common; the Chub, common; the Brook Minnow, common; Common Cat-fish, Horn Pout, the Brook Trout, common; the Salmon, the Common Eel, the American Lamprey, White Bass, White Perch, Spinous Dogfish, Thrasher Shark, Basking Shark, Little Skate, the Skate, Common Herring, Alewife, Summer Gaspereaux, Common Shad, Menhaden, Capelin, Bill Fish, Sword Fish, Common Mackerel, Tinker Mackerel Harvest Fish, Sun-fish, Sea Perch, Cunner, Black Fish, Norway Haddock, Long-spined Sculpin, Lump Fish, Butter-fish, Eel Pout, American Hake, Cusk, Haddock, Codfish, Tomcod, Pollock, Silver Hake, Halibut, Sand Dab, Winter Flounders.

## TURTLES.

The Mud Turtle, the Snapping Turtle, the Wood Turtle.

Any other species are rare.

## SERPENTS.

The Striped Snake, the Riband Snake, the Green Snake, the Water Snake, the Ring-necked Snake.

## FROGS AND TOADS.

The Bull-Frog, the Yellow-throated Green Frog, the Pickerel Frog, the Wood Frog, the Leopard Frog, the Tree Toad, Common Frog.

## SALAMANDERS.

The Red-backed Salamander, the Blue-spotted Salamander, the Banded Salamander, the Violet-coloured Salamander, the Brown-spotted Salamander, the Painted Salamander, the Salmon-coloured Salamander, the Crimson-spotted Triton, the Symmetrical Salamander, Striped-back Salamander.

## CANADIAN NATURAL HISTORY—EDITOR'S NOTES

**The Animals of Canada.** There is very little available information regarding the Mammalia of Canada. What there is is scattered through many and varied volumes. The noble animals which roamed the vast forests or prairies of British America have, in too many cases, been ruthlessly destroyed by the hunter or trapper, and then forgotten. The buffalo is practically extinct, the wapiti was supposed as early as 1872 to have disappeared, the elk became so rare as to have been lost sight of. Lately, however, under more efficient game laws, the two latter animals have appeared again very numerous in Eastern Canada, together with quantities of moose and caribou. During the session of 1888 in the Canadian Institute, Toronto, a valuable paper by J. B. Tyrrell, B.A., F.G.S., upon "The Mammalia of Canada exclusive of the Cetacea," was read. From its pages (Proceedings. Third Series. Vol. 6) some facts regarding the chief animals now existing in Canada are here compiled, while other works which may be consulted for scattered information upon the same subject, may be mentioned as follows:

- John Richardson . . . . . Fauna Boreali-Americana, London . . 1829  
 Audubon and Bachman . . . . . Quadrupeds of North America,  
 New York . . . . . 1856  
 Spencer F. Baird . . . . . Mammals, Washington . . . . . 1857  
 Bernard H. Ross . . . . . List of Mammals, etc., observed in  
 the Mackenzie River District.  
 Natural History Review, pp. 271-6. 1862  
 H. Allen . . . . . Monograph of the Bats of North America,  
 Smithsonian Institute, Wash-  
 ington . . . . . 1864  
 John Keast Lord . . . . . The Naturalist of British Columbia,  
 London . . . . . 1866  
 J. Bernard Gilpin . . . . . On the Mammalia of Nova Scotia,  
 Transactions Nova Scotia Institute  
 Natural Science, Vol. 3. . . . . 1871

- Coués and Alle. . . . . Monographs of North American Ro-  
 dentia, Washington . . . . . 1877  
 Dr. Elliott Coués . . . . . Precursory Notes of American Insec-  
 tivorous Mammals, Bulletin U.S.  
 Geological Survey . . . . . 1877  
 Dr. Elliott Coués . . . . . Fur-bearing Animals, Washington . 1877  
 Joel Asaph Allen . . . . . North American Pinnipeds, Wash-  
 ington . . . . . 1880  
 M. Chamberlain . . . . . List of Mammals of New Brunswick,  
 Bulletin Natural History Society,  
 New Brunswick . . . . . 1884  
 E. S. Thompson . . . . . A list of the Mammals of Manitoba,  
 Transactions Manitoba Science  
 and Historical Society . . . . . 188(6)7  
 D. N. Saint-Cyr . . . . . The Pinniped Mammalia of the  
 River and Gulf of St. Lawrence,  
 Quebec . . . . . 1887

The principal divisions and popular names only are given—the *Ungulata* being the first:

**Moose.** Common in the forest regions from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick westward to the Rocky Mountains, and north-westward to the mouth of the Mackenzie River and Alaska. Rare on the west side of the Rocky Mountains in southern British Columbia, but reported as far west as the Gold Range.

**Woodland Caribou.** Formerly abundant in Nova Scotia, but now almost extinct there. Common in the more thickly wooded parts of northern New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario, the North-West Territories and British Columbia, but very rare in north-western Manitoba.

**Barren Ground Caribou.** In all the northern parts of the continent with the adjacent islands in the Arctic Ocean.

**American Elk.** Up to a hundred years ago an inhabitant of Eastern Canada, but now only occasionally met with from Manitoba westward to the Pacific Coast, as far north as Lat. 57°, and

also on Vancouver and some of the adjacent islands. Being easily approached it is becoming rapidly exterminated.

Virginia Deer. South-western New Brunswick and central Quebec and Ontario. Another variety from the Plains of the Saskatchewan westward to the Pacific coast and Vancouver Island.

Mule Deer. Black-tailed Deer. Plains of the Saskatchewan and westward as far as the Cascade Range in British Columbia.

Black-tailed Deer. Westward from the Rocky Mountains to the islands off the coast of British Columbia.

Antelope. Cabree. Plains south of the North Saskatchewan eastward to the Missouri Coteau, and occasionally to the banks of the Assiniboine in the vicinity of Fort Ellice. Among the Cavi-cornia this animal is peculiar and resembles the deer in annually shedding the outer corneous portion of its horns.

Rocky Mountain Goat. From the Rocky Mountains westward to the Cascade Range and as far northward as the Arctic Circle.

Mountain Sheep. Big-horn. Rocky Mountains to the Coast Range in British Columbia and as far north as the Arctic Circle.

Musk Ox. Barren grounds west of Hudson's Bay, to near the eastern boundary of Alaska. Not found farther south than Lat. 59°.

Buffalo. Bison. Formerly living on the plains from the Red River to the foot-hills or occasionally in the Passes to the west of the summit of the Rocky Mountains; chiefly found south of the forest line but some used to stray as far north along the Mackenzie River as Lat. 64°. Now practically extinct in Canada. A few are still in existence in the basin of the Mackenzie River, and these, which never migrate to the south, have come to be known as "Wood Buffalo."

#### CARNIVORA.

Cougar. Panther. Puma. Mountain Lion. Found in rough-wooded regions in southern Quebec, the Rocky Mountains, British Columbia and Vancouver Island.

Wild Cat. Common in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, southern Quebec and parts of Ontario. On the western side of the Rocky Mountains it is represented by the variety *fasciatus*.

Canada Lynx. In wooded country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and in summer migrating down the Mackenzie River to the Arctic Ocean.

Wolf. Rare in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but still occasionally seen in the wooded parts of Quebec, Ontario and North-West Territories and British Columbia.

Grey Wolf. Is the common form east of the Rocky Mountains.

White Wolf. On the northern Barren Grounds, and on the islands in the Arctic Ocean, and occasionally further south.

Black Wolf. From the Mackenzie and Saskatchewan Rivers to the Pacific Coast.

Coyoté. Plains and partly wooded country throughout Manitoba and the North-West Territories, though much more plentiful on the Upper Saskatchewan than elsewhere; also on the plains in the southern portion of British Columbia.

Eskimo Dog. Among the Eskimo on the north coast of America, and on the islands of the Arctic Ocean.

Hare Indian Dog. Among the Hare Indians on the banks of the Mackenzie River.

Red Fox. Cross Fox. Silver or Black Fox. All these varieties are more or less common in the wooded or partly wooded countries from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Prairie Fox. Plains of southern British Columbia, and also on Vancouver Island.

Kit Fox. On the plains and prairies from Manitoba westward to the Rocky Mountains.

Arctic Fox. White Fox. Blue Fox. Barren Grounds and northern shores of the Continent as far south into Hudson's Bay as Fort Churchill, and very far north on the islands in the Arctic Ocean. Mr. J. W. Tyrrell states that the blue variety breeds true to its own colour, and remains of essentially the same colour throughout the year. One that he trapped in January, 1886, on the north shore of Hudson's Strait, and which is now in the Geological and Natural History Museum in Ottawa, is of a beautiful dark bluish grey colour.

Wolverine. Carcajou. Glutton. Formerly found in New Brunswick, and now occasionally met with in the northern parts of Quebec and Ontario. Found principally in the wooded parts of the North-West Territories to the northern

limit of trees, and in British Columbia south of the boundary line.

**Pekan. Fisher.** Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and westward in wooded country to the Pacific, being found as far north as Great Slave Lake.

**Marten. Pine-Marten.** From the Atlantic to the Pacific as far north as the northern limit of trees.

**Weasel.** From the Atlantic to the Pacific, at least as far north as Great Slave Lake.

**Ermine.** Everywhere in Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

**Long-tailed Weasel.** From the Plains of the Saskatchewan westward to the Pacific.

**Mink.** Throughout the whole of Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

**Skunk.** Abundant in wooded and partly wooded country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, as far north as Great Slave Lake.

**Little Striped Skunk.** J. K. Lord records it from southern British Columbia.

**Badger.** On the plains and prairies from the Red River westward to the Rocky Mountains, as far north as the Saskatchewan and probably as far north as Peace River. Also on the Plains in southern British Columbia. Rapidly becoming extinct.

**Otter.** From Nova Scotia and New Brunswick across the continent to Vancouver Island, and northward to the Arctic Circle, or into the Barren-Grounds.

**Sea Otter.** Western coast of British Columbia.

**Raccoon.** Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and westward to the west side of Lake Manitoba. Vancouver Island and southern British Columbia.

**Grizzly Bear.** Formerly when buffalo were plentiful, an inhabitant of the plains along the Saskatchewan, but now confined to the mountains through which it roams northward as far as the Yukon.

**Barren-Ground Bear.** On the Barren-Grounds in the northern parts of Canada,

**Black Bear. Brown Bear.** Found throughout Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific, as far north as the northern limit of trees,

**Polar Bear. White Bear.** Along the shores and on the islands of the Arctic Ocean, sometimes straying about 100 miles inland.

#### PINNIPEDIA.

**Walrus.** In comparatively recent times it inhabited the shores of Nova Scotia. Now it is confined to the shores of Labrador, Hudson's Strait and Bay and Davis Strait, as far north as explorers have reached. It appears to be very rarely met with between Melville Peninsula and Point Barrow.

**Sea Lion.** Shores of the North Pacific from Behring's Strait southward to California.

**Northern Fur Seal. Sea Bear.** West coast of British Columbia from Alaska to the International Boundary.

**Harbour Seal. Fresh-water Seal.** This species inhabits both the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts of Canada and ascends many of the larger rivers. It has been known to ascend the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, and the Ottawa River to the foot of the Chaudière Falls at Ottawa. Found in Hudson's Strait, though not very abundantly, at Ashe's Inlet, but in considerable numbers around the middle Savage Islands.

**Ringed Seal.** From the coast of Labrador around the north shore of the continent to Alaska. In Hudson's Strait it is the commonest species and is the principal food of the natives.

**Harp Seal.** It sometimes strays as far south as Nova Scotia, but is especially abundant off the shores of Newfoundland and along the coast of Labrador into Davis Strait. In Hudson's Strait it is common on the south shore, but on the north shore it is rarely met with.

**Bearded Seal. Square-flipper.** This species occurs in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, on the coast of Labrador, and on the shores of the Arctic Ocean, extending far north among the islands. The young have a soft grey coat of a little darker shade than that of the old ones.

**Grey Seal.** A rare species confined to the North Atlantic, where it has been found as far south as Sable Island, Nova Scotia, whence it ranges northward along the coast of Greenland.

**Hooded Seal. Jumping Seal.** Shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, and far northward into the Arctic Seas.

#### RODENTIA.

**Bushy-tailed Wood Rat.** Western and North-western Canada, from the Rocky Mountains westward to the Pacific coast.

White-footed or Deer Mouse. From Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to the Pacific coast and northward to the Arctic Ocean. Another variety from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific coast, and as far north as the mouth of the Mackenzie River.

Michigan Mouse. Recorded by Thompson from Manitoba.

Missouri Mole-Mouse. Found by Dr. E. Couës on the Red River, so that it will doubtless be found in Manitoba.

Long-eared Mouse. New Brunswick to the west coast as far north as Fort Good Hope on the Mackenzie River.

Red-backed Mouse. Has been found in Nova Scotia, Manitoba, and on the west coast of Hudson's Bay. General range south of that of true *rutilus*.

Meadow Mouse. From Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to the Rocky Mountains, and, doubtless, also in British Columbia.

Little Northern Meadow Mouse. North-western America, especially in the Mackenzie River region.

Chestnut-cheeked Meadow Mouse. In North-western Canada from the Hudson's Bay to the Pacific.

Large Northern Meadow Mouse. Range essentially the same as the preceding.

Oregon Meadow Mouse. Southern British Columbia.

Sharp-nosed Meadow Mouse. On the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains about the head of the Athabasca River.

Grey or Norway Rat. Throughout the more settled parts of the Dominion. In the North-West Territories, found sparingly along the lines of railway.

Black Rat. Recorded from both the Atlantic and Pacific sea-boards, but it has never reached far into the interior.

House Mouse. Common in all the more settled parts of the country, but in Manitoba and the North-West Territories not yet found away from the lines of railway.

Tawny Lemming. Found around Great Bear Lake, and in the Rocky Mountains as far south as Lat. 56°.

Hudson's Bay Lemming. From Labrador

around the northern coast of the continent, and on the islands in the Arctic Ocean.

Jumping Mouse. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and westward along the Saskatchewan to British Columbia, reaching as far north as Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie River.

Muskrat. Throughout the whole of Canada as far north as the Arctic Ocean.

Polar Hare. Barren Grounds in northern Canada as well as on the shores of the Arctic Ocean, reaching as far south into Hudson's Bay as Fort Churchill.

Prairie Hare. "Jack Rabbit." Plains from the western limit of Manitoba westward to the base of the Rocky Mountains as far north as the Saskatchewan River. Also on the plains in southern British Columbia.

Varying, Hare Rabbit. Found throughout the northern part of the Continent as far north as the northern limit of trees.

Wood Hare. Grey Rabbit. Becoming quite common throughout Ontario.

Californian Hare. Mentioned in J. K. Lord's List of Mammals from British Columbia.

Canada Porcupine. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia north-westward to Hudson's Bay, along its western shore to Fort Churchill and westward to the Mackenzie River.

Yellow-haired Porcupine. On the Pacific slope, and in the Rocky Mountains northward to the Liard River.

Little-chief Hare. North American Pika. From the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains westward along the International Boundary Line as far as Chilukweyuk Lake, and northward to Lat. 60°. Lord found his *L. minimus* near the banks of the Similkameen River, on the eastern side of the Cascade Range, and at an altitude of 7,000 feet.

Beaver. Throughout the whole of Canada to the northern limit of trees.

Mountain Pocket Mouse. Recorded by J. K. Lord from southern British Columbia.

Pouched Gopher. Originally described from a specimen brought from eastern Canada.

Northern Pocket Gopher. Very numerous in rich alluvial meadows from Manitoba westward along the Saskatchewan to the base of the mountains. The surface is in many places undermined

by this species to such an extent that a horse will repeatedly break through, thus making travelling both tedious and unpleasant.

**Pacific Pocket Gopher.** Southern portion of British Columbia.

**Northern Flying Squirrel.** From the Atlantic to the Pacific as far north as Hudson's Bay, Great Slave Lake and Fort Liard.

**Red Squirrel, Chickaree.** From the Atlantic westward to the Rocky Mountains and northward to the northern limit of trees. Another variety from the Rocky Mountains to the Cascade Range in the vicinity of the International Boundary Line and another on the coast of British Columbia.

**Grey Squirrel, Black Squirrel.** From western New Brunswick, through southern Quebec and Ontario as far west as the north shores of Lakes Huron and Superior. Especially abundant, however, in the wooded parts of the western peninsula of Ontario.

**California Grey Squirrel.** Given in Lord's List of Mammals from southern British Columbia.

**Striped Squirrel, Chipmunk.** Common from the Atlantic coast westward to eastern Manitoba. Not found west of Lake Manitoba.

**Northern Chipmunk.** Ranges from the western side of Hudson's Bay, on the Churchill and Nelson Rivers to the north shore of Lake Superior, westward to the Rocky Mountains and northward on the Mackenzie River to the Arctic Circle. Another variety, Rocky Mountains and mountains in British Columbia in the vicinity of the International Boundary Line. Another on the Coast of British Columbia.

**Say's Chipmunk.** Rocky Mountains from the International Boundary north to Lat. 57°.

**Parry's Spermophile.** Barren Grounds from the east side of Hudson's Bay to Alaska, as far north as the Arctic Circle. Another variety in Rocky Mountains from the Boundary Line north to Lat. 57°.

**Richardson's Spermophile, Grey Gopher.** From the Pembina escarpment in Manitoba to the base of the Rocky Mountains, and northward to the Saskatchewan. Another variety in southern portion of British Columbia.

**Grey-headed Spermophile.** Western Manitoba

northward to the Saskatchewan River, but none were seen as far west as Fort Pitt.

**Striped Gopher.** From Red River westward to the base of the Rocky Mountains, as far north as the North Saskatchewan.

**Woodchuck, Ground-hog.** Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and westward around the shores of Hudson's Bay to the Mackenzie and Liard Rivers, as far north as Lat. 62°.

**Hoary Marmot.** Rocky Mountains westward to the Cascade Range and northward to the Arctic Circle. Often seen among heaps of angular masses of loose rock.

**The Birds of British Columbia.** The particulars which follow regarding the Birds of the Pacific Province of Canada are compiled, by permission, from the Check List first prepared in 1891 and largely added to and revised in 1898, by Mr. John Fannin, Curator of the Provincial Museum, Victoria, B.C. The division is simply that of Orders and no attempt is made here to be scientific in designation or description.

#### ORDER PYGOPODES. DIVING BIRDS.

Western Grebe, numerous; Holboell's Grebe, fairly numerous; Horned Grebe, fairly numerous; Pied-billed Grebe, numerous; Loon, numerous; Black-throated Loon, not common; Pacific Loon, not common; Red-throated Loon, fairly common; Tufted Puffin, fairly common; Horned Puffin, not common; Rhinoceros Auklet, numerous; Cassin's Auklet, fairly numerous; Ancient Murrelet, not common; Marbled Murrelet, numerous; Pigeon Guillemot, numerous.

#### ORDER LONGIPENNES. LONG-WINGED SWIMMERS.

Parasitic Jaeger, not common; Long-tailed Jaeger, not common; Ivory Gull, not common; Pacific Kittiwake, not common; Glaucous Gull, not common; Glaucous-winged Gull, numerous; Western Gull, numerous (during winter months); American Herring Gull, numerous; California Gull, numerous; Ring-billed Gull, fairly numerous; Short-billed Gull, fairly numerous; Heerman's Gull, not common; Bonaparte's Gull, numerous; Sabine's Gull, not common; Common Tern, not common; Arctic Tern, fairly numerous; Black Tern, fairly numerous.

## ORDER TUBINARES. TUBE-NOSED SWIMMERS.

Black-footed Albatross (west coast of Vancouver Island); Short-tailed Albatross, tolerably common; Pacific Fulmar, not common; Black-vented Shearwater, not common; Dark-bodied Shearwater, not common; Slender-billed Shearwater, not common; Forked-tailed Petrel, fairly numerous; Leach's Petrel, not common.

## ORDER STEGANOPODES. TOTIPALMATE SWIMMERS.

White-crested Cormorant, tolerably common; Brandt's Cormorant, not common; Violet-green Cormorant, numerous; American White Pelican, not common; California Brown Pelican, not common.

## ORDER ANSERES. LAMELLIROSTRAL SWIMMERS.

American Merganser, nowhere common; Red-breasted Merganser, numerous; Hooded Merganser, numerous; Mallard, numerous; Gadwall, rare; American Widgeon, numerous; Green-winged Teal, numerous; Blue-winged Teal, very rare; Cinnamon Teal, rare summer visitant; Shoveller, numerous summer resident; Pintail, numerous; Wood Duck, summer resident, nowhere abundant; Redhead, not common; Canvas-back, nowhere abundant; American Scaup Duck, numerous; Lesser Scaup Duck, not common; Ring-necked Duck, not common; American Golden-eye, numerous; Barrow's Golden-eye, not common; Buffle-head, numerous; Old Squaw, numerous; Harlequin Duck, numerous; American Scoter, not common; White-winged Scoter, numerous; Surf Scoter, numerous; Ruddy Duck, not common; Lesser Snow Goose, tolerably abundant; Ross's Snow Goose, not common; American White-fronted Goose, numerous; Canada Goose, numerous; Hutchin's Goose, tolerably abundant; White-cheeked Goose, not common; Cackling Goose, common winter resident on coast; Black Brant, numerous; Emperor Goose, straggler from the north; Whistling Swan, not common; Trumpeter Swan, not common.

## ORDER HERODIONES. HERONS, ETC.

White-faced Glossy Ibis, not common; American Bittern, numerous; Great Blue Heron, abundant on the coast; Snowy Heron, rare.

## ORDER PALUDICOLÆ. CRANES, ETC.

Little Brown Crane, not common; Sandhill

Crane, tolerably abundant; Virginia Rail, not common; Carolina Rail, common east of Cascades; American Coot, numerous.

## ORDER LIMICOLÆ. SHORE BIRDS.

Red Phalarope, not common; Northern Phalarope, numerous during spring and autumn; Wilson's Phalarope, not common; Wilson's Snipe, tolerably numerous; Long-billed Dowitcher, tolerably numerous; Knot, numerous during migratory period; Sharp-tailed Sandpiper, not common; Pectoral Sandpiper, not common; Baird's Sandpiper, not common; Least Sandpiper, common and migratory; Red-backed Sandpiper, numerous; Western Sandpiper, numerous; Sanderling, not common; Marbled Godwit, numerous; Greater Yellow-legs, numerous during winter; Yellow-legs, tolerably common; Solitary Sandpiper, not common; Western Solitary Sandpiper, not common; Western Willet, not common; Wandering Tattler, tolerably common; Bartramian Sandpiper, not common; Buff-breasted Sandpiper, tolerably common; Spotted Sandpiper, not common; Long-billed Curlew, not common; Hudsonian Curlew, not common; Black-bellied Plover, numerous and migratory; American Golden Plover, common summer resident; Killdeer Plover, not common; Semipalmated Plover, not common; Surf Bird, numerous; Turnstone, fairly numerous; Black Turnstone, tolerably common; Black Oyster Catcher, numerous.

## ORDER GALLINÆ. GALLINACEOUS BIRDS.

Mountain Partridge, common on Vancouver Island; California Partridge, Vancouver Island; Sooty Grouse, numerous west of Cascade Mountains; Richardson's Grouse, numerous east of Cascade Mountains; Franklin's Grouse, numerous on Mainland; Canadian Ruffed Grouse, numerous; Gray Ruffed Grouse, not common; Oregon Ruffed Grouse, not common; Willow Ptarmigan, not common; Rock Ptarmigan, not common; White-tailed Ptarmigan, not common; Columbia sharp-tailed Grouse, not common; Sage Grouse, not common; Ring-necked Pheasant, fairly numerous.

## ORDER COLUMBÆ. PIGEONS.

Band-tailed Pigeon, tolerably common; Mourning Dove, not common.

## ORDER RAPTORLS. BIRDS OF PREY.

California Vulture, not common; Turkey Vulture, not common; Marsh Hawk, numerous on Mainland; Sharp-shinned Hawk, fairly numerous; Cooper's Hawk, fairly numerous; American Goshawk, fairly numerous; Western Goshawk, fairly numerous; Western Red-tailed Hawk, numerous; Red-bellied Hawk, not common; Swainson's Hawk, not common; American Tough-legged Hawk, rare; Golden Eagle, not common; Bald Eagle, numerous; Grey Falcon, to be found on Island and Mainland; Prairie Falcon, not common; Duck Hawk, not common; Peale's Falcon, not common; Pigeon Hawk, not common; Black Merlin, fairly numerous; Richardson's Merlin, not common; American Sparrow Hawk, numerous; American Osprey, numerous in summer; American Long-eared Owl, rare; Short-eared Owl, numerous; Great Grey Owl, rare; Saw-whet Owl, not common; Kennicott's Screech Owl, numerous; MacFarland's Screech Owl, not common; Puget Sound Screech Owl, not common; Great Horned Owl, not common; Western Horned Owl, numerous; Arctic Horned Owl, not common; Dusky Horned Owl, numerous; Snowy Owl, not common; American Hawk Owl, not common; Burrowing Owl, not common; Pygmy Owl, numerous; California Pygmy Owl, not common.

## ORDER COCCYGES. THE CUCKOOS.

California Cuckoo, fairly numerous; Belted Kingfisher, numerous.

## ORDER PICI. THE WOODPECKERS.

Northern Hairy Woodpecker, fairly numerous; Harris's Woodpecker, fairly numerous; Gairdner's Woodpecker, not common; Batchelder's Woodpecker, fairly numerous; White-headed Woodpecker, not common; Alaskan Three-toed Woodpecker, not common; Alpine Three-toed Woodpecker, not common; Red-naped Sapsucker, not common; Red-breasted Sapsucker, not common; Williamson's Sapsucker, not common; Pileated Woodpecker, fairly numerous; Lewis's Woodpecker, not common; Flicker, very rare; Red-shafted Flicker, fairly numerous; North-western Flicker, numerous.

## ORDER MACROCHIRES. GOAT-SUCKERS.

Nighthawk, not common; Western Nighthawk,

not common; Poor-will, not common; Black Swift, not common; Vaux's Swift, not common; Black-chinned Hummingbird, not common; Rufous Hummingbird, not common; Allen's Hummingbird, not common; Calliope Hummingbird, not common.

## ORDER PASSERES. PERCHING BIRDS.

Kingbird, not common; Grey Kingbird, not common; Arkansas Kingbird, not common; Say's Phœbe, not common; Olive-sided Flycatcher, not common; Western Wood Pewee, not common; Western Flycatcher, not common; Trail's Flycatcher, not common; Hammond's Flycatcher, not common; Wright's Flycatcher, not common; Pallid Horned Lark, not common; Streaked Horned Lark, not common; Dusky Horned Lark, not common; American Magpie, fairly numerous; Steller's Jay, numerous; Black-headed Jay, not common; Rocky Mountain Jay, not common; Oregon Jay, numerous; Northern Raven, fairly numerous; California Crow, not common; North-West Crow, not common; Clarke's Nutcracker, not common; Cowbird, not common; Yellow-headed Blackbird, not common; Red-winged Blackbird, fairly numerous; Senora Redwing, not common; Western Meadowlark, numerous; Bullock's Oriole, not common; Brewer's Blackbird, fairly numerous; Western Evening Grosbeak, not common; Pine Grosbeak, not common; California Purple Finch, numerous in summer; Cassin's Purple Finch, fairly common; American Crossbill, numerous; White-Winged Crossbill, fairly numerous; Grey-crowned Leucosticte, not common; Hepburn's Leucosticte, not common; Hoary Redpoll, not common; Redpoll, fairly numerous; American Goldfinch, not common; Pine Siskin, numerous; Snowflake, numerous; Lapland Longspur, not common; McCown's Longspur, not common; Western Vesper Sparrow, not common; Sandwich Sparrow, not common; Western Savanna Sparrow, not common; Western Grasshopper Sparrow, not common; Western Lark Sparrow, not common; Harris's Sparrow, not common; Intermediate Sparrow, not common; Gambel's Sparrow, fairly numerous; Golden-Crowned Sparrow, numerous, migratory; Western Tree Sparrow, not common; Western Chipping Sparrow, numerous in sum-



mer; Brewer's Sparrow, not common; Slate-coloured Junco, not common; Oregon Junco, not common; Rusty Song Sparrow, numerous; Sooty Song Sparrow, fairly numerous; Lincoln's Sparrow, not common; Forbush Sparrow, not common; Townsend's Sparrow, not common; Slate-coloured Sparrow, not common; Spurred Towhee, not common; Oregon Towhee, not common; Black-headed Grosbeak, not common; Lazuli Bunting, not common; Louisiana Tanager, numerous in summer; Purple Martin, fairly numerous; Cliff Sparrow, not common; Barn Swallow, numerous in summer; Tree Swallow, numerous; Violet-green Swallow, numerous in summer; Bank Swallow, fairly numerous; Rough-winged Swallow, numerous; Bohemian Waxwing, not common; Cedar Bird, numerous in summer; Northern Shrike, not common; White-rumped Shrike, not common; Red-eyed Vireo, not common; Warbling Vireo, not common; Cassin's Vireo, not common; Plumbeous Vireo, not common; Anthony's Vireo, not common; Calaveras Warbler, not common; Orange-crowned Warbler, not common; Lutescent Warbler, not common; Yellow Warbler, numerous in summer; Myrtle Warbler, numerous in summer; Audubon's Warbler, numerous in summer; Magnolia Warbler, not common; Black-throated Grey Warbler, not common; Townsend's Warbler, not common; Hermit Warbler, not common; Grinnell's Water-thrush, not common; McGillivray's Warbler, not common; Western Yellow-throat, not common; Long-tailed Chat, not common; Wilson's Warbler, fairly numerous; Pileolated Warbler, not common; American Redstart, not common; American Pipit, numerous; American Dipper, fairly numerous; Catbird, not common; Rock Wren, not common; Vigour's Wren, not common; Parkman's Wren, not common; Western Winter Wren, numerous; Tule Wren, fairly numerous; Rocky Mountain Creeper, not common; California Creeper, not common; Slender-billed Nuthatch, not common; Red-breasted Nuthatch, not common; Pygmy Nuthatch, not common; Long-tailed Chickadee, not common; Oregon Chickadee, not common; Mountain Chickadee, not common; Columbia Chickadee, not common; Chestnut-backed Chickadee, not common; Western Golden Crowned Kinglet, numerous in

Western Cascade District; Ruby-crowned Kinglet, numerous in Western Cascade District; Townsend's Solitaire, rare; Willow Thrush, not common; Russet-backed Thrush, not common; Olive-backed Thrush, not common; Dwarf Hermit Thrush, not common; Audubon's Hermit Thrush, not common; American Robin, not common; Western Robin, numerous; Varied Thrush, fairly numerous; Western Bluebird, fairly numerous; Mountain Bluebird, not common.

**The Birds of Manitoba.** On January 27th, 1887, Mr. Alexander McArthur read a paper before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba on the Winter Birds of that Province—see *Transactions*, 1887—in which he described the following as natives of that season and as being fairly common in the Province:

Goshawk, Golden Eagle, Snowy Owl, Great Horned Owl, Grey or Barred Owl, Great Grey or Cumereus Owl, Hawk Owl, Pilliated Woodpecker, Three-toed Woodpecker, Willow or White Ptarmigan, Dark or Spruce Partridge, Ruffed Grouse, Prairie Chicken or Sharp-tailed Grouse, Pinnated Grouse, Raven, Bohemian Chatterer or Wax Wing, Snow Bunting, Evening Grosbeak, Pure Grosbeak, American Cross-bill, White-winged Cross-bill, Black-capped Titmouse or Chickadee, Canada Jay, Blue Jay and Lesser Red-poll.

Mr. George E. Atkinson, of Portage la Prairie, read a paper before the same Society on April 14th, 1898, upon the Game Birds of Manitoba—see *Transactions*, 1898—in which he gave the following list of Birds known in or common to the Province:

#### ORDER ANSERES.

American Merganser, Red-Breasted Merganser, Hooded Merganser, Mallard, Black Duck, Gadwall, Widgeon or Baldpate, Green Winged Teal, Blue Winged Teal, Cinnamon Teal, Shoveller, Pintail, Wood Duck, Red Head, Canvas-back, American Scaup Duck or Big Blue Bill, Lesser Scaup Duck or Little Blue Bill, Ring-necked Duck, American Golden Eye or Whistler, Barrows Golden Eye, Bufflehead, Cowheen or Old Squaw, Harlequin Duck, American Eider, American Scoter, White Winged Scoter, Surf Scoters, Ruddy Duck, Lesser Snow Goose Wavy, Blue

Goose, White Fronted Goose, Canada Goose, Hutchin's Goose, Brant Goose, Whistling Swan, Trumpeter Swan.

ORDER LIMICOLÆ.

Northern Phalarope, Wilson's Phalarope, American Avocet, American Woodcock, Wilson's Snipe, Dowitcher, Long-billed Dowitcher, Stilt Sandpiper, Knot or Robin Snipe, Pectoral Sandpiper, White-rumped Sandpiper, Baird's Sandpiper, Beast Sandpiper, Red-backed Sandpiper or Blackheart, Semi-palmated Sandpiper, Sanderling, Marbled Godwit, Hudsonian Godwit, Greater Yellow Legs, Lesser Yellow Legs, Solitary Sandpiper, Willet, Bartramian Sandpiper or Quail, Buff-breasted Sandpiper, Spotted Sandpiper, Long-billed Curlew, Eskimo Curlew, Black-bellied Plover, American Golden Plover, Killdeer, Ring-necked Plover, Piping Plover, Turnstone.

ORDER GALLINÆ.

Ruffed Grouse, Grey Ruffed Grouse, Willow Ptarmigan, Rock Ptarmigan, Pinnated Grouse, Sharp-tailed Grouse.

**Sketch of the Flora of Canada.** The following description of the flora of the Dominion was written by Professor John Macoun, Naturalist of the Geological Survey of Canada, for the British Association Meeting Hand-book in 1897: "In a general sketch of the flora of the Dominion of Canada, the whole northern portion of the North American Continent must be considered, including Newfoundland on the east and Alaska on the west. This immense region, extending from Cape Race, the most easterly point of Newfoundland, to Behring Straits on the west, is in round numbers 3,500 miles wide. On the south, the forty-ninth parallel forms the boundary from the Pacific Ocean eastward, to the Lake of the Woods, from thence, to where it cuts the forty-fifth parallel, it follows a tributary of Lake Superior, the great lakes, and the St. Lawrence River itself. The northern boundary of New York, New Hampshire, Vermont and Maine, forms the southern boundary to the sea at St. Stephen, New Brunswick.

The chief features of the northern and eastern sections extending westerly to the Mackenzie

River are its plains, lakes, rivers and forests, and the paucity of its flora as regards species, the greater number of which are identical with those of northern Europe or very closely related to them. The south-western or prairie region has a flora which is quite distinct both in origin and appearance from that of the forest region to the north and east. South-western Ontario has a flora that in greater part has a southern origin, and which in very many respects differs from that of all the other parts of the Dominion, and includes many species of shrubs and trees that do not grow naturally outside of its limits. The whole of the Dominion east of the Rocky Mountains may be called a plain, as it rises in no point into anything that could be called a chain of mountains. The only chain of heights are the Laurentides, extending up the St. Lawrence and along the Georgian Bay and Lake Superior. West of Quebec City to the Rocky Mountains there is no point above 2,000 feet until the high plains become an elevated plateau, but altogether destitute of mountains. The source of the St. Lawrence (Lake Nepigon), 1,900 miles from the sea, is less than 800 feet above tide water. The Rocky Mountains, extending in a north-westerly direction from latitude 49° to the Arctic Sea, are both a barrier to the western extension of the prairie flora and a means of extending the distribution of the Arctic, for many species found on the Arctic coast are found in the Rockies at altitudes ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet. British Columbia consists of a series of mountains, plateaus and valleys, that have a very varied herbageous vegetation, and as a consequence we have on the mountain summits an Arctic flora with a marked change to Alaskan species as we ascend the Coast Range and the Mountains on Vancouver Island. On the dry region about Kamloops, Okanagan, and Spence's Bridge, there are many species that have their home to the south in the dry districts of Washington. On the other hand, the coast flora, and especially that of the vicinity of Victoria, has much in common with northern California and Oregon.

From the foregoing it may be seen that our flora is made up of series of fragments that have had each a different origin; the more northerly and high mountain species being circumpolar or

derivatives from those of northern Europe and northern Asia. The species in the coniferous and poplar forests are also of northern origin, but those in the deciduous-leaved forests of the Eastern Provinces and Ontario are undoubtedly characteristic of America, and have a much greater development to the south. Genera that are characteristic of these forests are *Desmodium*, *Uvularia*, *Trillium*, *Podophyllum*, *Hydrastis*, *Phlox*, *Dicentra*, *Sanguinaria*, *Medeola*, and many others. In the prairie Provinces the species are of south-westerly origin, though many are identical with the mountain species of that region of the United States. Eastern species of herbaceous and woody plants extend far to the west in the stream valleys and wooded ravines, and do not finally disappear until the more arid districts are reached. In the foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains many western species find a home, and they too descend to the plains, and spread themselves eastward until stopped by the light rainfall of the prairie.

The European botanist when first landing on our shores, or entering the country by any of the United States railways, will be struck by the similarity between the plants he meets with and those of his own country. This seeming resemblance only extends to the roadsides and cultivated grounds. What he sees are immigrants, and it is only in the forests he will see indigenous plants. In trying to get a knowledge of the native flora no person should collect anything along the roadsides or in cultivated fields, because not ten per cent. of the species he sees are natives. Our native species seldom become weeds, as they were chiefly forest species, and with the forest many of them disappear.

Lying between Hudson's Bay and the Gulf of St. Lawrence is the extensive tract named Labrador, the interior of which until lately was quite unknown. The area of this peninsula is over 500,000 square miles, and the paucity of its flora may be learned when it is known that the flowering plants and ferns that occur in it number less than 1,000 species. It is only on the coasts and the more elevated mountains that the true Arctic flora is found, and even this only in the north-eastern part where the Arctic ice is forced on shore. The characteristic Arctic species found here are *Ranunculus pygmaeus*, Wahl, and *R. nivalis*,

*L.*; *Papaver nudicaulis*, L.; *Draba alpina*, L., *D. stellata*, Jacq. and *D. aurea*, Wahl.; *Silene acaulis*, L., *Lychnis alpina*, L. and *L. apetalata*, L.; *Potentilla maculata*, Poir.; *Saxifraga oppositifolia*, L., *S. rivularis*, L., *S. cernua*, L. and *S. nivalis*, L.; *Sedum rhodiola*, Db.; *Erigeron uniflorum*, L., *Antennaria alpina*, Gærtn.; *Campanula uniflora*, L., *Ledum palustre*, L., *Rhododendron Lapponicum*, Wahl.; *Diapensia Lapponica*, L.; *Pedicularis Lapponica*, L. *P. hirsuta*, L., and *P. fluminea* L. Numerous willows, sedges and grasses which are Arctic or mountainous in their general distribution are to be met with, but the bulk of the flora is identical with that of the sub-arctic or boreal zone of the forest belt that extends to the Mackenzie River. None of the enumerated plants have been observed in the interior of Canada, but all with one or two exceptions are to be found near the snow line in the Rocky Mountains.

Prince Edward Island has nothing peculiar about its vegetation except that both the seaweeds around its shores and its land flora indicate greater warmth in its coast waters than we find on the coasts of Nova Scotia. There is a marked absence of species indicating a boreal or frosty summer climate, while there are undoubted indications of a moist and cool one. One summer spent on the island revealed very little of botanical interest, but showed that Prince Edward Island was climatically the "Green Isle" of the Dominion. Owing to the position of Nova Scotia it has more the characteristics of an island than a continental mass, and hence a number of species are found there and on the coast of Newfoundland that are never met inland. The general flora, however, is seen to be in general the same as that of the Provinces of New Brunswick, Quebec, and the greater part of Ontario. A few notable species are *Calluna vulgaris*, Salisb., *Alchemilla vulgaris*, L., *Rhododendron maximum*, L., *Ilex glabra*, Gray, *Hudsonia ericoides*, L., *Gaylussacia dumosa*, T. & G., and *Schizaea pusilla*, Pursh.

Passing to New Brunswick we find a marked change in the flora, which now takes on a more exclusively American facies, and as we pass westward this becomes more marked until scarcely a trace of the European flora can be detected except on the higher summits. Gradu-

ally the eastern species drop out and are replaced by immigrants from the south or the advance guard of the western flora. In the deciduous-leaved forest many species are found that are rare or absent in Nova Scotia but which are common in Western Quebec and Ontario. Owing to the position of Quebec its flora varies greatly, for, while on the shores of the Gulf and the lower reaches of the St. Lawrence many Arctic and sub-Arctic species may be found, the conditions have so changed when Quebec City is reached that the Wild Grape (*Vitis riparia*) and the Silver Berry (*Elæagnus argentea*) grow luxuriously on the Isle of Orleans, and the valley of the St. Lawrence westward shows a constantly increasing ratio of southern forms. Along the shores of the lower part of the river the writer has collected *Thalictrum alpinum*, L., *Vesicaria arctica*, Richards, *Cerastium alpinum*, L., *Arabis alpina*, L., *Saxifraga cespitosa*, L., and *S. oppositifolia*, L.; and on Mount Albert, one of the Shickshock Mountains, *Silene acaulis*, L., *Lychnis alpina*, L., *Rhododendron Lapponicum*, Wahl., *Cassiope hypnoides*, Don., and many others. On the summit of this mountain at an altitude of 4,000 feet were collected *Vaccinium ovalifolium*, Smith, *Galium Kamtschaticum*, Steller., *Pellaea densa*, Hook, *Aspidium aculeatum*, Swartz. var. *scopulinum* D. C. Eaton. The two latter have no other known stations east of the Pacific Coast Range and the other two are western species. Montreal Mountain, on the other hand, may be said to be an eastern extension of the southern flora, as here we have the first assemblage of the representative Ontario flora.

No other Province of the Dominion has such a diversified flora as Ontario, caused by the great influx of southern forms in the south-western peninsula bordering on Lake Erie, and the extension of the Province westward to Manitoba and northward to James Bay. To speak in general terms, that part of Ontario north of the Canadian Pacific Railway and north and west of Lake Superior has a flora in no respect different from that of the boreal sections of Quebec and the Maritime Provinces. Along the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence, from Montreal westward, the country gradually improves in climate, and corresponding to this change the flora takes a more

southern aspect, and trees, shrubs and all herbaceous plants not hitherto seen become common. In the vicinity of Toronto a marked change takes place and Scarboro' Heights and the Humber Plains seem to be the gathering ground for many species that do not occur in a wild state farther to the east. Yonge Street, which was the great northern highway 100 years ago, is still a divisional point for various reasons, but in none more so than in a botanical sense. West and south of this line a new forest with new shrubs and herbaceous plants meets the eye of the botanist and tells him with unerring certainty that he has entered on a new field for his labours, and if he be a practical man he will soon see that the capabilities of the country increase with the change. All points are interesting to the botanist, but none more so than from Kingsville to Sarnia, taking in Pelee Island, where vineyards rivalling those of Europe are seen in perfection. Amherstburgh, Windsor, Chatham, and Sarnia are easily accessible, and at all these places rare and beautiful species can be obtained.

While the shores of Lake Erie are clothed with vegetation that needs a high winter temperature, the east and north coasts of Lake Superior have a boreal vegetation that shows that the summer temperature of this great lake is quite low. It was the boreal species along the cliffs and near the water that led the early travellers, and Agassiz, to carry away such erroneous impressions of the Arctic climate of the Lake Superior region; a region which we now know is not climatically unsuited to agriculture. It may not be uninteresting to know that the Great Lakes have, with the exception of Lake Superior, a much earlier growth in spring on the north shores than they have on the south. Passing out of the forest region, we enter on the vast expanse of natural meadows which constitute the prairie region of the travellers and the Provinces of Manitoba, Assiniboia, Alberta and part of Saskatchewan. The eastern border is about thirty miles east of Winnipeg, and the western border, the foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains 900 miles to the west. This vast region has in many respects a flora quite different from that of the east, north, or west, in which species of the forest zone predominate. As mentioned in another place, the eastern

flora extends westerly in ravines and river bottoms for 150 or 200 miles, but finally disappears, and the true prairie flora is found everywhere except in a few localities where the conditions are favourable to the growth of a few moisture-loving herbaceous species of the forest region.

The advance of the northern forest species is checked by the encroachment of the prairie caused by fire in former years, and the intermingling of species peculiar to prairie and forest is well known in the district between Prince Albert and Edmonton. To the west the advance of prairie species on the eastern slopes and foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains is no less marked, and the day is not far distant when the whole eastern slope and many interior valleys will be given up to pasturage and the growth of hay for the immense herds and flocks that will feed in summer on the high slopes, and find food and shelter in winter in the valleys. Much has been spoken and written about the nutritive quality of the grasses of the foot-hills in Alberta, but the same may be said of the whole prairie region.

The same species are common over nearly the whole area, and indeed the only coarse grasses of the dry prairie *Festuca ovina*, L., and *F. scabrella*, Torr., have their greatest development in the foot-hills where they, with certain species of *Danthonia*, are cut in large quantities for hay. Parts of six seasons spent on the prairie, collecting natural history specimens, give as the grasses of the prairie no less than forty-two genera and one hundred and fifty-six species. Of *Agropyrum*, *Elymus*, *Stipa*, *Bromus*, *Agrostis*, *Calamagrostis*, and *Poa*, the best hay and pasture grasses, there are fifty-nine species, so that without the aid of cultivated or foreign species—with the aid of irrigation—we can have hay and pasturage for all purposes. The genus *Carex* furnishes much of the summer food of the native ponies and one species *C. aristata*, R. Br., has always been their summer food when Indians and half-breeds were on the march. Besides the grasses the prairie produces many leguminous plants that are valuable for pasture, especially of the genera *Astragalus*, *Vicia* (Wild Vetch), *Lathyrus* (Wild Pea), of which we have twenty-eight species. The Rose family is well represented and many species

of *Prunus*, *Fragaria*, *Rosa*, *Kubus* and *Amelanchier* produce fruits which serve as food for both birds and men.

There are a few species found in and around water that are worthy of a passing glance. Old Wives' Lake is saline, and in its waters we find *Ruppia maritima*, L., and along its shores *Heliotropium Curassavicum*, L., both natives of the Atlantic coast, and numerous species of *Chenopodium*, *Atriplex* and allied genera. On an island in the same lake we find breeding the Ring-billed Gull that winters on the Atlantic coast. In boggy ground near Crane Lake a species of *Downingia* is found in profusion. If not new, it has no relatives nearer than California. In the same bog the Californian Grebe was breeding in numbers. Still more extraordinary, on Sheep Mountain, close to Waterton Lake, near lat. 49°, at an altitude of 7,500 feet, was gathered a mountain poppy which, when submitted to experts at Kew and Washington, was pronounced to be *Papaver Pyrenaicum*. How did it get there? Leaving the prairie let us turn eastward to the Atlantic coast and follow the forest belt from lat. 46° north-westerly to where lat. 54° strikes the Rocky Mountains, and we will find a flora that does not vary ten per cent. in the species that inhabit either forest, swamp, lake or stream. In this distance of 2,500 miles the hygrometric conditions seem the same and the apparently severer winter of the west is offset by the universal covering of snow. It might be as well to remark here that accurate meteorological data have shown that Edmonton, in northern Alberta, in lat 53° 30', has almost the winter climate of Ottawa in lat 45° 25'.

The eastern ranges are included in the term Rocky Mountains, and in these we have most of our higher summits. The vegetation of the elevated prairie (alt. 4,000) near the eastern base or foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains is exceedingly rich and consists of a very varied and most luxuriant growth of herbaceous plants, including a number of rare and interesting Umbellifers. As the slopes are ascended the species of the plain gradually disappear and at 6,000 feet many boreal plants show themselves, and as greater heights are attained the vegetation becomes more Arctic, so that from 7,500 to 9,000 feet in the

Rocky Mountains nearly all the species are identical or closely related to those found on the Barren Grounds and along the Arctic coast east of Mackenzie River. The Peace River vegetation differs very little from that of Quebec and the northern prairies, and as far north as lat. 61° these species predominate and apparently all the country needs is drainage to give it a climate suitable for all kinds of crops.

The western slopes of the Rocky Mountains begin to show a mixed flora and both herbaceous and woody growths have a noticeable increase of western forms. Both the valley of the Columbia River and the mountain sides bordering it show by their flora that we have now passed from a comparatively dry climate into a damp one, and the corresponding change in both the flora and avian fauna becomes apparent. Any one entering the woods along the river or up the slopes will not fail to notice the thick carpet of moss and the general dampness, and at the summit of the Selkirks he will learn that the average snowfall is not less than thirty feet. This fact will account at once for the great number of glaciers at comparatively low altitudes in the Selkirks, and their total absence in the Rockies below 8,500 feet. Owing to the humidity of the atmosphere the flora of the Selkirks differs greatly from that of the Rocky Mountains, and has much in common with that of the Pacific Coast towards Alaska. Collections made at Banff, at an altitude of 7,000 feet, will be quite different from those made at the same altitude at Glacier in the Selkirks. West of the "Great Bend" of the Columbia River, British Columbia becomes a high plateau studded with mountains and cut into deep narrow valleys. In some instances, as in the case of the Okanagan Valley, this plateau has an outlet to the south, and it has therefore a flora which in part is peculiar to the American desert, and such species as *Purshia tridentata*, D.C., and *Artemisia tridentata*, Nutt., and species of *Gilia*, *Aster* and *Erigonum* are found that are met with nowhere else in Canada. The reptilian and avian faunas partake of the same character, and rattlesnakes and lizards, with rare southern birds, are quite common.

Owing to variations in altitude and the direc-

tion of the prevailing winds, British Columbia varies from the aridity of the region just spoken of to the almost constant rains on the coast, and while in the Fraser River valley below Yale the vegetation partakes of the character of the tropics, in the same valley, fifty miles above Yale, at Lytton, aridity and an almost total absence of rain give almost the same flora as we found about the southern end of Lake Okanagan. The Coast Range, which extends from the International Boundary to Alaska, shuts out the humid winds of the Pacific and at the same time confines many western plants to a narrow strip along the coast. These, with those found on Vancouver Island and the islands in the Gulf of Georgia and Queen Charlotte Islands, constitute a distinct flora in many respects. Many genera peculiar to the west coast, both to the south and north, and numerous species of other genera fill the woods and open spaces with beautiful flowers, and the spring months, April and May, are a season of continual bloom. Liliaceous flowers are abundant, and *Erythroniums*, *Trilliums*, *Alliums*, *Brodiaeas*, *Fritillarias*, *Liliums*, *Camassias* and others are in great profusion."

For very full and scientific information upon this subject, and the orders, genera and species of Canadian flora, reference may be had to Professor Macoun's *Catalogue of Canadian Plants*, 1883-6. Upon Nova Scotia flora much special information may also be obtained from the *Transactions* of the N.S. Institute of Natural Science, 1875-6. In New Brunswick the Rev. James Fowler, M.A., published a valuable *Catalogue* in 1878-9, while the *Bulletin* of the Natural History Society of N.B. for 1882-3 contains further data. Quebec has had partial lists made from time to time by Dr. Andrew Holmes, Dr. Thomas, L'Abbé Ovide Brunet, W. S. M. D'Urban and L'Abbé Provancher. The science in Ontario owes much to Dr. James Fletcher, the late Judge Logie, the late Principal J. M. Buchan, Dr. William Saunders, Dr. Thomas Burgess, Mr. H. B. Spotton. Their lists of localities are valuable. Dr. Robert Bell, Dr. G. M. Dawson, Sir John Richardson and others have done great service in the North-West or British Columbia.

## SECTION VI.

CANADIAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT.





# REVIEW OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF CANADA .

BY

THE EDITOR.

**W**ITHIN the confines of a hundred years the Provinces now forming part of the Dominion of Canada have passed through almost every variety of constitutional experience. They have been ruled directly by the Crown without even the intervention of the Imperial Parliament. They have been administered and ruled by Governors with full and autocratic power; by a combination of Governor, Executive Council and Legislative Council; by Governors in continuous conflict with their Legislative Assemblies; by Governors with a Cabinet whose advice was rejected or whose decisions were over-ruled; by Governors with an irresponsible Ministry which may have represented public opinion or with a responsible Ministry which may have represented only a small minority. They have had every degree of limited and unrestricted self-government; the narrowest and the fullest scope of Parliamentary control. They have in later days evolved a system which is unique in history—a federal monarchy in form, a crowned republic in fact. From all these complex conditions has therefore come a constitution which works out a curious mixture of British principles and practice with American political methods and party ideals. Upon the whole, however, Canadian government in both form and fact is far more British than American and this, to the student of national conditions and the influences to be expected from contiguity and the pressure of a great inter-changeable but alien population of similar language and race, will make the result seem one of the marvels of the nineteenth century.

The present system has been a slow growth. It is almost entirely a product of the British régime. From the prolonged period of French personal rule and brilliant struggle with Indians, and

English armies, and English colonists comes only the present-day practice of certain French laws, the partial use of the French language, and the retention of defined religious privileges. Through all the years stretching between the founding of Quebec by Champlain and the death of Montcalm (1608-1759) there can hardly be said to have been distinct political development. The rule was that of autocratic monarchy controlled too often by the commercial greed of individuals, but redeemed in some measure by the never-failing presence of either great personalities or brilliant achievement—represented in such names of varied nature as Brébeuf, Laval, Daulac, Talon, Frontenac. There were popular but suppressed protests and there was factional fighting from time to time. But the troubles were more personal than political, and party government can hardly be claimed to have existed in even an incipient stage. From 1632 to 1648 the Governor ruled absolutely. In the latter year his consultative Council enlarged its bounds and its functions. From 1663 to 1760 the Colony was ruled by a Royal Governor, an Intendant, or financial administrator, and a Supreme Council which included the two officials named and practically exercised executive, legislative and judicial powers. If the Governor was a strong man such as Frontenac he ruled Canada. If he was weak and the Intendant was a force for good such as Talon, or for evil as in the case of Bigot, then the latter official was the practical ruler. If neither of these personalities was of a strong nature then the Government was one of class supremacy, controlled by warring personal interests in the Council itself.

Under British administration the change was very gradual. From 1764 to 1774 the military influence was practically supreme. Then came

the Quebec Act, in the latter year, constituting the Hudson's Bay Slope, Labrador, the Ohio and the Mississippi as the boundaries of Quebec; giving the Governor an Advisory Council; allowing Roman Catholics to hold public office and the clergy to collect tithes; and establishing the French civil code and the British criminal law. By this measure the French Catholic population of Quebec was placated, the English Protestant population of the Atlantic Colonies incensed. So was the small band of rapidly increasing English Loyalist settlers of what came to be called Upper Canada. They did not like the Seigniorial Tenure, first established in 1663, by which certain gentlemen had been given large grants of land by the French King and which continued to be held under certain feudal customs native to old France. Nor did they like the rule by an irresponsible Council and the preservation of French-Canadian rights and privileges under the Quebec Act. And, when the Loyalist refugees poured into the country in 1784 it became necessary to in some measure meet their wishes. Hence the next important Imperial measure.

The Constitutional Act of 1791 divided the two Provinces and appointed a Governor for each, with an Executive Council, a Legislative Council, and a Legislative Assembly—the members of the latter being elected for four-year periods, and possessing a property or rental qualification. A provision was inserted by the wish of Pitt and against the advice of Lord Dorchester and others, making it lawful for the Governor-General to attach an hereditary right to membership in the Councils. But this power was never exercised. The Imperial Government regulated the amount of the Customs duties, the Lower Canada Government collected them and Upper Canada received one-eighth of the total. Each Legislature had power to levy taxes for public works, but the Governor and Executive Council alone had control of the disposition of the revenue. The British criminal law was to be in force, but the French civil code was maintained in Lower Canada as under the Quebec Act. Upper Canada was accorded the freehold tenure of land, while the Lower Province maintained its seigniorial system. One-seventh of the Crown Lands of Upper Canada were set

apart for the "support of a Protestant Clergy," and were soon called the Clergy Reserves—while the French-Canadian clergy were allowed to collect their tithes and other "accustomed dues" from their own people. Meanwhile the Maritime Provinces had been also evolving the beginnings of self-government. A Representative Assembly was granted to Nova Scotia in 1758, to Prince Edward Island in 1769—which did not meet until August, 1773—and to New Brunswick in 1784, upon its separation from Nova Scotia. The granting of these Assemblies, either in the Canadas or down by the sea, was only a preparatory step to popular government. It was one thing to elect representatives by a limited popular vote, quite another for those representatives to control the policy of the Government, mould the *personnel* of the Executive, or exercise power over the finances and Customs of the Province. The chief constitutional events in British America which followed these measures and the Act of 1791, were, up to the Union in 1841, as follows:

First Parliament in Upper Canada.....	1792
First Parliament in Lower Canada .....	1792
Slavery abolished in Upper Canada.....	1793
Slavery declared illegal in Lower Canada ...	1803
Cape Breton Island united to Nova Scotia...	1820
Ninety-two Resolutions passed in Lower Canada .....	1834
"Meeting of the five Counties" at St. Charles, L.C.....	1837
Rebellion in Upper and Lower Canada .....	1837
Resolutions by Legislatures of New Brun- swick and Nova Scotia offering support to Canadian authorities .....	1837
Mission of Lord Durham.....	1838
Special Council for Lower Canada .....	1839
Mr. Poulett Thomson (Lord Sydenham) ap- pointed Governor-General.....	1839
Act of Union of Upper and Lower Canada passed by Imperial Parliament.....	1840

It is sometimes forgotten in connection with the struggles which prevailed during this period that Great Britain incurred heavy liabilities for the Colonies in their early years and paid out large sums for ordinary Government expenses, such as salaries, public works, &c. Until these current expenses were fully met locally it was hardly fair to demand complete local control. Between 1791 and 1841, when Upper and Lower Canada were re-united, the constitutional and

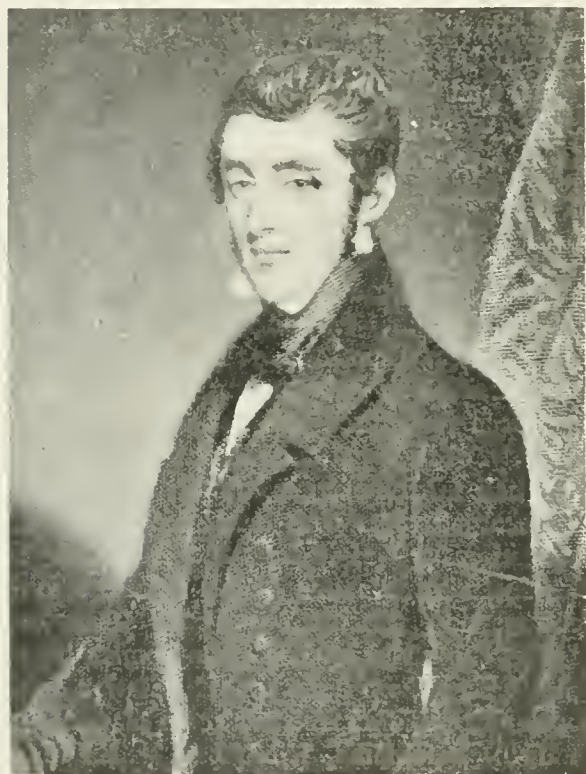
political conflicts which prevailed were very different in the two Provinces in some respects, very similar in others. So with the Maritime Colonies. In all alike, however, there were two distinct principles involved and to understand these is worth more to the student of Canadian history than the reading of many volumes of political declamation on either or both sides. The Governors and the Tory party were fighting in the main for the principle of British connection—which they believed to be involved in the maintenance of the Governor's influence and prerogative and in the political dominance of the latter as his advisers. This broad basis for their policy was complicated by the distinct lines drawn at times between French and British interests in Lower Canada, and by the fact that at other times parties and party lines fluctuated so that English-speaking Reformers, French-Canadians and republicans in the same Province were all mixed up together in combined opposition to the Tories. Everywhere, too, there was the charge against the latter of oligarchical and official selfishness.

No one can doubt that it was frequently true. Equally certain, however, is the fact that each Governor in turn was honestly desirous of doing his duty by the people along lines which would, according to the light given him in those days, prevent them from practising radical principles which were considered, even in England, to be much the same as republican ones and to therefore involve in the case of Canada probable annexation to the United States. This somewhat natural dread of American contiguity and influence was the dominating factor in the policy of the Governors and of the Tory party for a period of more than fifty years. To the same party in Quebec the political dominance of the vast French majority, led by men like Papineau, Chénier or Eric Dorion, seemed to involve the local suppression of British institutions, the victory of French republicanism, laws, religion, language and government in every detail. In Ontario the bitter radicalism of Gourlay, Mackenzie and other leaders meant to them the gradual Americanizing of public life and institutions. This to the immediate descendants of the United Empire Loyalists was naturally as evil a thing as the execution of Charles I. was to his

devoted Cavaliers. In the Maritime Provinces the feeling on neither side was so keen. Nearly all—settlers and politicians alike—were Loyalists and thus to some extent the struggle was plainly a constitutional contest. Even there, however, the issues were complicated, though in a minor degree, by similar charges and fears.

Upon the Liberal side there were, of course, many genuine grounds of complaint. The chief issue was the question of how far a Colonial Assembly could imitate in its local powers and functions the Imperial House of Commons. Uncontrolled expenditures, the distinct dominance of a class, the exclusion of many deserving men from share in the Government of the country, were general and easily understood grievances—complicated by local issues such as the administration of the seigneurial tenure or feudal land system in Lower Canada, the religious controversies connected with the allotment of Government reserved lands to the Church of England in Upper Canada, or the question of Government patronage in all the Provinces. And then, after the Rebellion, came the long disputes as to the mode of applying the principles of self-government supposed to have been recognized and conceded. Unfortunately, prior to 1837, both Mackenzie and Papineau had furnished a substantial basis to those who charged them with being republicans and annexationists. If it had not been for the continuous introduction of this spectre into the controversies, conciliation would have been easy on the one hand, and compromise on the other. Had there been that moderation in the popular leaders of the thirties which characterized Baldwin, Lafontaine, Howe and Fisher in the controversies of the forties, no rebellion would have taken place, responsible government would have come with equal certainty and in more effective and kindly operation, and a dark page in our annals would have never been turned over. To say that the Rebellion brought freedom to our people has been a most inaccurate, though common statement. Popular government was inevitable here as it was in England. But it was hardly developed in the Mother Country itself to the degree which some demanded in Canadian pre-rebellion days, while the whole question was complicated to the Imperial authorities by

the existence here of a great French party of, at that time, doubtful loyalty, of a radical English section with declared American views, and of the clearly-expressed belief amongst the ruling classes that too much concession of self-government to such elements in the population would involve ultimate separation. It was all very natural under the circumstances. Out of the whole prolonged controversy our present constitution has fortunately evolved, but only through long years of that conciliation and compromise which some Canadians refused to practise in 1837.



Charles Poulett Thomson, 1st Lord Sydenham.

Following the Rebellion came Lord Dufferin's visit to Canada in 1838 and his famous Report, recommending that the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada be re-united, with one Legislature; that the Maritime Provinces be induced, if possible, to join them in the eventual creation of a wider Union, having Provincial Legislatures and a Federal Parliament; and that, meantime, the policy made possible through the appointment of Provincial Executive Councils under the Act of 1791 be carried out by the making of those

bodies fully responsible to the Legislatures concerned. An Inter-colonial railway and a system of municipal self-government were also advised. In 1840 the Union of Upper and Lower Canada was effected under the wise supervision and active labours of Lord Sydenham, with a Governor appointed by the Crown; an Executive Council of eight members responsible (nominally) to the Assembly; a Legislative Council of, at least, twenty members appointed for life by the Crown (changed to an elective system in 1856); a Legislative Assembly of 84 members—42 for each Province—elected by popular vote for a maximum period of four years and with the requirement of a high property qualification from each member. It was understood that the Assembly was to control the revenue in return for providing all the necessary expenses of Government, and that Judges were not to be dismissed upon political grounds. In the operation of this system the French question came in once more. The Canadians of that nationality had long been angered at their complete, and then partial, exclusion from the Government of their own Province and they now found themselves for a short time in much the same condition as regarded the United Provinces. The position soon changed, however, and it was not many years before Upper Canada was crying out against alleged French "domination". The first Ministry under the Union, at the meeting of Parliament on June 14th, 1841, was as follows:

William Henry Draper.	Robert Baldwin.
Robert Baldwin Sullivan.	Dominick Daly.
Samuel Bealey Harrison.	Charles Richard Ogden.
Charles Dewey Day.	John Henry Dunn.
	Hamilton Hartley Killaly.

It did not last very long in this form, and during the next few years the changes in *personnel* were innumerable, although a few men usually dominated the situation more or less. With the appointment of the first Baldwin-Lafontaine Ministry (1842) a new struggle for responsible government commenced—complicated by the political position of the French-Canadians in the Union. Lord Sydenham, during the brief period ended by his death, had fully recognized the general principle though he can hardly be said to

have practised it. His personality and influence was perhaps too strong. His successor, Sir Charles Bagot, during a short administration faithfully endeavoured to carry it out. Sir Charles (Lord) Metcalfe could see no place for the Governor-General in the proposed system and maintained a gallant struggle for his prerogative and *prestige* against the growing power of his Council. During the following two decades the functions and membership of this Executive Council, or Ministry, were in a continuous state of change. There was no Premier, as now understood, though after a time the Attorney-General East (Lower Canada) and the Attorney-General West (Upper Canada) came to be recognized as the practical leaders and chiefs of the Council. In 1848, the important Reform Administration of Robert Baldwin and Louis Hyppolite Lafontaine was formed and lasted three years with a full and final recognition of responsible Government. The Ministries which followed were successively under the dual control of Francis Hincks and A. N. Morin; A. N. McNab and A. N. Morin; E. P. Taché and John A. Macdonald; George Brown and A. A. Dorion (two days); George E. Cartier and John A. Macdonald; J. Sandfield Macdonald and L. V. Sicotte; J. Sandfield Macdonald and A. A. Dorion; E. P. Taché and John A. Macdonald; Sir N. F. Belleau and John A. Macdonald.

In the Maritime Provinces the recognition of responsible government came to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1848, and to Prince Edward Island in 1851. In Nova Scotia the men who constituted the first Ministry of this nature (January 28, 1848) were James Boyle Uniacke, Michael Tobin, Joseph Howe, James McNab, Herbert Huntingdon, William F. DesBarres, Lawrence O'Connor Doyle and George R. Young. James W. Johnston was the eloquent and able leader of the Conservatives. In New Brunswick the principle was differently administered, even when fully recognized, and for years there was no Cabinet as now understood. The Ministers in 1848, however, were George Shore, H. Johnston, Edward Barron Chandler, R. L. Hazen, C. I. Peters, T. Baillie, A. Rankin and G. S. Hill. Neither Charles Fisher nor L. A. Wilnot, the two great leaders in the movement, was a member of the Government until 1849. In Prince Edward Island George

Coles, James Warburton, William Lord, Charles Young, Stephen Rice, George Birnie, Joseph Pope, John Jardine and Edward Whelan held office during 1851.

Meanwhile, in the Canadas, the French-Canadians had obtained their full share of control in the Government, and Sir C. Metcalfe, writing to the Colonial Office as early in the history of the Union as April 25th, 1843, declared that: "The parties into which the community is divided are the French-Canadian, the Reform party and the Conservative party. The Reform



The Hon. Sr. Etienne Paschal Taché.

party are by their opponents branded as republicans and rebels, and the Conservatives by them as Tories and Orangemen. The French party is the strongest from being thoroughly united." It was little wonder that he found it difficult to combine the maintenance of high ideals of vice-regal right with the practice of popular Government amongst such shifting sands of party faction as here had to be dealt with. But Lord Elgin's coming put an end to this struggle with the difficulties incidental to an untried constitutional

experiment, and under his able hand and administration the question was solved, and the Ministry, as above noted, made finally and fully responsible to the Assembly. With the settlement of this problem came a peculiarly difficult phase in the current conflict of racial and religious interests. Upper Canada wanted larger representation in the Legislature because of its increase in population, and this the Lower Province resisted as being an infraction of the terms of Union. Representation by population became the battle-cry of Ontario Reformers, coupled with denunciation of French-Canadian denomination. Cabinets rose and fell, parties split into fragments, coalitions were formed and broken, dead-lock finally reigned supreme. Then came the American abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, the threat of coercing Canada into annexation, the supreme effort at recovery by a faction-torn people, and the final achievement of Confederation in 1867. During the twenty-six preceding years the following had been the chief constitutional and political events:

- First United Parliament meets at Kingston..1841  
 Municipal Act for Upper Canada.....1841  
 Sir Charles Bagot Governor-General of British America .....1841  
 The Ashburton Treaty.....1842  
 The first Liberal Executive Council in the Canadas formed .....1842  
 Executive authority in Nova Scotia separated from the Legislative Council .....1842  
 Lord Metcalfe, Governor-General.....1843  
 Resignation of Canadian Liberal Executive .....1844  
 John A. Macdonald enters Parliament .....1844  
 Montreal the capital of the Canadas.....1844  
 Earl Cathcart, Governor-General .....1845  
 Oregon Boundary Treaty.....1846  
 Repeal of Imperial Preferential Duties.....1846  
 Lord Elgin, Governor-General .....1847  
 Canada given control of its Customs.....1847  
 Responsible Government granted New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.....1848  
 Dual language system introduced in Canadian Parliament.....1849  
 Canadian Amnesty Bill pardons the rebels of 1837 .....1849  
 Rebellion Losses Bill passes Canadian Parliament.....1849  
 Parliament Buildings at Montreal burned...1849  
 Toronto the capital of the Canadas.....1849  
 First Governor of Vancouver Island appointed 1850  
 Control of Postal matters accorded Canada..1851  
 Responsible Government granted Prince Edward Island. ....1851  
 Municipal Loan Fund Act in Canada.....1852  
 Canadian Legislature increased to 130 members .....1853  
 Reciprocity Treaty with United States.....1854  
 Sir Edmund W. Head, Governor-General...1854  
 Clergy Reserves (U.C.) abolition Act.....1854  
 Seigneurial Tenure (L.C.) abolished .....1854  
 Volunteer system introduced in the Canadas1854  
 Canadian Legislative Council made elective.1856  
 Ottawa selected by the Queen as the future Canadian Capital.....1858  
 Decimal Currency established.....1858  
 Executive Councils appointed by Governors of Vancouver Island and British Columbia.....1858  
 Double majority principle, by which the Canadian Executive was supposed to require a majority from each of the two Provinces, abandoned .....1858  
 Quebec the Capital of the Canadas.....1859  
 Visit of the Prince of Wales to British America .....1860  
 Corner-stone of Parliament Buildings at Ottawa laid .....1860  
 Lord Monck, Governor-General .....1861  
 Trent Affair and troubles with United States.1861  
 Political deadlock and coalition Ministry in Canada .....1864  
 Abrogation of Reciprocity Treaty.....1866  
 Fenian Raids.....1866  
 Canadian Parliament first meets at Ottawa..1866  
 Union of Vancouver Island and British Columbia.....1866

A variety of causes brought about Confederation. In a sense deadlock was its parent in the Canadas where the strife between parties had reached a stage in which the separation of the two Provinces seemed the only means of placating troubles arising out of intense racial and religious feeling. Yet, disruption of the Union meant increased weakness of organization, policy and influence at a moment when United States hostility was being actively expressed in the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty; tacitly shown in the toleration of the Fenian Raids; and pleasantly pictured forth as to possibilities by the evolution of a million soldiers from the recent Civil War. So it was that external pressure largely helped to avert internal disintegration and to bring about closer Provincial union. And the kindly help, advice and co-operation of the Mother-Country must not be forgotten. In the Maritime Provinces the practical application of

the principle first arose in the form of a proposed local union, and here the name of Sir Charles Tupper stands out foremost amongst the Fathers of Confederation and second only upon the Canadian canvas of historic fame to that of Sir John A. Macdonald. After these two come George Brown, of Upper Canada, Sir George Cartier, of Lower Canada, and Sir Leonard Tilley, of New Brunswick. The steps leading up to this great solution of the difficulties of government, trade, finance, defence and tariff in the British American Provinces are of much historic importance and the genesis of the idea may be traced as follows:\*

1. General Francis Nicholson proposes the union of all the Anglo-American Colonies.....1690
2. Pownall, Hutchinson and Franklin propose a Confederation of the same Colonies.....1754
3. William Smith (afterwards Chief Justice of Quebec) suggests a plan of Union but is forced to leave the revolting Colonies,1775
4. Colonel Morse proposes a Union of the remaining British possessions in North America.....1783
5. R. J. Uniacke favours the idea in the Legislature of Nova Scotia.....1809
6. Chief Justice Sewell outlines a scheme of federation in a letter to the Duke of Kent.....1814
7. Sewell, John Beverley Robinson and Dr. Strachan, propose a plan in a pamphlet addressed to the British Government ...1824
8. Robert Gourlay advocates the idea in a published pamphlet.....1825
9. William Lyon Mackenzie supports it in a speech.....1831
10. Resolution passed in favour of the principle by Imperial Parliament.....1837
11. Recommended by Upper Canada Assembly and Council.....1838
12. Dr. John Strachan writes in favour of it.1838
13. Lord Durham's Report favours it as a solution of current difficulties.....1839
14. George R. Young, of Nova Scotia, writes a favourable pamphlet.....1840
15. Major Warburton, M.P., in his *Hochelaga*, favours it.....1846
16. Major Robinson and Captain Henderson in report on Intercolonial Railway favour it upon military grounds.....1848
17. Legislative Council of Canada advocates Union in an Address .....1849
18. Meeting in Montreal, attended by Hon. John A. Macdonald, passes a favourable resolution.....1851
19. Earl of Derby, in Imperial Parliament, urges action in this direction .....1851
20. Hon. W. Hamilton Merritt, in Canadian Legislature, proposes a Convention of fifty persons to frame a constitution.....1851
21. Colonel Rankin supports Federal Union in the same Legislature.....1851
22. The Hon. J. W. Johnston, Conservative leader in Nova Scotia, advocates Union in that Legislature .....1854
23. P. S. Hamilton, Nova Scotia, writes a strong pamphlet in favour of the idea ...1855
24. The Hon. J. H. Gray supports the principle in the New Brunswick Legislature.1856
25. Hon. J. W. Johnston and Hon. A. G. Archibald, at the instance of the Nova Scotia Government, press the policy upon the Colonial Secretary's attention..1857
26. J. C. Taché writes a series of favourable articles in *Courrier du Canada*.....1857
27. The Hon. A. T. Galt advocates Federal Union in speeches at Toronto, Sherbrooke and in the Legislature .....1858
28. The Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee favours it in the Canadian Legislature .....1858
29. The Governor-General (Sir E. W. Head) in his speech closing the Session of Canadian Legislature proposes to communicate with the different Governments concerned.....1858
30. The Hon. G. E. Cartier, Hon. John Ross and Hon. A. T. Galt sent to England to propose the Imperial appointment of delegates from all the Provinces to discuss the question.....1858
31. The Hon. Alexander Morris lectures in its favour at Montreal.....1858
32. Liberal Convention in Toronto passes a resolution against Union .....1859
33. The Halifax *Reporter* publishes elaborate editorials in favour of Union—one being approved by the Prince of Wales during his visit.....1860
34. Canadian Legislature discusses the matter in connection with the Seat of Government question.....1860
35. Hon. Charles Tupper lectures in its favour at St. John, N.B. ....1860
36. Hon. John A. Macdonald favours it strongly in an address to the electors of Kingston .....1861
37. The Hon. George Brown reports from a Committee of the Canadian Legislature in favour of a Federal Union.....1864
38. Delegates from Maritime Provinces meet at Charlottetown to consider Maritime

\* NOTE. I have consulted various authorities in this table, but the chief is an elaborate statement by Mr. George Johnson in his *First Things in Canada*.

- Union and delegates from Canada appear and apply for permission to discuss the larger union .....1864
39. The Hon. Joseph E. Cauchon writes a favourable pamphlet .....1865

The result of the last mentioned gathering was the meeting of delegates at Quebec on October 10, 1864, from all the Provinces of British America—including Newfoundland, whose representatives were the Hon. (Sir) F. B. T. Carter and the Hon. (Sir) Ambrose Shea; and Prince Edward Island, whose delegates were Colonel Gray, Hon. E. Palmer, Hon. W. H. Pope, Hon. George Coles, Hon. T. H. Haviland, Hon. E. Whelan and Hon. A. A. Macdonald. From the other Provinces came what are commonly known as the "Fathers of Confederation," as follows:

*Canada.* The Hon. Sir Etienne P. Taché, Hon. John A. Macdonald, Hon. George E. Cartier, Hon. William Macdougall, Hon. George Brown, Hon. Alexander T. Galt, Hon. Alexander Campbell, Hon. Oliver Mowat, Hon. H. L. Langevin, Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee, Hon. James Cockburn, Hon. J. C. Chapais. *Nova Scotia.* The Hon. Charles Tupper, Hon. W. A. Henry, Hon. Jonathan McCully, Hon. Adams G. Archibald, Hon. R. B. Dickey. *New Brunswick.* The Hon. Samuel Leonard Tilley, Hon. John M. Johnston, Hon. Peter Mitchell, Hon. Charles Fisher, Hon. E. B. Chandler, Hon. W. H. Steeves, Hon. John Hamilton Gray.

The result of the Conference at Quebec was seventy-two Resolutions which practically constitute the British North America Act of 1867—so far as the terms and conditions of that measure are concerned. But there was to be a long struggle before complete success came. The Union Resolutions were adopted in the Canadian Assembly, in 1865, by 91 to 33 votes and in the Council by 45 to 85—fifty-four from Upper Canada and thirty-seven from Lower Canada constituting the favourable vote in the Assembly. After two general elections in New Brunswick, and a change of Government, the Resolutions were approved in July, 1866, by good majorities. In Nova Scotia, as in Canada, the Resolutions were adopted by the Legislature—on motion of the Hon. Dr. Tupper in the Assembly and by a vote of 31 to 19—

without a general election. Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland refused to come into the Union, while British Columbia and the North-West were not yet in a sufficiently organized and populated stage to deal with the question. In December, 1866, delegates from the four Provinces met in London to make the final arrangements. Mr. John A. Macdonald was appointed Chairman, and of the Quebec Conference members Messrs. Macdougall, Cartier, Galt, McCully, Tilley, Fisher, Johnston, Mitchell, Archibald, Tupper, Langevin and Henry were also present. New names amongst the delegates were those of the Hon. J. W. Ritchie, Hon. W. P. Howland and Hon. R. D. Wilmot. The final details were settled and on the 28th of March 1867, the Resolutions, after passing through the Imperial Parliament as the British North America Act, received the Queen's assent and became the constitution of the new Dominion of Canada on the ensuing First of July. Under the terms of this Federal constitution, or by virtue of British precedent and Canadian practice, the following system was then established or has since evolved:

1. A Governor-General representing the Queen, appointed by the Crown for five years, and holding practically the same place in the Canadian constitution as the Sovereign does in Great Britain.

2. A Cabinet composed of members of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, who may be chosen from either branch of Parliament, and whose chief is termed the Premier. He has usually been Leader of the House of Commons as well as Leader of his party. The Cabinet must command the support or confidence of a majority in the Commons. There are twelve Ministers and usually one or more without office.

3. A Senate whose members are appointed for life by the Governor-General-in-Council. It is composed of 78 members who must possess property qualification, be thirty years of age, and British subjects. They receive \$1,000 for a Session of thirty days, with travelling expenses.

4. A House of Commons composed of members elected for a maximum period of five years by popular vote—from 1898 under the franchise of the respective Provinces. There is no property qualification but members must be 21 years of age, British subjects and not disqualified by



law. There are 213 members and the Sessional Allowance is \$1,000.

5. The Provincial Governments are composed of the Lieutenant-Governor, appointed for a term of five years by the Governor-General-in-Council; the Cabinet or Ministry, composed of departmental officers selected from either House of the Legislature, and often additional members without office; a Legislative Council in Nova Scotia and Quebec composed of members appointed for life by the Provincial Government or Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, and in Prince Edward Island elected by the people; and a Legislative Assembly elected for four years by popular vote. In all the Provinces manhood suffrage, limited by residence and citizenship, is the law except in Prince Edward Island.

6. Under the Union the Dominion Parliament was to have control of the general affairs of the Dominion, including matters not specifically delegated to the Provincial authorities. The chief subjects were:

- (1) The regulation of trade and commerce.
- (2) The postal system.
- (3) The public debt, public property, and borrowing of money on public credit.
- (4) The militia, and all matter connected with the local defence of the country.
- (5) Navigation, shipping, quarantine, and the coast and inland fisheries.
- (6) Currency and coinage.
- (7) Banks, weights and measures, bills and notes, bankruptcy and insolvency.
- (8) Copyright and patents of invention and discovery.
- (9) Indians, naturalization and aliens.
- (10) Marriage and divorce.
- (11) Customs and excise duties.
- (12) Public works, canals, railways and penitentiaries.
- (13) Criminal law and procedure.

The Provincial Legislatures were to have control of certain specified subjects, including:

- (1) Direct taxation within the Province.
- (2) The borrowing of money on the credit of the Province.
- (3) The management and sale of public lands in the Province, and of the wood and timber thereon.
- (4) The establishment, maintenance and management of prisons and reformatories, hospitals, asylums, and charitable institutions generally.
- (5) Licenses to saloons, taverns, shops and auctioneers.

(6) Control of certain public works wholly situated in the Province.

(7) Administration of justice, including the organization of Provincial Courts.

(8) Education.

(9) Municipal institutions.

Under the terms of the British North America Act, Ontario has 92 representatives in the House of Commons, Quebec 65, Nova Scotia 20, New Brunswick 14, Prince Edward Island 5, Manitoba 7, British Columbia 6, and the North-West Territories 4. The basis, according to population, is that of Quebec with its 65 members, and a re-arrangement takes place after each decennial census. The average population to each representative is 22,688. On July 1st, 1867, the first Dominion Ministry was formed by Sir John A. Macdonald. His colleagues were the Hon. Alexander Tilloch Galt, Hon. William Macdougall, Hon. George Etienne Cartier, Hon. Samuel Leonard Tilley, Hon. Jean Charles Chapais, Hon. Alexander Campbell, Hon. Peter Mitchell, Hon. William Pearce Howland, Hon. Adam Johnston Ferguson-Blair, Hon. Edward Kenny, Hon. Hector Louis Langevin and Hon. Adams George Archibald.

Following this union of the four older Provinces of British America under the common name of Canada—Upper Canada becoming the Province of Ontario and Lower Canada the Province of Quebec—came a period of continuous territorial expansion. The vast Hudson's Bay Company possessions were purchased by the Dominion in 1869 and on July 15th, 1870, a portion of that country entered Confederation as the Province of Manitoba—after passing through the storms of the Red River Rebellion. On July 20th, 1871, British Columbia followed the example thus given. A Resolution in favour of Confederation had passed its Legislature during 1867 but had encountered some opposition from Governor Seymour and his Ministers. On January 29th, 1868, a large public meeting was held in Victoria and an active agitation started by the Hon. Amor de Cosmos, and others, which resulted in the formation of a League on May 21st to advocate the policy of union. J. F. McCreight, John Robson, Robert Beaven, Hugh Nelson, H. P. P. Crease and other afterwards prominent citizens also joined in the movement. The chief opponent of the scheme

was Dr. Helmcken, who seems to have had a strong American, if not annexationist, feeling. A great debate on the question commenced in the Assembly on March 9th, 1870, and a favourable Resolution based upon arrangements proposed by Governor Musgrave was finally carried unanimously. Messrs. Helmcken, Carrall and J. W. Trutch were then sent to Ottawa and the terms finally settled—the principal item of discussion, then and afterwards, being a pledge by the Dominion to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway. By such means only could the Province be brought into Confederation in any other than the barest technical and constitutional sense.

In 1876 the great unorganized territories came up for arrangement and Keewatin was first formed into a District under the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. In 1882 Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Athabasca were organized under a Lieut.-Governor with a capital at Regina and institutions which slowly developed until in 1898 they might be termed fully self-governing. There were various phases in this progress. A Lieut.-Governor and Crown-appointed Council; an Advisory Council of four members chosen from an elected Assembly of twenty-two members; an Executive Council and Legislative Assembly with full provincial powers—except as to borrowing money and control of the Crown Lands. Then, in 1898, came complete responsible government. On Oct. 2nd, 1895, by a Dominion Order-in-Council the still unorganized territory of a million square miles had been formed into the Districts of Ungava, Franklin and Mackenzie and placed under the Regina Government. In 1897 there was another change and the District of Yukon was created and in the following year taken under Dominion jurisdiction. Meanwhile, in 1873, the Island of Prince Edward had entered the Union\*. During the years following Confederation the Governors-General of Canada were as follows:

	Date of Appointment.	Assumption of Office.
Viscount Monck.....	June 1, 1867...	July 1, 1867
Lord Lisgar. ....	Dec. 29, 1868...	Feb. 2, 1869
Marquess of Dufferin		

and Ava.....	May 22, 1872...	June 25, 1872
Marquess of Lorne...	Oct. 5, 1878...	Nov. 25, 1878
Marquess of Lans-		
downe .....	Aug. 18, 1883...	Oct. 23, 1883
Earl of Derby.....	May 1, 1888...	June 11, 1898
Earl of Aberdeen....	May 22, 1893...	Sept 18, 1893
Earl of Minto.....	July 25, 1898...	Nov. 12, 1898

The constitutional questions marking the thirty years following 1867 were those naturally connected with the working of a new Federal constitution and its application to varying Provincial conditions and ideals. The experience and advice of the Queen's Representatives from time to time were of immense service in smoothing over difficulties, in soothing racial or religious prejudices, and in keeping all things within their power along the stable lines and dignified formulas of the historic Imperial system. The Governors-General had to individually evolve from precedent and from common-sense practice a position in which their duties as the responsible representative in Canada of the interests of the Empire should not conflict with their duties as the head of a limited monarchical system pledged to take the advice of Ministers responsible to the Canadian people. It was a difficult task, but upon the whole has been admirably worked out.

In his first Speech to the Dominion Parliament, 8th July, 1867, Lord Monck outlined some of the subjects which had to be moulded into shape. They may be mentioned as illustrating the work of a constitutional nature coming before the early legislators of the Dominion. Assimilation of Provincial laws relating to Currency, Customs, Excise and Revenue; the preparation of a uniform Postal System and of uniform laws respecting Patents, etc.; assumption and management of Public Works and properties; organization of the Militia; organized administration of Indian affairs; regulations for the naturalization of Aliens; assimilation of the Criminal law and of laws affecting Bankruptcy and Insolvency. Time passed on, and the troubles over the Hudson's Bay Territories and in connection with Nova Scotian protests against Confederation were surmounted; the Canadian Pacific Railway was built, and Canada united from ocean to ocean; the "National Policy" of protection was established. The chief constitutional and political events of the period were as follows:

\*NOTE. See Senator Macdonald's article elsewhere in this Section.

Sir John Macdonald, Prime Minister	1st July, 1867
General Elections	August, 1867
Resolutions favouring acquisition of North-West Territories passed	Dec. 11th, 1867
Independence of Parliament Act	1868
Nova Scotia granted better terms	January, 1869
The Hon. Joseph Howe enters Dominion Ministry	" 1869
Red River Rebellion	October, 1869—September, 1870
Dr. Tupper joins Dominion Government	June 21st, 1870
Manitoba created a Province	1870
First General Elections in Manitoba	January, 1871
Joint High Commission meets at Washington, Feb. 25th to March 27th	1871
Resolutions admitting British Columbia to the Union pass Parliament by large majorities	March, 1871
New Brunswick Legislature practically abolishes Separate Schools	April, 1871
New Brunswick Legislature asks "better terms"	May 3rd, 1871
Treaty of Washington accepted by Canadian Parliament	May, 1872
Motion discussed in Parliament asking disallowance of New Brunswick School Act	May, 1872
Pacific Railway Parliamentary controversies	April to Nov., 1872
Parliament dissolved	July 8th, 1872
Oath's Bill disallowed by the Queen as being <i>ultra vires</i> of the British North America Act, and disallowance proclaimed	July 1st, 1873
Lord Dufferin refuses to interfere in Pacific Railway matter against the advice of his Ministers	Aug. 13th, 1873
Resignation of Macdonald Ministry	Nov. 5th, 1873
The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, Prime Minister	" 7th, 1873
Dual Representation—Provincial Legislature and Dominion Parliament—abolished	April, 1873
Parliament Dissolved	Jan. 2nd, 1874
Ballot Act passed by Parliament	1874
Supreme Court of Canada established	1875
North-West Territories separated from Manitoba	1876
Legislative Council in Manitoba abolished	1876
Royal instructions to Governor-General altered	1877
Halifax Fisheries Commission meets and awards Canada \$5,500,000	June-November, 1877
Scott Act, or Canadian Temperance Act, passed	March, 1878
Lieut.-Governor Letellier de St. Just of Quebec dismisses his Ministry	March 4th, 1878
Debate on Letellier case in House of Commons	April, 1878
Award regarding Boundaries of Ontario	Aug. 3rd, 1878
Parliament Dissolved	Aug. 17th, 1878
Sir John Macdonald, Prime Minister	Oct. 17th, 1878
House of Commons Resolution censuring Lieut.-Governor Letellier	Mar. 14th, 1879
Appeal by Lord Lorne to Colonial Office regarding Dominion Government's proposed dismissal of M. Letellier	1879
Important Despatch from Sir M. Hicks-Beach in reply	July 3rd, 1879
M. Letellier de St. Just dismissed from office	July 25th, 1879
Sir Leonard Tilley introduces "National Policy" Budget	March, 1879
Dominion Disallowance of Ontario Streams Bill	May 19th, 1881
Deceased Wife's Sister Bill passed	April, 1880
Arctic Archipelago transferred by Britain to Canada	1880
The Redistribution of Constituencies Bill	May, 1882
Parliament Dissolved	May 18th, 1882
Ontario and Manitoba Boundaries defined by Imperial Government	1884
North-West Rebellion	March-July, 1885
Dominion Franchise Bill passed	July, 1885
North-West Territories given representation in Federal Parliament	1886
Parliament Dissolved	Jan. 15th, 1887
The Atlantic Fisheries controversy with United States commences	1888
Quebec Legislature passes Jesuits' Estate Bill	1885
Agitation in favour of its disallowance throughout the Dominion commences	1889
Parliament refuses to censure Government for non-disallowance	March, 1889

Abolition of Provincial Separate Schools by Manitoba Legislature	1890
Parliament Dissolved	Feb. 3rd, 1891
Sir John Abbott, Prime Minister	June-December, 1892
Behring Sea controversy with United States commences	1892
Sir John Thompson, Prime Minister, Dec., 1892—December, 1894	1894
Intercolonial Conference at Ottawa	1894
Sir Mackenzie Bowell, Prime Minister, Dec., 1894—April, 1896	1896
Manitoba School Question becomes acute	1896
Remedial Order issued by Dominion Government commanding Manitoba to restore the Roman Catholic Schools	1896
Sir Charles Tupper, Prime Minister	May—July, 1896
Parliament Dissolved	April 24th, 1896
The Governor-General refuses to sanction certain Orders in Council and compels Sir Charles Tupper's resignation	July, 1896
Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister	July, 1896
Settlement of the Manitoba School Question	1897
Franchise Bill adopting Provincial Franchises for application to Dominion elections passed	May, 1898

In Canada, as in all young countries, political and constitutional questions have often been so intertwined in cause and effect as to have made distinct popular consideration difficult. This fact can be illustrated almost at random. In the Canadian Pacific Railway political controversies of 1873 the question of Lord Dufferin's constitutional relationship with his Ministry was a pivotal point. In the New Brunswick School question; the Jesuits' Estates agitation and fierce discussions; the Manitoba School problem in all its prolonged and varying phases; the constitutional and really more important point was often lost sight of in the stormy religious or racial controversies engendered from time to time. The Redistribution Bill and the Franchise Bill and, indeed, most of the laws for regulating, arranging or widening the franchise—Provincial or Federal—have been made the subjects of violent political discussion. In this respect, however, Canada is not different from older countries. The question raised in 1885 regarding the carrying out of the sentence of death upon Louis Riel, for his part in the North-West Rebellion, was in its inception and influence largely political, in its progress racial and religious, in its issue emphatically constitutional. Had the Dominion Government given way to the clamour raised against the execution—a clamour based partly upon his being a French-Canadian and a Roman Catholic, partly upon the claim that the Rebellion was due to careless Dominion administration—all Federal authority over the Provinces in a national and constitutional sense would have been weakened. It would have meant the domination of a race in one Province

over any other section of the Dominion in which local issues might be raised affecting, or supposed to affect, some individual interest of that particular portion of the people.

In the School questions which arose—first in New Brunswick and then in Manitoba—the demand was for Federal intervention in behalf of a Roman Catholic Provincial minority which considered itself entitled to Separate Schools and objected to what are termed “national” or mixed schools. In the former case the Dominion Government resisted the demand as well as the

religious minority in Manitoba had the right of appeal against any alleged ill-treatment by the majority, to the Governor-General-in-Council. From this latter decision resulted the Remedial Order of the Bowell Cabinet and the unsuccessful Remedial Bill of the Tupper Ministry. The former was defied by the Provincial Government, which declined to restore the Separate Schools on any terms, and the latter did not prove acceptable either to Parliament, or to the people in the ensuing Federal elections. By the compromise effected under Sir Wilfrid Laurier the schools were not restored, though various meliorating regulations were arranged.

The boundary question was, of course, a distinct issue between the Provincial and Federal authorities, and the dispute at one time assumed serious dimensions. Ontario was, in the main, successful through the decision of the Imperial Privy Council; as it also was in several other matters of disputed powers or jurisdiction, such as the appointment of Queen’s Counsel, and the Streams and Rivers’ Bill Disallowance Case. The Red River Valley Railway dispute of 1888 involved the serious question of the right of a local Manitoban railway under Provincial auspices to infringe clearly defined Federal arrangements guarding the Canadian Pacific Railway against competition in certain directions. The dispute became very acute, and at one time the scene of construction at the place where the one road was to cross the other was a point of possible conflict. The Supreme Court of Canada decided in favour of the constitutional right of the Province, and the Dominion difficulty with the Canadian Pacific was settled by an outside arrangement. In the Jesuits’ Estates question “Provincial rights” were, curiously enough, asserted and maintained by the Federal authorities rather than by those of the Province. The demand from people in other Provinces—especially from the aggressive Protestant section of sentiment in the Dominion—was strongly in favour of the disallowance of the Quebec measure by which the Mercier Government had undertaken to pay \$400,000 in restitution of the old claims of the Jesuit Order in that Province. The Dominion Government declared the legislation to be legal and within the rights of the Province, and, despite



The Hon. Sir Narcisse Fortunat Belleau.

additional pressure which naturally came from French and Catholic Quebec. The case was relegated to the Courts and went through the usual channels to the Imperial Privy Council where the appeal was dismissed. The Manitoban case in different forms was twice appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council. By the terms of the first decision it was practically declared that the Manitoban legislation of 1890 was not unconstitutional. By the second decision it was made clear that the

much outside agitation, was supported by a very large Parliamentary majority—188 against 13.

The Province of Quebec since Confederation has also been the scene of two interesting constitutional discussions concerning the right of a Lieutenant-Governor to dismiss his Ministers. As usual, however, they became so complicated with the party points involved that the people in some measure lost sight of the more important matter. In the first case, Lieutenant-Governor Letellier de St. Just—a Liberal in his personal opinions—dismissed his Conservative Ministry, headed by M. de Boucherville, for alleged failure to submit important documents, etc., for his consideration and signature. He called in the local Liberal leader, M. Joly de Lotbinière, who managed to hold office for some three years. The Conservatives of the Province appealed to the Dominion Parliament against what they termed a partisan action by the Lieutenant-Governor and the latter's cause was in turn championed by the Liberal party at Ottawa—then in power under Mr. Mackenzie. Sir John Macdonald took the old Liberal ground that the dismissal of the Ministry was an infraction of the principle of responsible government—under which the advice of a Ministry possessing a Legislative majority is supposed to be binding upon the Governor-General or Lieutenant-Governor. The present contention of the Liberals, and later that of Lord Lorne also, was, that when M. Joly took and held office he assumed the responsibility for his predecessor's dismissal and thus relieved the Governor entirely. There can now be little doubt—apart from the original cause of the trouble—that this was the correct constitutional position. When Sir John Macdonald came into power in 1878 the Dominion Parliament passed a resolution by a party vote censuring the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, and the Cabinet decided to dismiss him from office. This was done in the following year despite Lord Lorne's objection and an appeal by him to the Colonial Office which resulted in his being practically told to follow the advice of his Ministers. This action, as the Governor-General pointed out, might have had the effect of degrading the office of Lieutenant-Governor from a position representative of the Sovereign in a Province to that of voicing

the wishes of a partisan Federal majority. Fortunately it has not done so. Time brought to M. de Boucherville one of the most remarkable revenges in all history. In December, 1891, Lieutenant-Governor A. R. Angers—a Conservative—dismissed the Liberal Ministry, headed by M. Honore Mercier, under direct charges of serious corruption, and called upon M. de Boucherville to form a Government. The latter did so and swept the Province in the ensuing elections. The Conservative party was in power at Ottawa, but, needless to say, M. Angers was far indeed from any danger of dismissal under the precedent previously set. From a constitutional standpoint the party questions at issue in either case were immaterial so long as the Legislature or electorate approved the action of dismissal by supporting the succeeding Premier. But from a national point of view the two controversies show the desirability of divorcing constitutional from political considerations, just as they also prove that the two things are very often inextricably mixed up in Canada.

Looking over the whole field of Canadian history during the thirty-two years since Confederation, however, it appears evident that there has been a gradual but marked change for the better in this respect. Mr. Poulett Thomson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, wrote to the Colonial Secretary on November 20th, 1839, that "the state of things here is far worse than I expected. The country is split into factions animated with the most deadly hatred to each other." Out of the then existing faction-feuds, as a result largely of Lord Sydenham's skilful manipulation, the Union of the Canadas was born, only to be plunged into a quarter of a century of further conflict—racial, religious, constitutional and territorial. Out of another constitutional deadlock came (in part) the Dominion of Canada. The inevitable disputes, incident probably to all Federal unions, have followed, but as time passes on a growing national unity has steadily soothed Provincial rivalries and obliterated difficulties, while the ever-present Imperial and impartial power expressed through appeals to the Privy Council, or the Colonial Office, has contributed greatly to the settlement of controverted constitutional points. The Provinces are losing their fear, or jealousy, of the central

authority in a widespread feeling which now makes the welfare of Canada, as a whole, more important to a Canadian than some fancied right or privilege of a particular portion of it. If there is an element of danger in this otherwise patriotic evolution it may be found in the alliance of Provincial and Federal parties for some common purpose, infringing, perhaps, the wise separation of the two jurisdictions. On the other hand, this development may help in a future lessening of the Government machinery in the Provinces. A legislative union of the Maritime Provinces would be a great financial benefit to the population locally,

while another legislative union of Ontario and Quebec, under new and happier auspices, would do much to consolidate Canadian nationality, and moderate Provincial expenditures and growing indebtedness. But this is purely theoretical. The facts of recent constitutional development in Canada remain to be once more finally summarized as having produced a condition where national unity is slowly rising superior to provincialism, or racial and religious prejudices, and where the Provinces, working within thoroughly-well understood and defined spheres, are losing the fears of Federal authority which once prevailed.



The Hon. John Robson,  
Prime Minister of British Columbia, 1889-92.

# CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF NEW BRUNSWICK

BY

S. D. SCOTT, M.A., Editor of the *St. John Sun*.

THE constitutional history of the Province of New Brunswick does not abound in spectacular features. No New Brunswicker ever thought it necessary to take up arms in defence of his constitutional liberties. No popular leader in the Province at any time engaged in a series of violent personal disputes with the representatives of the Crown. The Province began its career with the same system of Crown Government and the same aristocratic administration as did the older Provinces. In the process of time it obtained the same self-governing machinery as they have done. But in the case of New Brunswick the process was more gradual and less exciting than in either Nova Scotia or the Canadas.

For many years after the establishment of constitutional government in New Brunswick the dominant influence was highly Conservative. Set off from Nova Scotia the year following the Loyalist immigration, the Province of New Brunswick passed directly into the control of the United Empire men. Numerically a large majority of the population, the Loyalists were for a time socially, commercially and politically almost the whole community. A considerable proportion of the few previous settlers from New England, who lived on the St. John River or near Cumberland, had not, however, been in sympathy with the Crown in the great American conflict. The Yorkshire, Scotch and German colonies comprised merely scattered settlements, while the Acadians, though more numerous, were, for half a century a neglected quantity in the government of the country. When the Loyalists came to New Brunswick in 1783 they came to rule themselves, except so far as the Colony was controlled from England. They began by protesting against the domination of the senior

colonists in Nova Scotia and of the ruling class in Halifax. Governor Parr, of Nova Scotia, was surrounded by a Council composed chiefly of Halifax men, and the Loyalist settlers in the northern part of the mainland were impatient over the ineffective, and apparently negligent methods of the Administration. Their specific grievance was the delay of the Governor and his Council in surveying the land grants and issuing patents, but they also demanded proportionate representation in the House of Assembly.

In their first Address of welcome to Governor Carleton they referred to the "arrogance of tyranny," which he was expected to check, and "the growth of injustice" which was about to be crushed. The Nova Scotia Government was at the time embarrassed with the arrival of Loyalist immigrants looking for land and help, and perhaps it is not surprising that within a few months of the evacuation of New York the newcomers had not been provided with their patents of land nor allowed their full representation in the Legislature and Government. But it appears from other evidence that Governor Parr had not the energy and business gifts required for the emergency.

Had the Home Government risen to the occasion and grasped the fact that the new settlers would comprise a large majority of the whole population and that it was desirable at the earliest possible opportunity to get the immigrants on to the land; had the Colonial Office seen the need of more energetic administration and made the Council and Legislature represent, in their fair proportions, the newcomers as well as the older settlers; the history of the Maritime Provinces might have been widely different from what has been written. The immigrants to New Brunswick saw no hope of such appreciation of their

needs and position, and took the course that offered the best available remedy. They had large influence, and, in spite of Governor Parr's strenuous opposition, accomplished their design. It was in favour of their demand that the Colonial policy of that time seemed to prefer small colonies to large ones. Prince Edward Island had been created a separate Province fifteen years before, when the inhabitants numbered only a few hundreds. Cape Breton, with a few thousand inhabitants, was set off from Nova Scotia at the same time as New Brunswick. Seven years later the Canadas were divided. This is not the place to discuss the wisdom of these divisions, but the statesmen of Eastern Canada have many times during the last hundred years sought to re-unite the Provinces which were then divided.

The Province of New Brunswick was established by letters patent issued in August, 1784. The commission and instructions to Thomas Carleton, the first Governor, are in all essentials the same as those given to Governor Cornwallis, who was sent to Nova Scotia thirty-five years before. The first Executive Council called by the new Governor was also a Legislative Council. The members composed one of the ablest administrations that ever had charge of the affairs of an infant colony. Several of the Councillors had held high positions in the Executive or Judiciary of the revolted colonies. Eleven of the twelve were Loyalist refugees, or had been actively engaged as military officers under the Crown. The twelfth had come to the Province before the war, having rendered active assistance to the Empire, and been plundered more than once by Continental expeditions. It would appear at a first glance over the list that the military element predominated in the Council, but these revolutionary soldiers were not all professional soldiers. They had been leaders of the Bar and prominent business men in the other colonies before they took up arms for the King, and were prepared to resume their vocations when the fighting was over. This Council included the whole of the Judiciary, and the Provincial Secretary was a member of it. One of the Councillors became the first Mayor of St. John by the appointment of the Crown. Others held various local offices.

Within a few months after the first Council

was sworn in an Assembly was called. As there was no franchise law in existence all freeholders were invited to take part in the election, which took place in 1785. The Province had been provisionally divided into constituencies. This general Assembly met in St. John in January, 1786. A large body of statute law had been drafted, and the session was fruitful in legislation. The first measure was the establishment of counties and parishes, or townships. It is noticeable that in the earlier legislation in New Brunswick the English and American terms for these divisions are inter-changeable. But after the establishment of the Province we find little trace of the perpetuation of the New England town government system as it had existed in the settlements on the St. John River before the Revolution. At first the relations between the Assembly and the Council appear to have been cordial. Both represented the same elements and the Loyalist settlers had at this time no disposition to accept the catch-words of democracy.

The first Legislature continued six years and passed an Act fixing the franchise law, setting off the electoral districts and establishing the methods of elections. The spectacle was here presented of a House, elected by all the adult free-holders, limiting the franchise to the freeholder having real property in the constituency valued at twenty-five pounds or of twice that value if he were not himself a resident. An exception was made of St. John City, for whose two members all freemen with personal property valued at twenty-five pounds were entitled to vote. Almost the first act of the new Government was the organization of the oldest incorporated city in British America. It may have been due to the American training of the members of the Council that it was determined at the beginning to make St. John an incorporated city. The charter was given in May, 1785, hardly a year after the establishment of the Province, and it is known that its preparation was begun in 1784, and that the appointment of the Mayor was determined before the end of that year. The charter was prepared by the Attorney-General, Ward Chipman, and was confirmed at the first session of the Legislature. No other



city was incorporated in British America for nearly half a century afterwards. The second charter was that given to Toronto in 1834. Halifax had been established thirty-four years when St. John was founded, but half a century after St. John was an incorporated city Joseph Howe began his career as a reformer by demanding the incorporation of Halifax, and it was not until 1841 that his desire was accomplished. The city Government was from the first almost as democratic as it is now. The Mayor, it is true, was appointed by the Provincial Government, but the aldermen and assistant aldermen were elected by the freemen of the town. I may so far anticipate as to explain that from 1850 to 1854 the Mayor was elected by the City Council, and after that by the people. The appointment of the Recorder was reserved to the Crown, and this feature has, strange to say, been retained to the present time, though all other municipalities in the Province appoint their own legal advisers.

From 1784 to 1832 no important change took place in the political constitution of the Province. New counties were established as settlement advanced, and the House of Assembly became a larger body. Occasionally the Assembly and the Council came into more or less awkward collision. The members of the popular chamber, practically debarred from holding Provincial office, had no authority over the Administration, the command of supplies affording at first no serious check. Revenue and appropriation bills were at first so small that they did not count for much in a constitutional conflict. The supply list from which the general officials were paid was not in the control of the Legislature, and, though during the life of the first three Assemblies supply was stopped for some six or eight years in all, the Government went on without serious embarrassment. The sufferers were the settlers in the country, who ought to have had the advantage of road grants, but who got little assistance of the kind during the first twenty years.

The revenue from land grants and other territorial sources were collected by Imperial officers and expended by the direction of the Home Government, to which the Attorney-General, the Judiciary, the Governor and other servants of the Crown looked for their pay. So small was

the local appropriation that when the members of the second Assembly voted themselves seven shillings and six pence a day it was charged that they had appropriated about all the road grant. It was over this indemnity matter that the first collision between the Assembly and the Council occurred. When the Assembly voted pay for the members the Council threw out the appropriation. The Assembly then tagged the indemnity vote to the revenue bill in accord with time-honoured strategy. To throw out this bill would deprive the Province of a year's revenue, but that consideration did not save it. A quarter of a century later another collision occurred between the two bodies on the same matter. The indemnities voted were larger, and so was the supply bill, which by that time could not be thrown out with the same cheerfulness as in the first decade of New Brunswick history. The Assembly got the better of this conflict and the Council was soon so far reconciled as to accept a like indemnity.

From the establishment of the Province until 1832 the Council was both an executive and a legislative body, differing in that respect from the Council in the Canadas, but resembling that of Nova Scotia. The separation of the executive and legislative functions was not the result of a specific demand from within the Province for this particular change. It was never the habit of the advanced or reform element in New Brunswick to agitate in favour of changes on theoretical grounds. Only when the people considered that the prevailing system worked out some distinct harm did those injured, or their representatives, demand a remedy. So long as the living memory of the revolutionary war remained, the burden of proof in New Brunswick was strongly against any person who spoke of the rights of men, or who claimed to be a democrat. Yet the right of the people to know how they were governed and to determine how they should be governed gradually won its way.

From time to time the Legislative Council rejected bills that the Assembly had passed and, though their reasons may have been good, the fact that the Council sat with closed doors gave an occasion to think otherwise. So far as the financial affairs of the Province were concerned the

Imperial Government had the chief management down to 1825 and large control for many years afterwards. Imperial officers collected Imperial duties at New Brunswick ports. Imperial Commissioners of Forests managed to dispose of the Crown Lands. The Governor, the Judiciary, the Attorney-General, the Provincial Secretary, and other administrators were appointed by the Home Government and paid out of Customs and Crown Land revenues collected by Imperial officers. It was assumed that the surplus should be applied for the benefit of the Province and that the Council of New Brunswick should advise with the Colonial Office on all these matters. But the impression that prevailed in the Province was that the lion's share of the revenue went to support an unnecessarily expensive local administration and that some of the other uses to which the revenue was applied were of remote benefit to the people.

So when the Crown Land regulations were unsatisfactory, as they usually were; when the amount returned to the Province appeared to be small in proportion to the sums collected; when the salaries paid to Imperial officers in the Colony were judged to be excessive compared with the rewards for analogous services under control of an Assembly; there was demand for an accounting. In 1825 the Imperial Government conceded to the Legislature the control of the net receipts from Imperial Customs. It was not long before the Assembly began to examine the mouth of this gift-horse and to point out that the excessive cost of collection made the net revenue smaller than it ought to be. An Address of the House in 1827 pointed out that it cost nearly half the revenue to pay the salaries of collectors, one of whom received £1,500 sterling, while at another port the officers got £2,300 sterling, for collecting £6,000. Two years later the House declared in effect that it was the only judge of the salaries which ought to be paid to the local customs officers. Finally an allowance was agreed upon for the staff and in 1848 the whole of the control of the customs passed to the Colony. It will be observed that the period of self-government in this respect was somewhat belated in comparison with the progress of other colonies in British North America.

A somewhat similar process of development

took place in the Crown Land management. As early as 1819 the House adopted resolutions against a regulation concerning the cutting of pine timber and the exaction of a bond for the payment of a shilling a ton by the lumbermen. The Assembly claimed full information concerning the Crown Land revenue and expenditure, while the Governor, Sir Strathy Smythe, did not see his way clear to give such information. The conflict became so sharp that the Governor dissolved the House only to find the next Assembly still more determined to obtain knowledge. Sir Howard Douglas, who succeeded to the administration in 1824, had more modern ideas of Government prerogative than his predecessor and furnished all the returns which were called for. The specific grievance was first removed, and, after some negotiations carried on by delegations which the Assembly sent to England, as well as with Governor Douglas and his successor, an adjustment made in 1834 became operative in 1837, whereby the Province took over the Crown Land revenue and assumed the cost of maintaining the Governor, the Judiciary, and other branches of his Administration embraced in a civil list of £14,500. But this arrangement was not wholly satisfactory, as the people began to discover that the officers cost too much. The complaint was perhaps not without ground seeing that the officer in charge of the Crown Lands had an official income equal to that of the present Premier of Canada. Gradually the Province was allowed to make alterations in the civil lists and ultimately the whole control of salaries passed to the local Legislature. The last vestige of Imperial administration was in the Post Office Department, which for some years after self-government was supposed to be established in New Brunswick, remained under Imperial control. Only a few months before this article was written there died in St. John a retired officer who in his day had been the Imperial Deputy-Postmaster-General for the Province of New Brunswick.

As these events proceeded, and the Provincial autonomy became more pronounced, it was a matter of importance that there should at least be a good understanding between the Assembly and the Administration. While there had been

occasional instances of friction there was no explicit demand for the first important change which was made in the machinery of Government. It has been mentioned above that in 1832 the executive and legislative functions were separated and that an Executive Council was established which had not, as such, any legislative power. This change was not specifically asked for but was made at the instance of the Imperial Government to bring the Province into harmony with systems adopted elsewhere, and was intended to pave the way for the admission of members of the Assembly to a place in the Ministry. Yet it was six years before the Executive included a representative of the elected Chamber. In the former mixed Council the Judges had a large and sometimes almost predominant influence. Lord Glenelg had in his message to Nova Scotia admitted the objection to judicial control in purely political affairs but long after the division of the Executive and Legislative functions the Judges of New Brunswick had a share in the proceedings of both bodies. The Chief Justice was for several years President of the Legislative Council after it ceased to be an executive body.

New Brunswick was not then, as it is now, an episcopal Diocese, but the spirit of the times seemed to require a spiritual influence in the Cabinet, and as the Province was a part of the Diocese of Nova Scotia the Bishop of Nova Scotia had the privilege of sitting in both Provinces as a member of the Council. He remained a member of the New Brunswick Legislative Council after the executive functions were taken away and his name appears in the almanacs as late as 1845. Mr. Hannay in his *Life of Sir Leonard Tilley* says that the Bishop of Nova Scotia only sat once as a New Brunswick Councillor.

The movement in the Province towards responsible government, which gradually gained force and direction until 1848, when the system was in essential particulars recognized by formal resolution, could not properly be called an agitation. It was intermittent and unorganized, the advancement being impeded at times by the conservatism even of the Reformer, and at times assisted by the ambition and self-assertion of its opponents. For example, nearly all the public

men who called themselves Reformers refused for years to give up to the Executive the right to initiate money grants, without which monopoly responsible government, as now understood, would be impossible. Some vague idea prevailed that a Cabinet might be held accountable to the Assembly for the administration of public money and yet have no power to decide how much money should be spent, or for what purposes, or even to indicate in what way it should be raised. On the other hand the strongest advocate of the Vice-regal prerogative, within a year after he had led a majority of the House to vote for an Address to the Governor-General, Sir Charles Metcalfe, supporting the extreme views of the Royal prerogative which the latter had taken in 1843, brought about a Government crisis, because in 1845 the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick took their declarations seriously. Lieutenant-Governor Sir W. Colebrooke appointed his son-in-law and private secretary, Mr. Reade, who had accompanied him from England, to the position of Provincial Secretary of the Province, contrary to the desire of the Ministers. Most of the Cabinet resigned and sent home a strong remonstrance, which led to the cancellation of the appointment. This dispute brought a strong and effective argument, with some Conservative support, to the Liberal programme.

Charles Fisher, a clear headed man of strong opinions and with the courage to follow them to their logical conclusion, adhered from first to last to the principles of responsible government—including the surrender of the privilege of initiating money votes. L. A. Wilmot, afterwards a Judge and Lieutenant-Governor, had perhaps less original power but possessed the endowment of a public orator and was probably the most effective propagandist of the new doctrines. Among those who deserve a place with the pioneers of popular government in the Province are two Imperial administrators, Sir Howard Douglas and Sir John Harvey, who, at a time when other Colonial Governors were trying to impress upon the Home Government the danger of yielding to popular clamour, were disposed to assist the New Brunswick people to obtain the fullest constitutional privileges at that time exercised by the

people of England, and to prepare them to adapt themselves to the change.

While 1848 is supposed to be the beginning of the modern system it was only in crude form that the responsibility of government then existed. The Ministers could not bring themselves to act as a unit. Party government had not been introduced and it was a common thing for one or two members of the Administration to vote against a bill introduced by a Minister apparently as a Government measure. Not until after Sir Leonard Tilley became the Leader of the Government was the development of Cabinet government carried so far that the Ministers settled their policy in the Council and acted as a unit in view of the public. The Confederation campaign belongs to the history of Canada and I pass on to the development of the Province as a part of the Dominion of Canada. New Brunswick started in its career as a Canadian Province with a Legislative Council and an Assembly, the latter body continuing as large as before the Union. The principal constitutional change since then is the abolition of the Legislative Council, which was accomplished in 1892 after several motions

and resolutions and bills to that effect had been rejected by the Council itself. New Brunswick was the first Province which began its career in Confederation with a by-cameral system and changed it to the single system. The change was effected by allowing the Council to diminish by the death or retirement of its members until it was possible, through the appointment of a number of new members pledged to vote for abolition, to carry the measure through. The Administration, which was always heavily manned considering the amount of business to be done, has grown more ponderous by the establishment of a Department of Agriculture and now comprises six Ministers with offices, and two without. The Provincial franchise has been extended until it is now based upon manhood suffrage with conditions of residence, so that the last Assembly was elected by about the same franchise as the first one in 1785. The Assembly, which at Confederation was continued with the same Ministers as before the Union, was increased by a re-adjustment Act previous to the last general election. Five members were then added and the number of legislators is now forty-six.



The Hon. L. A. Wilmot.

## CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRESS IN NOVA SCOTIA

BY

The HON. J. W. LONGLEY, M.A., Q. C., M. P. P.

THE governing of Colonies—that is communities composed of persons who belong to a parent State, and who, in leaving it to seek new fields, bear with them allegiance to the country which they left—is a comparatively new problem. In ancient days when Greece and Rome had colonies neither Greece nor Rome had popular government, and the colonies were governed, as the people at home were, by military power.

The chief colonies of the world now are those owning allegiance to the British Crown. The British people before the beginning of the present century can hardly be said to have achieved popular government. They did not indeed reach its full fruition until the end of the reign of George III., but from that time until the present the whole march of events has been in the direction of giving almost absolute and unlimited power to the will of the masses of the people.

While wisdom in a very high degree has characterized British rule at home and abroad, it could scarcely be expected that the new problem of how to deal with communities of English people located in new countries, which had been taken possession of by themselves for the purpose of founding new homes, could be worked out without mistakes and difficulties. The earliest experiments in the government of British colonies applied to the thirteen provinces which ultimately formed the beginnings of the United States of America. The mistakes in the government of these colonies arose from a variety of causes. The initial difficulty was that completely popular government had not reached its stage of perfect development at home. The Crown exercised direct control over the Government, and this was often at variance with the popular will, while Ministers did not always depend absolutely upon the voice

of public opinion for the maintenance of their position. Beside this, the government of the colonies was complicated by charters and concessions which gave colourable right to the setting up of claims and pretensions which were bound to come in conflict with Imperial policy. The result of it all was a series of blunders and misunderstandings which lost to the British Crown the original English settlements which have by this time developed into a vast and powerful nation. One-half the continent of North America by some means failed to become absorbed into the new republic, and in this northern half, at the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, a number of small but growing and developing British communities existed, each presenting its own peculiar problems. In Canada the bulk of the people were still French and scarcely able to grasp or appreciate British methods of government. Ultimately this race difficulty led to the creation of two Provinces—Lower and Upper Canada—the latter being essentially British, and forming its institutions upon British ideals.

Of these British North American Provinces which remained loyal to the British Crown after the Revolutionary War, Nova Scotia may be reckoned as the oldest, and her system of developing government one of the most interesting. Originally it had been a French colony with headquarters at Port Royal (now Annapolis) and with settlements at Grand Pré, Windsor, and Chignecto. Annapolis was ultimately wrested from the French by the determined efforts of the British inhabitants of Massachusetts, and then Nova Scotia became a British colony, inhabited chiefly by French and Indians, but maintaining British authority at Port Royal—or Annapolis—by means of a British Governor and a British garrison.

In 1749, an English expedition, under the command of Edward Cornwallis, sailed into Chebucto Bay, landed on the peninsula of Halifax, and founded an English colony there. So successful was the settlement that during the year the seat of government was removed from Annapolis to Halifax, and the control of the Government placed in the hands of Cornwallis. The government of the Province, as a matter of fact, was nothing more nor less than the arbitrary rule of the Governor. He associated a number of prominent men in the colony with him as his Executive Council, and with the aid of this Council as his advisers and instruments, he enacted laws and enforced regulations for the peace, order, and good government of the Province. The people had nothing whatever to do with their own government.

But it would be inconceivable that people who had been trained in the maxims of government which were then beginning to develop in the Mother-Land could long submit to arbitrary government in any part of the world, and the instinctive desire to have a participation in moulding the policy and controlling the destinies of the country in which they proposed to spend their lives and bequeath homes to their children, naturally made its presence felt in a yearning for, and a seeking after, some direct share in the responsibilities of government. As early as 1755 Chief Justice the Hon. Jonathan Belcher made a report to Governor Charles Lawrence that the decrees issued by him with the concurrence of his Council, and which were attempted to be enforced as laws, had no legal sanction as laws under the genius of British institutions. This report, forwarded to the Colonial Secretary, was submitted for the opinion of the English law officers of the Crown, who reported that the Governor could not make laws, and that the only way in which laws could be enacted in any British community was by a Legislature in which the people were represented.

Reluctantly, in response to this intimation, the Governor made provisions for the holding of an election in the year 1758, and twenty-two men were chosen to constitute a House of Assembly for the Province, and this body held its first sitting in October of that year. The upper branch of the

Legislature consisted of a Council of twelve, in which were the Chief Justice, the Bishop of the English Church, the Attorney-General, the Provincial Secretary, and other high functionaries. This Council exercised both executive and legislative functions. Every Act passed by the popular branch had to receive the concurrence of this body, which sat with closed doors, and the revenue bills of the Province could not become effective unless approved by this Council of twelve. The popular branch had certain defined functions and powers. Its consent must be obtained before any law could be enacted. It could also refuse to vote supplies for the Government, although this was only a partial remedy, inasmuch as part of the civil list was payable out of casual and territorial revenue which was then under the control of the Government, and most of the salaries of the other high officials had already been fixed by statute.

This system of government bore the appearance of having the concurrence and participation of the people, but it was a very long way from responsible government, that is, government of the people and by the people. Executive government was carried on by a number of officials who had control under the authority of the Governor of all public affairs of the Province, and these officials were not dependent upon the support and confidence of the popular branch, but continued to hold office at the will of the Governor—notwithstanding the fact that the majority of the members of the popular branch were opposed in the main to their policy, and hostile to the officials themselves. The same condition of affairs existed here as in the other Provinces, a condition which must exist under such a system, namely, that most of the offices, honours, and emoluments would be divided amongst a few leading families in the shire towns, while the rights, interests, and aspirations of the masses of the people would be almost completely ignored.

Objections to this system of Government became very general in Nova Scotia as the population expanded and the Province grew in importance. After each general election it was found that the House of Assembly contained many men who were disposed to resist the overweening power of the Governor, and especially of the Council, and whose aim was to secure in a larger

degree the blessings of a system of government really popular.

These men continued to speak and advocate their views from session to session. They were free in criticising the abuses which prevailed in the public service and disposed to adopt all just and reasonable methods to secure an improvement. Up to the year 1836, however, they had made but extremely small progress. In fact, in that year no substantial improvement had taken place over the original system of government enacted in 1758. The year 1836 is especially mentioned because it was then that Joseph Howe first took his seat in the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, and became the supreme factor in the stirring events which led to the introduction of a complete system of responsible government in the Province.

Joseph Howe was born at Halifax in 1804. His father was a Loyalist, with all the instincts and traditions of the British Tory who preferred to leave his home to abandoning his allegiance to the Crown. He was a Tory upon his arrival, and very soon held the office of Queen's Printer under the Tory government. All Howe's brothers were Tories, and it is reputed that most of them were accustomed to vote against him when he was contesting elections in the city and county of Halifax. Although springing from a good family, young Howe was brought up in comparatively moderate circumstances, and early in life was apprenticed to a printer. In his boyhood, although deprived of the advantages of even a complete elementary education, he was a diligent reader, and indulged in poetry, and as he approached manhood his contributions to the press in prose and verse became quite voluminous. In 1828, Mr. Howe purchased the *Nova Scotian*, an established weekly paper, and became sole editor.

In the course of time Mr. Howe began to write upon political topics. Those who were seeking for a better and more popular system of government were S. G. W. Archibald, John Young, Beamish Murdoch, Charles Fairbanks, and Alexander Stewart, all of them men of marked ability. In the general election of 1830, the Liberals, so-called, were entirely successful, and continued efforts in the direction of reform were made in the

House of Assembly, but with no practical result. Resolutions affirming certain abstract principles were passed, but they were treated with contempt by the Council of twelve, which really exercised all the important functions of government, and were able to do this in spite of anything the popular branch might say or do. Mr. Howe had watched these proceedings with interest and written of them with vigour for some years. He first came into public note by a famous libel suit in which he was indicted for a very vigorous arraignment of the representative body of magistrates who were managing the affairs of the municipality of Halifax, which included the city not then incorporated. He defended himself in a magnificent speech of over six hours, and, though arraigned against him were the Governor, the Judges, the magistrates and all the privileged persons of the day, he succeeded in winning the hearts of the jury, was triumphantly acquitted, and at once became the hero of the masses in the city and province.

In 1836 he was first elected to Parliament and instantly began to attack the whole system of government which then existed. He had reached the conclusion that it was idle to palter with this question by soft and stereotyped methods. Inspired with the true spirit of a reformer he realized that to achieve something matters must be brought to a crisis, and he inaugurated, practically, as a Radical leader, during the first ensuing session of the Legislature, a series of vigorous and uncompromising attacks upon the old Council of twelve sitting with closed doors, composed of men holding their positions for life, amenable to no one, and arrogating to themselves all the offices, all the emoluments, and practically the exercise of all the power and patronage of the province. His method so alarmed the more moderate of the Liberal leaders that they were driven to the ranks of the party of privilege, and Howe created a new and advanced party, the aims and purposes of which can be gathered best at this date by some of the official utterances which they put before the world. During his first session in Parliament Mr. Howe moved twelve resolutions aimed at the existing abuses of government. The most important, as indicating the radical defect of the system of government, is

found embodied in the 11th resolution, which is as follows:

“Resolved, That while the House has a due reverence for British institutions, and a desire to preserve to themselves and their children the advantages of that constitution, under which their brethren on the other side of the Atlantic have enjoyed so much prosperity and happiness, they cannot but feel that those they represent participate but slightly in these blessings. They know that the spirit of that Constitution—the genius of those institutions—is complete responsibility to the people, by whose resources and for whose benefit they are maintained. But sad experience has taught them that, in this colony, the people and their representatives are powerless, exercising upon the local government very little influence, and possessing no effectual control. In England, the people, by one vote of their representatives, can change the ministry, and alter any course of policy injurious to their interests; here, the ministry are His Majesty’s Council, combining legislative, judicial and executive powers, holding their seats for life, and treating with contempt or indifference the wishes of the people, and the representations of the Commons. In England, the representative branch can compel a redress of grievances, by withholding the supplies; here, they have no such remedy, because the salaries of nearly all the public officers being provided for by permanent laws, or paid out of the casual and territorial revenues, or from the produce of duties collected under Imperial Acts, a stoppage of supplies, while it inflicted great injury upon the country, by leaving the roads, bridges and other essential services unprovided for, would not touch the emoluments of the heads of departments in the Council, or of any but a few of the subordinate officers of the government.”

These resolutions were adopted by the House, but they led to a great *furor* in the Council, which positively refused to vote the supply bill unless they were withdrawn. Mr. Howe, who was a splendid tactician, at once moved to rescind his resolutions, secured the passage of the supply bill, and then threw the resolutions into the form of an address to the Crown, and had them adopted at the last hours of the session.

At that particular period Lord John Russell was Colonial Secretary, and to him Mr. Howe addressed a series of letters opening up the whole Colonial question, and these letters, four in number, displayed a grip of the situation, and a wealth of valuable suggestion in regard to the system of Colonial government that would secure pleasant

and permanent relations between the Empire and the Colonies, which, looked at after the lapse of sixty years, seem to embody a wisdom and foresight that almost amounts to prophecy. Just previous to the writing of this series of letters Lord Durham had been sent by the British Government to visit the Canadas. This was due to the fact that the system of government applied to those provinces had reached such an acute stage that peace seemed impossible, and difficulty and danger presented themselves on every side. Lord Durham’s report was a magnificent state paper, and pointed out in clear and courageous terms the only lines upon which a successful system of colonial government could be administered. Mr. Howe took advantage of the occasion when this report was engaging a large measure of attention in Great Britain to unfold the principles of responsible government from the colonial point of view, and to endeavour to convince the Colonial Secretary, and through him the British Ministry, that not only were the views which Lord Durham propounded, as the only safe basis upon which colonial government could exist, sound and wise, but that they voiced the overwhelming sentiment of the people of the British North American provinces.

The difficulty at this time was to make British rulers understand that the principle of absolutely popular government, which worked so well in England, could be applied with safety to these rapidly-growing colonies beyond the sea. The result of colonial rule in the Thirteen Colonies, which had led to the humiliation of their loss, had left British statesmen in a somewhat confused condition in respect to true methods. They feared, on the one hand, that too much latitude would lead to independence; and they feared, on the other hand, that too much stringency would lead to rebellion. Sometimes the simplest principles of government are the most likely to be ignored. What it was important to have established, and what Mr. Howe laboured with so much zeal to achieve, was a recognition of the fact that English people, planted wherever they might, could be safely entrusted with the duties of self-government. The Colonial Office, like most other of the great Imperial departments, has always clung with unyielding tenacity to its traditions of management. What once has been done it is easy for



Englishmen to continue to do, but one of the most difficult things is to learn to adjust themselves to the changing conditions of the world. With dim and vague ideas of the conditions prevailing in new and comparatively undeveloped communities, the most that the Colonial Secretary could hope to do was to select some one in whom he had confidence, and to entrust to his power and discretion chiefly the maintenance of order and the working out of the processes of government. The Governor naturally enjoyed the confidence of his official chiefs. In assuming control he naturally sought the advice and counsel of the principal men of the place; those who had been accustomed in the past to exercise authority. The views of these men would always be in the direction of maintaining their own privileges, which could be best secured by maintaining the power and prerogative of the Governor. Although the masses of the English people have successfully, in all climes, worked out the problem of self-government, yet from the parent state to the smallest colony society has always been pestered by the existence of a class of people who regularly gather themselves together in a little coterie and pass two resolutions with great unanimity: First, resolved that the world belongs to the saints; secondly, resolved that we are the saints. That was the particular attitude of the few leading families in the capital cities of the various colonies in British North America. It may also be easily conceived how strong the tendency of the Governor himself would be to listen to those counsels which tended to magnify his power and extend his control into the minutest affairs of the state. It is a pleasant thing to reign, but a still pleasanter thing to rule, and these early colonial Governors were not content to be constitutional Governors, doing as they were advised by men who enjoyed popular confidence, but they desired to be important persons, having large powers and discretions, and with a constantly exaggerated sense of the intrinsic importance of their individual functions.

To overcome this prejudice on the part of Colonial Secretaries on the one hand, and of Colonial Governors on the other was a task of no mean dimensions. This was the task to which Joseph Howe especially and directly

devoted his attention. He may be regarded as having been a pioneer in the work of developing sound principles of colonial government throughout the Empire, and the special merit of his method was that while securing the just rights of the people of Nova Scotia he was at the same time educating the Imperial authorities in the general question; and also, that while he encountered all the difficulties and met all the rebuffs which characterized similar efforts in the direction of popular government in the Upper Provinces, he was able to achieve his aims with absolute and perfect success without shedding a drop of blood, or without having the peace and order of his province disturbed by one single riotous act. The Upper Provinces were not so fortunate. For lack of leaders as broad, as wise, as judicious, and as tactful as Mr. Howe we had rebellions in Quebec, and rebellions in Toronto, property was destroyed, lives lost, and bitterness generated. From his study in Halifax during the very moment that Papineau in Quebec, and William Lyon Mackenzie in Toronto were leading those who were dissatisfied with the existing systems of local misrule into rebellion, Mr. Howe addressed a series of letters to the people of Canada, in which he set forth in clear and eloquent terms the true principles for which the people of these British North American Provinces were contending, and the proper manner in which the aims of the reformers could be accomplished. He deprecated rebellion or the resort to measures of violence, and counselled the Liberal leaders to adopt the sound and prudent policy of obtaining by fair constitutional means the great ends they had in view.

The result of Mr. Howe's correspondence with Lord John Russell, conjointly with the broad and liberal measures advocated by Lord Durham in his famous report, led to an official correspondence between Lord John Russell, as Colonial Secretary, and Sir Colin Campbell, at that time Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. The general terms of this despatch, while not conceding that full and unlimited measure of popular government which has since been conceded, were nevertheless distinctly in the direction of a fuller recognition of popular rights, and an intimation to Colonial Governors that they should see that

confidence existed between their Ministers and the representatives of the people in the popular branch. When these despatches were made public the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, under the direction of Mr. Howe, adopted by a very large majority an address to the Governor asking him to give practical effect to the wider instructions of Lord John Russell. The Governor in his reply distinctly evaded this issue, whereupon another and stronger address to the Governor was adopted, on Mr. Howe's motion, almost demanding in emphatic terms that the Governor should regard Her Majesty's commands to administer the government of the Provinces in accordance with the well understood wishes and interests of the people, and pay to their feelings, as expressed through their representatives, the deference that is justly due to them. In reply to this the Governor said in effect as follows:

"By adopting the course you suggest I should practically recognize a fundamental change in the colonial constitution, which I cannot certainly discover to have been designed by the despatch of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the manner and to the extent supposed by you."

The effect of this practical refusal on the part of the Governor to make any concessions to the popular demand compelled Mr. Howe to take the unpleasant step of moving an address to Her Majesty setting forth fully the grievances of the people of Nova Scotia, and demanding the recall of Sir Colin Campbell. The result was that when the Governor-General of British America, Mr. Poulett Thompson, arrived shortly afterwards in Halifax, Sir Colin Campbell was relieved of his duties as Governor, and Lord Falkland was appointed to and assumed the duties of that office. Lord Falkland arrived with the intention of giving effect in a certain measure to the popular demands of the people of Nova Scotia. In furtherance of this he notified four members of the existing Executive Council that their services were no longer required, and he invited prominent members of the Liberal party to accept seats in the Executive in the place of the gentlemen who had been retired. Mr. Howe, after making certain conditions, agreed to accept a seat in the Executive, and assist the new

Governor in his efforts to secure a better system of government for the Province.

This was not a recognition of popular government by any means. It was an attempt to carry on executive government, not by a homogeneous administration of men with common aims and common views in respect of public policy, but an effort to conciliate both parties by having representatives of each within the Executive Council. Many as are the evils and objections to party government, yet experience has shown beyond all question or cavil that it is the only practical system under which popular government can be carried on. Nothing can be more conclusive than the lesson which this attempt at composite administration teaches. No real confidence existed between the old Tory members of this government and the new Liberal blood infused, in fact it in time degenerated into a faction fight between the two parties in the Executive. It was soon to become a question as to which party would actually be governing the country and exercising power, and this question became settled in time naturally, and as was to be expected in favour of the old Tory regime. Indeed matters reached such a crisis that the only alternative left to Mr. Howe was to tender his resignation and ask Messrs. Uniacke and McNab, who were associated with him in the Council, to retire as well, and when he retired it was for the purpose of leading an agitation through the Province for the downfall, by the agency of public opinion and by carrying the country at the next general election, of the then existing Government, and to secure in its place an administration which would represent actually and truly the voice and will of the people. The three years of agitation under the leadership of Mr. Howe, in which the contest was practically between the Governor and himself, were three of the greatest years in his history. Lord Falkland was a proud and handsome nobleman of distinguished family.

There is always a halo surrounding Government House in a new Province, especially when that Governor enjoys the prestige of direct Imperial appointment, and adds to his other sources of power the blandishments of high sounding titles. Lord Falkland visited different parts of the Province of Nova Scotia and received

loyal addresses from the representatives of the Tory faction in the shire towns. Mr. Howe followed and received complimentary addresses from the masses of the people, and to the dignified platitudes of the Lieutenant-Governor responded with fiery invective against the system which His Lordship was attempting to uphold. The result of the general election in 1847 was that Mr. Howe came back to Parliament with a splendid majority in the popular branch. Public opinion had reached that stage when it was no longer possible for a Government to cling to office with-



The Hon. J. W. Longley.

out the support of the Assembly, and when at the next session of the Legislature a vote of want of confidence was carried, the Tory Executive resigned in a body, and a straight Liberal administration was formed in 1848. The Governor, Lord Falkland, left the Province in disgust; a new Lieutenant-Governor, who was prepared to carry out the views of the people was installed in his place, and from that day to the present no administration in the Province has ventured to hold office for an hour without having at its back

the support and confidence of the representatives in the popular branch of the Legislature. This was the achievement in Nova Scotia, by perfectly constitutional means, of that system of full and unconstrained self-government which has been freely conceded to all the colonies of any size and importance enjoying the blessings of British institutions, and under which there has been peace and contentment and continued prosperity. The full measure of popular government, which the British people have long enjoyed at home, is now the sacred heritage of every British colonist where the circumstances and conditions of the people make self-government either practicable or possible. Far from having a tendency to make the people desire to separate from the Empire this system of free popular government has been the greatest possible bond in securing contentment to the people and ensuring their unabated devotion to the Crown and to the Empire.

Among all the names which stand forth conspicuously in this struggle for popular rights in British North America, none occupies a place to be compared with Howe's, either in breadth of view, profound grasp of the situation, resolute and determined action, and at the same time a tactful avoidance of all rash or violent measures which would be certain to lead to outbursts of popular passion, and be liable to jeopardize the loyalty of the people. A full record of his parliamentary speeches and able state papers on this great and far-reaching subject of colonial government will be found embodied in his speeches and public letters, in two volumes, edited by Hon. William Annand, and published in 1858.

The growth of popular institutions throughout British North America went on with equal pace in all the provinces, Nova Scotia in point of time and in method distinctly leading the way. The full measure and recognition of absolute independent self-government is to be found in the British North America Act of 1867, in which everything in the line of popular government is conceded without any limitation whatsoever except by virtue of the veto power reserved to Her Majesty the Queen in respect of Federal legislation, a power which, during thirty years' experience, has never yet been distinctly exercised to the detriment of the Provinces.

# THE ORIGIN OF CANADIAN CONFEDERATION

BY

THE HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART., G.C.M.G., C.B., late Prime Minister of Canada

THE Confederation of British North America may be regarded as one of the most important events that has transpired during the Victorian era. Its importance cannot be over-rated in connection with the consolidation of a great Dominion on the northern half of the continent of North America, or in its effect in promoting the unity of the Empire. This great work is about to be followed by the important Australian Confederation and it is to be hoped at no distant day the Confederation of South Africa will complete the achievement thus auspiciously begun.

The difficulties attending the uniting of a large number of Provinces, each having autonomous government, under one central administration, can only be appreciated by those who have been engaged in it. As long ago as 1814 Chief Justice Sewell, of Quebec, addressed a letter to His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, in which he proposed the federal union of British North America. The father of our Sovereign in the course of his reply, dated at Kensington Palace, November 30th, 1814, said: "My dear Sewell,—I have this day had the pleasure of receiving your interesting note of yesterday. . . . Nothing can be better arranged than the whole thing is." Similar suggestions had been made by the late Hon. Mr. Uniacke, of Nova Scotia, some ten or twelve years before. In 1822, Sir John Beverley Robinson, at the request of the Colonial Office, submitted a like proposal.

In 1839 the Earl of Durham, after a careful examination of the British North American Colonies, submitted a masterly Report to Her Majesty the Queen, in which he advocated, in the most conclusive manner, the advantage and necessity of a Union of those Colonies under one Government. This distinguished statesman out-

lined a scheme of Union very similar in its characteristics to that subsequently adopted at the Quebec Conference in 1864. In 1849 the British American League, composed of a large number of able and intelligent men, met at Toronto and discussed the question of Colonial Union. The subject was again discussed in the Legislature of Nova Scotia in 1854, when the late Hon. J. W. Johnston moved the following Resolution: "That the Union or Confederation of the British Provinces on just principles, while calculated to perpetuate their connection with the Parent State, will promote their advancement and prosperity, increase their strength and influence, and elevate their position."

In speaking of this motion Mr. Johnston referred at length to the proceedings of the British American League before mentioned. In 1855-56 Mr. P. S. Hamilton, a barrister in Halifax, published two forcible and well-written pamphlets upon the Union of the Colonies. And again in 1860 he addressed a letter to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle upon the same subject. In 1857 Mr. Johnston and the late Sir Adams Archibald were appointed by the Government of Nova Scotia to confer with the Secretary of State for the Colonies upon the subject of Colonial Union. In 1858 the late Sir Alexander Galt moved in the Canadian Legislature in favour of a Colonial Federation and he, with the late Sir George E. Cartier and the late Hon. John Ross, were deputed by the Governor-General to bring the subject before the Imperial authorities. On these occasions the British Government refused to act because delegates had not been duly authorized by all the Provinces interested.

In 1861 the late Hon. Joseph Howe moved a Resolution in the Legislature of Nova Scotia, which passed unanimously, proposing a consul-



THE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, OTTAWA.



tation between the various Provinces upon the subject. The Duke of Newcastle, then Colonial Secretary, replying to the Governor of Nova Scotia, said he could see no objection to any consultation upon the subject amongst the leading members of the Governments concerned; but, whatever the result of such consultation might be, the most satisfactory mode of testing the opinion of the people of British North America would probably be by means of a resolution or address proposed in the Legislature of each Province by its own Government. The despatch of the Duke of Newcastle was forwarded by Mr. Howe to the Hon. A. A. Dorion, Provincial Secretary of Canada, at Quebec, and also to the Provincial Secretaries of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. No practical results, however, followed from these efforts. The communication between Canada and the Maritime Provinces was so imperfect that but little was known of the Provinces outside of their own boundaries. In 1864 the Government of Nova Scotia, despairing of seeing the Union of all the British North American Provinces effected at an early date, arranged with the Governments of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island to pass the following Resolution:

“Resolved, That a humble address be presented to His Excellency the Administrator of the Government, requesting him to appoint delegates (not to exceed five) to confer with delegates who may be appointed by the Governments of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, for the purpose of considering the subject of the Union of the three Provinces under one Government and Legislature; such Union to take effect when confirmed by the Legislative enactments of the various Provinces interested, and approved by Her Majesty the Queen.”

When the Union of Upper and Lower Canada was effected in 1840, although the population of Lower Canada was much larger than that of Upper Canada, it was provided by the Act of Union that each Province should elect the same number of members to the Legislative Assembly. In consequence of immigration in a few years the population of Upper Canada became much greater than that of Lower Canada. An agitation then took place, and a demand was made and led with great vigour by the late Hon. George Brown,

for a change in the Constitution which would give, throughout the united Provinces of Canada, representation by population. This change in the terms of the Union was strenuously resisted by Lower Canada, the result being that effective Government was rendered impossible by the closely balanced condition of parties. No legislation could take place except as a matter of compromise and no less than five different Governments were called upon to deal with the administration of public affairs between May 21st, 1862, and July 1st, 1864. The trade and business of



Chief Justice, the Hon. Jonathan Sewell.

the country was paralyzed and its credit so injured that the six per cent. debentures of Canada were below 75.

Under the Resolution already referred to a Convention had been arranged to be held at Charlottetown for the purpose of considering the question of the Legislative Union of the Maritime Provinces. About this time the late Alexander Morris, then member for Lanark, in the Canadian Legislature, sounded the late Hon. George Brown, the Leader of the Opposition, as

to the desirability of a coalition being formed that would relieve Canada from the great embarrassment in which it was placed by the inability of either party to form a strong Government. This resulted in the leading men of the two parties being brought together, who, after full deliberation, decided to form a coalition Government based upon the policy of obtaining a Confederation between Canada and the Maritime Provinces; and, if that were found impracticable, to separate Upper and Lower Canada and then form a Federal Union between those Provinces.

Application was then made by the Government of Canada to the Governments of the Maritime Provinces to receive a deputation of the members of the Canadian Government at the Conference to be held in Charlottetown in order that the larger question might be fully discussed. The Conference met on the 1st September in Charlottetown and on the next day received the deputation from the Canadian Government consisting of the Hon. John A. Macdonald, Hon. George Brown, Hon. Alexander Galt, Hon. George E. Cartier, Hon. William McDougall and the Hon. D'Arcy McGee. After full discussion it was decided to take up the question of the Federal Union of all the Provinces. This determination was announced at a banquet given at the Provincial Buildings at Charlottetown on the 8th September. The members of the Canadian deputation were afterwards entertained at Halifax, St. John and Fredericton and the proposed Union was further discussed.

Formal invitations were then sent by the Governor-General to each of the Provinces asking the Government to send delegates to meet with the Government of Canada at the City of Quebec. There they met in Conference accordingly on the 10th of October, at which gathering Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island were all represented. Although the proceedings of the Conference were naturally confidential an opportunity was afforded of discussing the subject very fully in the presence of the people at a grand banquet given by the Board of Trade of Quebec. After full deliberation, during eighteen days, seventy-two Resolutions were agreed upon which formed the basis

of the Union. The spirit in which these Resolutions were framed and the objects of the Conference are well described in the following extract from a despatch of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Cardwell, to Lord Monck, under date of December 3rd, 1864:

"Animated by the warmest sentiments of loyalty and devotion to their Sovereign; earnestly desirous to secure for their posterity throughout all future time the advantages which they enjoy as subjects of the British Crown; steadfastly attached to the institutions under which they live; they have conducted their deliberations with patient sagacity and have arrived at unanimous conclusions on questions involving many difficulties, and calculated under less favourable auspices to have given rise to many differences of opinion."

It is important to notice the fact that, from the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, the delegates represented, not only the leading men in the Governments of the day, but also the leading members of the Opposition, so that the foundation of the Confederation of British North America was laid strong and deep, not by members of one party, but by the leading public men of both parties in all the various Provinces. After the Conference had closed, the delegates from the Maritime Provinces were entertained at Quebec, Ottawa and Toronto where the general features of the arrangement were very fully discussed at banquets given by those cities. The Legislature of Canada, after an elaborate debate continued from February 6th to March 13th, 1865, passed, by large majorities in both Houses, an Address to Her Majesty praying her to submit a measure to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of uniting the Provinces in accordance with the provisions of the Quebec Resolutions.

Although it was arranged at the Quebec Conference that the Resolutions agreed to should be submitted to the various Legislatures for their approval, a dissolution in New Brunswick took place and a large majority were returned pledged to oppose the passage of the Quebec Resolutions. Under these circumstances the Government of Nova Scotia did not consider it judicious to submit the Resolutions to the Legislature in the session of 1865, as it was obvious there could be



no practical Union with Canada without New Brunswick being included. The Government of New Brunswick formed to oppose Confederation committed themselves, however, to the policy of Union in the Speech with which the Legislature was opened in February, 1866, and the Legislative Council of that Province passed a Resolution approving of Confederation. It now being evident that all obstructions in New Brunswick would be speedily removed, the following Resolution was passed by the Legislature of Nova Scotia:

"Whereas, in the opinion of this House it is desirable that a Confederation of the British North American Provinces should take place:

Resolved, therefore, That His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor be authorized to appoint delegates to arrange with the Imperial Government a scheme of Union which will effectually ensure just provision for the rights and interests of this Province: each of the Provinces co-operating to have an equal voice in such delegation; Upper and Lower Canada being for this purpose viewed as separate Provinces."

This Resolution was carried by a majority of 31 to 19 in the House of Assembly and in the Legislative Council a similar Resolution was carried by a majority of 13 to 5. In New Brunswick, the House of Assembly having been again dissolved especially on this issue, 33 were elected to support the Union and only 8, who were opposed to it, could obtain seats throughout that Province. The Union party having therefore been returned to power a Resolution, nearly identical with that passed by the Legislature of Nova Scotia, was triumphantly carried.

On the 4th December, 1866, the delegates from Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia met at the Westminster Palace Hotel in London and the late Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald was elected Chairman. After full discussion by the delegates among themselves and frequent consultations with the Colonial Office, the Confederation Bill was agreed upon and submitted on the 12th February, 1867, to the Imperial Parliament, where it was warmly supported by the leading statesmen of all parties, passed without amendment, and received the Royal Assent on the 28th March. The Act came into force on the 1st July, 1867. The Confederation embraced in the first instance only the four Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, but

provision was made in the Act for the admission of the other British North American Provinces and also Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories. Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories were subsequently acquired by an arrangement with the Hudson's Bay Company and the Imperial Government. In the session of 1870 an Act was passed establishing the Province of Manitoba, the representatives and Senators from which Province took their seats in Parliament at Ottawa in the session of 1872. The Province of British Columbia also entered the



The Hon. Sir Adams G. Archibald.

Union in 1871 and its representatives and Senators took their seats in the same year. Prince Edward Island entered the Union in 1873 and the consolidation under one Government of all British North America, with the exception of Newfoundland, was accomplished.

Reference has already been made to the difficulties of inducing Provinces having an independent Government to surrender it and merge their fortunes with larger Provinces and it has consequently been found that the difficulty of consoli-

dating Provinces is in the inverse ratio to the size of the Province. The agitator has an attractive subject to present to the masses when he urges them to continue their independence and to resist amalgamation with a larger body, depicting in startling colours the consequence of their giving up complete control over public affairs and uniting in a confederation in which their interests may be neglected. Experience, however, has shown that the greatest possible consideration has been given to the smaller Provinces. The obvious necessity for the Confederation of British North America induced thinking men of all parties to give it their support. The fact that the old Province of Canada had no outlet to the ocean except through a foreign country for several months in the year and that for more than 25 years the efforts of all parties had failed to secure railway communication between Quebec and Halifax presented a striking evidence of the absolute necessity of Confederation. The Maritime Provinces were separated from each other by hostile tariffs and had no field for development of important industries. The desire of the old Province of Canada to obtain connection with the great West had no prospect of being realized. The vast prairie country lying between the Red River of the north and the Rocky Mountains on the west was only accessible from the great Republic to the south of it, while the Province of British Columbia, cut off from all communication with the east by the Rocky Mountains and the Selkirks, was necessarily dependent, to a large extent, upon the United States, which borders it. The Maritime Provinces, having no connection with Canada, were largely dependent for their trade upon a foreign country.

Under these circumstances it was obvious that the natural tendency of events must be that gradually these British North American Provinces would gravitate to the great Republic to the south. Isolated and separated as the various provinces were, there was no means of communication by which they could get any practical support from each other in any emergency for defensive purposes. The abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 by the United States, notwithstanding the great advantages that they had enjoyed under its operation for ten years, showed

conclusively the desire to force the necessity of annexation upon the British Provinces. Under those circumstances every sentiment of loyalty to the British Crown, every anxiety to extend the prosperity of the country and to assume something like national life, made it imperative upon the old Province of Canada, and the Maritime Provinces alike, to support the only means by which they could attain any importance in the eyes of the world, and by which inter-provincial trade could be promoted and the means of intercourse between the different sections of the country opened up, enabling them to promote effectively the development of the northern half of this continent and to hand down to their posterity the glorious heritage of British institutions.

The Fathers of Confederation had the great advantage, when called upon to deal with that important question, of the experience of the neighbouring Republic. They had witnessed the disadvantage that the United States had suffered from a constitution which necessarily made the executive head of that country the head of a party—a difficulty entirely avoided in the Canadian Confederation by having its constitution moulded upon the British principle which makes the representative of the Sovereign the executive head of the country—occupying the same position in Canada that the Queen does in Great Britain as an impartial executive head receiving the ardent support of men of all parties under the British constitutional principle. The delegates had also before them the terrible internecine war which had convulsed the United States for several years, involving an enormous loss of life and money in preserving a Union based upon the principle of forming a central Government out of powers yielded by Sovereign States which retained all the powers not specifically given up to the central Government. In the construction of our constitution specific powers were given to the various Provinces to deal with local affairs, and all matters of national concern were assigned to the central Government and everything not specifically given to the Provinces was placed under the control of the central authority. The question which had convulsed the old Province of Canada—representation by population—was disposed of by the adoption of

that principle for the election of members to the House of Commons, and complete security was given to the Province of Quebec and the smaller Provinces in the constitution of the Senate. The Hon. George Brown dealt with this question in the discussion in the Legislature upon the constitution for the Dominion in the following clear and forcible terms:

“The very essence of our compact is that the Union shall be Federal and not Legislative. Our Lower Canada friends have agreed to give us representation by population in the Lower House on the express condition that they shall have equality in the Upper House. On no other condition could we have advanced a step; and, for my part, I am quite willing they should have it. In maintaining the existing sectional boundaries and handing over the control of local matters to local bodies, we recognize, to a certain extent, a diversity of interests; and it is quite natural that the protection for those interests, by equality in the Upper Chamber, should be demanded by the less numerous Provinces.”

Mr. Brown was quite right in saying that not a single step could have been taken to establish the sound principle of representation by population unless it had been accompanied by this solemn and binding pledge that for all time the Province of Quebec and the Maritime Provinces should have an equality of representation with the great Province of Ontario in the Senate. Twenty-four Senators were assigned to Ontario, 24 to Quebec and 24 to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick until such time as Prince Edward Island should be included, when each of the other Maritime Provinces would lose two, and four Senators be thus given to Prince Edward Island. In the three Maritime Provinces the population was vastly inferior to that of either Quebec or Ontario, yet they obtained in the construction of the Senate this guarantee that their rights could never be over-riden and justice denied them by the act of a majority of the House of Commons, in which their voice would be much weaker than that of the larger Provinces. The fact that the Confederation of Canada rests upon an Act of the Imperial Parliament, passed at the request of all the Provinces who were a party to it, made it absolutely certain that this cardinal principle, this protection thus afforded to the different sections of the Dominion,

never could be invaded unless this compact was abandoned, not only by the House of Commons and Senate of Canada, but by every Province which was a party to the compact.

It is a remarkable fact that for several years before the Conference at Quebec the Legislative Council or Upper House of the Old Province of Canada had been elective, yet, of the 33 delegates representing both parties in all the Provinces, the principle of having Senators appointed by nomination by the Crown for life was adopted with the utmost unanimity. In this, as in all other features of the Canadian constitution, the British principle was applied so far as the circumstances of the country would permit, and down to the present time no just cause for challenging the wisdom of that arrangement has been shown. As there was a Legislative Council in existence in all the Provinces concerned, it was arranged that the first nominations to the Senate should be made, so far as was practicable, from the existing Legislative Councils in the different Provinces, and in that selection due regard should be had to the representation of both parties—as had already been shown in the appointment of delegations composed of both Liberals and Conservatives to discuss the terms of Union.

Another great advantage that the Canadian Constitution gives us is the right to appeal, on all questions arising between local and general Governments, to an independent and impartial authority—the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council. Nothing is more remarkable in the history of the past thirty-one years of Confederation than the small number of cases that have required to be dealt with in that manner, and it would be difficult to suggest, in the light of past experience, any material modification in the Constitution of Canada, if the matter was being taken up *de novo*. It would be safe to say that the most sanguine expectations of every one engaged in the construction of the Canadian Constitution have been more than realized. It may, in fact, be confidently said that from the shores of Prince Edward Island on the Atlantic to Vancouver Island on the Pacific no more happy, no more contented, no more prosperous people are to be found on the face of the globe.

The means of intercommunication of the most

complete character have been established throughout, binding the Provinces together and furnishing a great highway of easy and rapid intercourse for the people; and providing for the development of the Dominion. The status of our country has been immensely elevated and the powers of a practically independent and self-governing community have been conferred upon us; not only in the management of our own affairs but with a potent voice in arrangements with foreign countries. At great international conferences Canada takes her place side by side with the other powers of the world upon equal terms. The credit of our country has risen from the deplorable position in which it stood, as before stated, when Canadian six per cent. securities were below 75, until it is now only second among the nations of the world to that of Great Britain itself. With unrivalled fisheries on the Atlantic

and Pacific coasts; with forests of boundless extent from ocean to ocean; with a climate of the most invigourating character; with an enormous territory of soil which cannot be surpassed in fertility in the world; with the greatest inland navigation to be found in any country, extending from the Straits of Belle Isle to the head of Lake Superior in an unbroken line; with mines of coal, gold, silver, copper, lead, nickel, iron and almost every other mineral, of a richness so great as to give assurance that so far as mineral wealth is concerned we shall soon equal any other country; and above all, with a hardy, enterprising and intelligent population; who can doubt that we must steadily attract to our Dominion the best blood of the over-crowded populations of Europe and rapidly rise to a position of permanency among the nations of the world which will satisfy the most ambitious cravings for national greatness?



The Right Hon. Viscount Monck.

# THE CONFEDERATION MOVEMENT IN PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

BY

The HON. ANDREW A. MACDONALD, Senator of Canada.

THE subject of a Union of the Maritime Provinces of British North America was first brought officially to the notice of the Legislature of Prince Edward Island in 1863, when the Secretary of State for the Colonies transmitted to the Lieutenant-Governor a Resolution which had been passed by the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia in 1861 desiring to ascertain the policy of Her Majesty's Government and the opinion of the other Colonies on that subject. When this Resolution was submitted to the Legislature of Prince Edward Island it elicited a good deal of discussion but the debate did not indicate a desire on the part of the Island representatives for any change in the constitution of the Province, though it was decided to consider any proposition which might be submitted from the neighbouring Colonies for a scheme of Union.

At this period of its history the financial condition of the Province was satisfactory. The public debt was less than the revenue for a single year. A system of responsible government had been secured some years previously after a severe struggle to obtain it, and it was working satisfactorily. The people had shown that they were capable of managing their own affairs and upholding the supremacy of the law which had guaranteed them rights and privileges denied them under the old governmental system. The Reciprocity Treaty with the United States had opened that market to them, and the fish and agricultural productions of the Province were then realizing remunerative prices. The Islanders had at this time begun to prosecute the fisheries extensively and this business was quite profitable while the Treaty existed. Ship-building was then also an important industry, some 25,000 tons valued at \$625,000 being built and

exported for sale in 1863. Taxation was low and the chief cost of a system of free education was borne by the Government. The franchise practically extended to every permanent male resident liable to taxation who was twenty-one years of age.

Under such conditions it is not surprising that the Islanders were contented with their form of government and expressed no desire for a change of constitution. The land question was the only one with which the Government could not deal successfully. The lands were held chiefly in large blocks by absentee proprietors who would not sell to the occupants on any reasonable terms. The tenantry were averse to the rent system and desired to become freeholders. The Government had purchased some estates and was re-selling them to the tenants at cost, extending the payment of the purchase money over a number of years, and many of the tenants on these estates had already become freeholders and completed their payments, but the principal proprietors would not sell at any price. Such was the situation of the Province when, in 1864, Lieutenant-Governor Dundas submitted to the Legislature a despatch from Lieutenant-Governor Gordon of New Brunswick, enclosing the draft of a Resolution which his advisers intended to submit to the Legislature of that Province requesting him "to appoint five delegates to confer with delegates who may be appointed by the Governments of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island for the purpose of considering the subject of the Union of the three Provinces under one Government and Legislature."

When this Resolution was submitted to the House, the Leader moved that the Lieutenant-Governor be authorized to appoint delegates to confer with those to be appointed by the two

other Governments named. This led to a debate in which very few of the members expressed any desire for Union with the adjoining Provinces, but, in deference to Governor Gordon's despatch, they consented to the appointment of the delegates, although opposed to any change in the constitution. The Resolution was only carried by a division on party lines. In compliance with its terms, Colonel Gray, the Premier; the Hon. E. Palmer, Attorney-General; the Hon. W. H. Pope, Colonial Secretary; the Hon. George Coles, Leader of the Opposition, and the Hon. A. A. Macdonald, M.L.C., were appointed to meet the delegates from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The latter arrived at Charlottetown on 31st August, 1864, when the Legislative Union of the three Provinces was discussed, although the majority of the Island delegates still considered it inexpedient. While the delegates were engaged in discussing the subject a deputation from the Canadian Government arrived at Charlottetown and was admitted to the Conference, where they discussed informally the extension of the proposal so as to include the Upper Provinces which they represented.

These meetings continued daily until the 7th September, when, on the invitation of the Nova Scotia delegation the Conference adjourned to Halifax, where the further consideration of the situation was resumed. The delegates then proceeded to Fredericton and St. John, N.B. At each of these places informal conferences were held with the delegates from the Upper Provinces concerning the object of their mission. It was at length resolved to postpone the further consideration of the subject until a later Conference which the Hon. John A. Macdonald announced he would advise His Excellency the Governor-General to call at Quebec as soon as practicable and to which the Lieutenant-Governors of all the Provinces would be invited to send delegates. This Conference accordingly met at Quebec on the 11th October, 1864. Two additional members were added to the first delegation from Prince Edward Island, viz., the Hon. T. H. Haviland, and the Hon. Edward Whelan, so that the Province was now represented there by four of the Government party and three members of the Opposition. The business of the Confer-

ence engaged the closest attention of its members for a period of seventeen days and resulted in a Report comprising seventy-two resolutions presenting a scheme for the Federal Union of all the Provinces, and they are now, with a few verbal and unimportant changes, embodied in the Imperial Act which is the constitution of the Dominion of Canada. The doings of the Quebec Conferences were taken up by the Island press and the result was ably discussed both by the few advocates of Confederation and by its numerous opponents.

Public meetings of the electors were held throughout the Province and a very strong sentiment of opposition to the scheme was aroused. The electors called upon their representatives to oppose it or resign their seats, and before the next meeting of the Provincial Legislature the measure was condemned by every constituency in the Province. When the Report of the delegates to the Quebec Conference was submitted to the Legislature it was still more severely criticised. It was contended that the insular position of the Province would deprive it of all direct benefit from expenditures by the Federal Government in the continental Provinces of the Dominion for railways, canals, and other great public works which this Island Province did not require, although its people would have to contribute in an equal proportion to their cost and maintenance. And the proposed terms did not make any allowance for the exceptional position of the Province in this respect. The Province possessed neither public lands, forests, nor mines nor minerals wherewith to supplement any allowance from the Federal Government for local purposes; so that a provision which might be fair and liberal for Provinces possessing such natural wealth in abundance would be quite inadequate for a small Province without such resources. It was maintained also that in the larger arena of the Dominion the wants of the Island would receive little attention when in competition with those of the larger Provinces for appropriations from the Federal Treasury. The Island representatives, few in number, would not make their influence felt and the position of the Colony in the Confederacy would be insignificant and unenviable. Thus it was that the

measure became so unpopular with the people that it would have been impossible at this time for any of its advocates to secure election on the question in any constituency of the Province. A Resolution in the Legislature was carried by 23 to 5 emphatically declining to join in the Union, which it believed would prove "politically, commercially and financially disastrous to the rights and interests of its people."

The other Provinces became confederated on 1st July, 1867, and two years later proposals were received for the admission of the Island on more liberal terms, but public opinion was still too strongly opposed to any change in the constitution to allow of favourable consideration for any measure of Union. A general election in 1870 brought about a change in the local Government and the Hon. James C. Pope, who had been Leader in a former House from 1865 to 1868 was again in the same position. There was but little change in the opinions of the people on the question of Union but several causes were now leading people who had at first opposed the scheme to discuss it without prejudice. The abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States had deprived the Province of the full benefit of its best market and heavy losses had been incurred by those who endeavoured to hold it in the face of the duties they were compelled to pay. During the existence of the Treaty the Islanders had embarked extensively in fisheries and while this production was free of duties by the States they were successful and the business profitable, but the abrogation of the Treaty and the imposition of a high duty had destroyed their prospects and ruined this enterprise. Ship-building could not be continued when the forests were exhausted and those who had been engaged in these two industries were leaving the Province each year in increasing numbers to obtain employment in a foreign country. Several Acts passed by the Provincial Legislature respecting lands had not received the Royal sanction, while agitation for the abolition of the rent system continued and the people were beginning to realize that this could only be effected by the assistance of the Federal Government.

An Act was passed in 1871 which authorized

the Provincial Government to construct a railway to connect the outlying towns and villages with the capital, and also providing for the issue of debentures to defray the cost and pay the contractors. A contract was let to build and equip 120 miles of narrow gauge road extending from Georgetown in the east to Cascumpec in the west. The work was going forward when in the session of 1872 the Government was placed in a minority in the House and a new election was held which resulted in a change of parties. The new Government, under the leadership of the Hon. R. P. Haythorne and the Hon. E. Palmer, met the House on the 23rd April, 1872. It included amongst its members and supporters the principal opponents of Confederation and also of the railway policy which the previous Ministry had introduced, but one of its first measures was to provide for the immediate construction of branch lines in addition to the contract for the main line let by the late Government. Money was soon required to pay for the right of way and incidental expenses of the railway, but it was found that it was impossible to dispose of the debentures to any amount except at an enormous discount and the Government were therefore in need of funds. If the credit of the Colony was to be preserved the only means whereby that result could be accomplished appeared to be through opening negotiations with the Federal Government at Ottawa.

A Minute of Council was therefore passed on the 2nd January, 1873, wherein it was stated that if the Dominion Government conceded liberal terms of Confederation the Council would advise their submission to the people so that they might have the option of choosing between the alternatives before them. They also stated terms and conditions which they asked the Dominion Government to concede to the Province. When this Minute of the Provincial Council was submitted to the Government at Ottawa a Report thereon was approved by His Excellency the Governor-General stating that some of the proposed conditions were inadmissible, while others were reasonable enough, and the Government of the Island was invited to follow the same course adopted by British Columbia and Newfoundland and to send delegates to Ottawa, where a Com-

mittee of the Privy Council would at once meet them in Conference and agree, if possible, on terms for the admission of the Province to the Dominion. On the 14th February, 1873, the Hon. R. P. Haythorne and the Hon. David Laird, both members of the Government, were deputed as delegates to Ottawa for the purpose of conferring with that Government on the subject of Union. After various interviews they agreed upon terms which were signed by Sir John A. Macdonald, the Hon. S. L. Tilley, the Hon. H. L. Langevin, the Hon. Joseph Howe and the Hon. Charles Tupper for the Dominion, and by Messrs. Haythorne and Laird on behalf of the Province.

The Provincial Government was immediately dissolved and an appeal made to the people for approval of the terms of Union. The Opposition claimed that the terms were in some respects inadequate and that a more liberal allowance for local government was required in order to place the Island in as independent a position as other Provinces which had within themselves resources from which their local revenue could be supplemented. The election resulted in the defeat of the Haythorne-Palmer Government and the return of their predecessors with the Hon. James C. Pope as Leader once more. The Legislature met on the 22nd April, 1873, and as the Revenue Act expired on the 1st of May their first duty was to pass a Revenue Bill. They then authorized the appointment of delegates to proceed to Ottawa and secure more equitable terms for the admission of the Province to the Union. The Hon. James C. Pope, the Hon. T. H. Haviland, and the Hon. G. W. Howlan were appointed, and proceeded to Ottawa, where they finally succeeded in obtaining more favourable terms than had been previously offered. When these were submitted to the House they were approved and an Address to Her Majesty was passed praying that an Imperial Act might be passed admitting Prince Edward Island into the Union on the terms stated. This was accordingly done and the Union accomplished with the approval of all parties on the 1st of July, 1873.

The Island has now been for over twenty-five years a Province of the Dominion. The land question has been settled by an Act which compelled the

proprietors of large estates to accept an equitable price awarded them by arbitrators chosen by the interested parties, namely the Government, the landlords and the tenants, and the purchase money was paid to the proprietors from funds for that purpose allowed to the Province under the terms of Confederation. The lands have been re-sold to the people at cost, or rather below that figure, and the payment of the purchase, in small annual instalments extending over a series of years, has enabled them to become freeholders on easy terms, so that there are now very few leaseholders on what were once the large estates of the proprietors. Nearly all the farmers are now in the enjoyment of a freehold property which it is their interest to improve and beautify for themselves and their descendants. The Railway has contributed in no small measure to the advancement of the Province and a further extension of that work is now about to be undertaken by the Federal Government. Steam communication with the other Provinces across the Strait is regularly maintained by the Dominion Government.

New mail routes have been opened and the number of Post Offices in the Province has been about doubled since Confederation. Money Order offices have been granted wherever required. These facilities could not have been afforded unless this branch of the public service was controlled by the Dominion. Lighthouses have been erected on the principal headlands and in the harbours, wherever required, so that navigation around the Island coast is now almost as easy by night as by day. Although the number of representatives which the Province can send to the Federal Parliament is small the fear of the people that they would be without influence there has been dissipated. Several of the Island representatives have been Ministers of State in important departments of the Government, namely, David Laird, James C. Pope, Donald Ferguson and Sir Louis Davies. The people generally feel that they are now citizens of a great and growing country with vast resources and boundless possibilities. When young men leave the Province it is not now to become residents in a foreign land, but to improve their position and prospects while building up the Dominion in which they intend to live.



# HISTORY AND FUNCTIONS OF THE CANADIAN SENATE

BY

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THE constitution of the Senate, as the Upper House of the Canadian Parliament is called, the qualifications of its members and certain general provisions as to its proceedings, are to be found in the British North America Act, 1867, from Section 21 to Section 36 inclusive. Perhaps I cannot begin better than by quoting some of the Sections in question, briefly discussing them and indicating in what respect the Act of 1867 has since been amended. Section 21 is as follows:

“The Senate shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, consist of 72 members, who shall be styled Senators.”

As a result of the union of British Columbia with the Canada of 1867, the erection of Manitoba into a Province and the granting to the North-West Territories of representation in the Senate, the number mentioned in this Section has been increased to 81.

Section 22 provides that:

“In relation to the constitution of the Senate, Canada shall be deemed to consist of three divisions—

1. Ontario;
2. Quebec;
3. The Maritime Provinces, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; which three divisions shall (subject to the provisions of this Act) be equally represented in the Senate as follows: Ontario by twenty-four Senators; Quebec by twenty-four Senators; and the Maritime Provinces by twenty-four Senators, twelve thereof representing Nova Scotia and twelve thereof representing New Brunswick. In the case of Quebec, each of the twenty-four Senators representing that Province shall be appointed for one of the Electoral Divisions of Lower Canada, specified in Schedule “A” to Chapter One of the Consolidated Statutes of Canada.”

It will be observed that while the principle of representation by population, which controls the

composition of the Canadian House of Commons, does not prevail as to the Senate, on the other hand, the theory of the absolute equality of the several Provinces composing the Union is not recognized by our Constitution, as it is by that of the United States. The reasons for the provisions of Section 22 of the Union Act are to be found in the circumstances existing at the time when it was passed. The people of Lower Canada or Canada East, having conceded to the Upper or Western Province the principle of representation by population in the Lower House, insisted upon an equal representation with Upper Canada in the Senate; and the Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, whose people were disposed to look askance at union with Canada under any circumstances, found their objections diminished by the large representation in the Upper House offered to them by the Quebec Resolutions of 1864, upon which the Union Act was based. While the equal representation with Ontario granted to Quebec was intended as a safeguard to the peculiar interests of the French population, the provision that each of the Quebec Senators should represent one of the old electoral divisions of Lower Canada was inserted in the Act primarily for the purpose of securing adequate representation to the English-speaking minority of that Province.

Section 147 of the Union Act provides that, upon the admission of Prince Edward Island, that Province shall be deemed to be comprised in the third of the divisions mentioned in Section 22, and shall be entitled to four Senators. Consequently, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are now represented by ten Senators each. Prince Edward Island became part of the Dominion in 1872. Manitoba was admitted to the Union in 1870; and, by the third Section of Chapter 3

of the Statutes of Canada for that year, it was provided as follows:

"The said Province shall be represented in the Senate of Canada by two members, until it shall have, according to decennial census, a population of fifty thousand souls; and from thenceforth it shall be represented by three members, until it shall have, according to decennial census, a population of fifty thousand souls, and from thenceforth it shall be represented therein by four members."

The third Senator provided for by this Section was added after the Census of 1881, and the fourth after that of 1891. By an Imperial Order-in-Council, bearing date the sixteenth of May, 1871, and based upon Addresses from the Parliament of Canada and the Legislature of British Columbia, as provided by Section 146 of the British North America Act, 1867, that Province became a portion of the Dominion on the twentieth of July, 1871, and has since been represented in the Senate by three members. Finally, the first section of Chapter 3 of the Statutes of Canada for 1887 provided that the North-West Territories should be represented in the Senate by two members. Appointments were duly made under that Act, since the passing of which no change has been made in the law as to the composition of the Senate.

Section 23 of the Union Act sets forth the qualifications of a Senator, who must be the full age of thirty years, a natural born or naturalized subject of the Queen, the owner in his own right of real estate of the value of four thousand dollars over and above all charges or encumbrances thereon, the owner of real and personal property worth, together, four thousand dollars over and above his debts and liabilities, and a resident within the Province for which he is appointed. At a time when members of the Commons are elected under what is very near to manhood suffrage, it would seem desirable that the property owning and conservative elements of the population should have special representation in the Upper House; and, as a rule, the members of the House represent these elements; but, as a matter of fact, the loss of the property qualification has rarely led to action being taken to vacate the seat of the disqualified Senator. Section 24 is as follows:

"The Governor-General shall from time to time, in the Queen's Name, by instrument under the Great Seal of Canada summon qualified persons to the Senate; and, subject to the provisions of this Act, every person so summoned shall become and be a member of the Senate and a Senator."

Sections 29 and 30 are as follows:

"29. A Senator shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, hold his place in the Senate for life.

30. A Senator may by writing under his hand addressed to the Governor-General resign his place in the Senate, and thereupon the same shall be vacant."

The effect of Sections 24 and 29 is that the members of the Senate are appointed for life by the Governor-General, that is, by the Cabinet of the day. The mode of appointment and the tenure of office of the members of an Upper House are subjects which have been much discussed in various civilized countries. Without undertaking to renew the discussion or to express any strong opinion, it may be well to refer to some of the views expressed in 1865, in the Legislature of the old Province of Canada, during the debates on the Quebec scheme of Confederation. The Hon. Mr. (afterwards Sir Alexander) Campbell, for many years the leading member on the Conservative side in the Upper House, speaking of the mode of appointment said:

"If the elective principle were insisted upon in Canada, and the Government bound over to maintain it, even though another Conference were called, no agreement could be expected, for, as he had already said, the delegates from other Provinces would be sure to be charged with exactly different instructions." *Debates on Confederation*, p. 21.

Further on in the same page, the honourable gentlemen is reported as saying:

"In Upper Canada, as had been stated lately by an honourable member, the population has increased very rapidly, and would probably go on increasing in a much larger ratio than that of Lower Canada or the other Provinces, and, if the Legislative Council were elective, the time might come when the people of that section might fancy themselves entitled to an increased representation in the Council, and commence to agitate for it. They might object to the fishing bounties paid the Lower Provinces, to the money expended there in fortification, or to something else, and claim a representation in the Council more in accordance with their population, to enforce their

views; and in view of such contingencies the delegates from those Provinces conceived it would not be safe to trust their rights to an Elective House. It was then determined that in one branch there would be a fixed number of members nominated by the Crown, to enable it to act as a counterpoise to the branch in which the principle of representation according to population would be recognized."

On page 23, the honourable gentlemen is reported as follows:

"The real danger of collision would be where one Chamber invaded the prerogatives of the other, and that danger, if it existed at all, would be greatly increased were the Legislative Council made elective. (Hear, hear.) If the members were elected they might say, 'we come from the people just as directly as the members of the Assembly do, and our authority is, therefore, as full and complete as theirs. Nay more, for, where we each represent 1,000 electors, they only each represent 300, and we have, therefore, as much right to initiate money bills and impost bills as they have.' Make the Council purely elective, and he would not promise that an agitation of this kind would not spring up. It had not been a theme, as yet, on the floor of the House, but it was well-known that it had been freely discussed in the corridors, and, if the subject had not been formally introduced, it was probably because it was thought by those who debated it that they could not rely upon the life members. (Hear, hear.) Let the Council propose to deal with taxation—and the elective system would be sure in the course of time to urge it on to do so—and immediately the spirit of the Assembly would be aroused to resistance. This would be the way to provoke collisions, and with an elective Council it was not unlikely at all to be resorted to."

In the Assembly the subject of the Upper House was discussed at considerable length by the well-known Liberal leader, the late Hon. George Brown. He was strongly in favour of a nominated instead of an elective House. Speaking of his own action when the Bill providing for the election of Legislative Councillors was before the Lower House he said: "I voted, almost alone, against the change when the Council was made elective, but I have lived to see a vast majority of those who did the deed wish it had not been done." *Conf. Debates*, p. 88. In addition to the arguments against an elective Council used by the Hon. Mr. Campbell, which Mr. Brown also put forward with his usual vigour and abil-

ity, the latter gentleman laid considerable stress upon a practical objection to the elective system at that time in operation in Canada: "We must all feel," he said, "that the election of members for such enormous districts as form the constituencies of the Upper House has become a great practical inconvenience. I say this from personal experience, having long taken an active interest in the electoral contests in Upper Canada. We have found greater difficulty in inducing candidates to offer for seats in the Upper House than in getting ten times the number for the Lower House. The constituencies are so vast that it is difficult to find gentlemen who have the will to incur the labour of such a contest, who are sufficiently known and popular enough throughout districts so wide, and who have money enough to pay the enormous bills, not incurred in any corrupt way—do not fancy that I mean that for a moment—but the bills that are sent in after the contest is over, and which the candidates are compelled to pay if they ever hope to present themselves for re-election." The following remarks of Mr. Brown, on the subject of the tenure of office of the Senators, will be found interesting:

"But it has been said that, though you may not give the power to the Executive to increase the numbers of the Upper House, in the event of a dead-lock, you might limit the term for which the members are appointed. I was myself in favour of that proposition. I thought it would be well to provide for a more frequent change in the composition of the Upper House, and lessen the danger of the Chamber being largely composed of gentlemen whose advanced years might forbid the punctual and vigorous discharge of their public duties. Still, the objection made to this was very strong. It was said: 'Suppose you appoint them for nine years, what will be the effect? For the last three or four years of their term they would be anticipating its expiry, and anxiously looking to the Administration of the day for re-appointment; and the consequence would be that a third of the members would be under the influence of the Executive.' The desire was to render the Upper House a thoroughly independent body—one that would be in the best position to canvass dispassionately the measures of this House, and stand up for the public interests in opposition to hasty or partisan legislation. It was contended that there is no fear of a dead-lock. We were reminded how the system of appointing for life had worked in past years,

since Responsible Government was introduced; we were told that the complaint was not then, that the Upper Chamber had been too obstructive a body—not that it had sought to restrain the popular will, but that it had too faithfully reflected the popular will.” *Ib. pp. 89, sq.*

The views of Mr. Brown and those who agreed with him prevailed and are—as we have seen—embodied in the British North America Act. Nevertheless there were in 1865 and there have been since many able and prominent public men who did not approve of the appointment of Senators for life by the Government of the day. Some years ago, the election of Senators for a limited term, by the Provincial Legislatures, as the Senators of the neighbouring Republic are elected by the State Legislatures, was regarded by some as a marked improvement upon the existing system; but the fact that the United States Senate, which in 1867 was looked upon as almost a model second Chamber with no superior, if it had any equal, in the world, has of late “fallen from its high estate,” and is now looked upon with neither admiration nor respect by the people of the great Republic, has probably left amongst Canadians little desire for a change of the character indicated. Some thoughtful men have been disposed to believe that on the whole the wisest course would be to revert to the plan in operation in the old Province of Canada immediately before Confederation, under which members of the Upper House were elected for large districts and for a term double that for which the members of the Lower House were chosen. No doubt, a Senate so constituted would fill a larger space in the public eye than does that which actually exists; but the question is, would the substitution of the one for the other tend to make the machinery of government work more effectively or more smoothly, or not?

In connection with the question of the best method of selecting the members of the Upper House it is worthy of notice that, whereas the Australasian Federal Convention which met at Sydney in 1891 decided that the members of the proposed Senate should be chosen, as in the United States, by the State Legislatures, the Convention of 1897 adopted a different view and provided that they should be elected directly by the people of the several States of the

Commonwealth. This change, it may be assumed, was due at least in part to a knowledge of the deterioration which had taken place in the character of the United States Senate. It also seems appropriate to call attention here to certain discussions which took place in the Canadian House of Commons, in which opinions as to the character and composition of the Senate, were expressed by several members, differing very widely from those set forth in this paper. These discussions arose upon resolutions introduced by the Hon. David Mills, now Minister of Justice and a member of the Senate. The first resolution, so far as the writer has been able to find out, was moved during the session of 1872 and was voted down. On the thirteenth of April, 1874, Mr. Mills moved the following resolution:

“That the present mode of constituting the Senate is inconsistent with the Federal principle in our system of government; makes the Senate alike independent of the people and the Crown; is in other material respects defective; and that our constitution ought to be amended so as to confer upon each Province the power of appointing its own Senators, and to define the mode of their appointment.”

This resolution failed to pass during the session of 1874 but was again introduced during that of 1875 and was adopted by a vote of 77 to 73. No further action was taken upon the resolution. Mr. Mills, at the time of its adoption, was in favour of the United States system of electing Senators by the Local Legislatures; but I am disposed to think that the effect of the past few years upon the character of the Senate at Washington has probably modified his views, and that, if he is still in favour of electing the members of the Upper House, he would prefer election by the people of the several Provinces to choice by the Legislatures. The writer, before parting with this branch of the subject, may be allowed to say that, since the Union, a weakness has shown itself in the nominative system, which did not, at that time, seem to occur to any public man, namely, the tendency on the part of the Executive to make appointments to the Senate on other grounds than that of special qualification for the position. He may also add that, in order that a Second Chamber may discharge its duties independently, it is, in

his humble opinion, almost necessary that its members should not look forward to re-election by any constituency, any more than to re-appointment by the Executive; and that, therefore, if the Senate were made elective, its members should be eligible for only one term or should be elected for life. Before finally parting with the British North America Act, in this connection it may be well to give four more short sections of a practical character:

“33. If any question arises respecting the qualification of a Senator or a vacancy in the Senate, the same shall be heard and determined by the Senate.

34. The Governor-General may from time to time, by instrument under the Great Seal of Canada, appoint a Senator to be Speaker of the Senate, and may remove him and appoint another in his stead.

35. Until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides, the presence of at least fifteen Senators, including the Speaker, shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the Senate for the exercise of its powers.

36. Questions arising in the Senate shall be decided by a majority of voices, and the Speaker shall in all cases have a vote, and when the voices are equal the decision shall be deemed in the negative.”

Up to a very recent date, publicists and practical statesmen were with a few or no exceptions believers in the superiority of a bi-cameral Legislature over one composed of a single chamber. The fact, however, that the experiment tried by the Province of Ontario has met with marked success, and that British Columbia, Manitoba and very lately New Brunswick have been encouraged to follow the example of the Premier Province and to content themselves with a single House, renders it perhaps desirable to consider briefly the general question as to whether or not a second chamber is necessary or even desirable in a country like Canada. Upon this point the writer may be permitted to quote at some length from a paper of his own published seventeen years ago. The only observation with which he cares to preface his quotation is that the experience of those years has not in any way modified the views then expressed.

“To judge correctly as to what Parliament should be we must look at the work which it has to do. What are the duties of Parliament?

Stated in a few words, they are to adopt measures and pass laws for the welfare and good government of the people of the country. The due performance of these duties is undoubtedly the highest earthly work of man, a work calling for the exercise, in a great degree, of the noblest human qualities. In a perfect Parliament we should find, in their highest development, the following qualities: patriotism, wisdom, stability, justice, independence, energy, patience, industry, and a sense of responsibility to the people. Are all these qualities likely to be found in a single House? If men were perfect, if Adam had never sinned, it might be so; but, if human nature were faultless, government would be unnecessary, or at most nothing further would be required than one benevolent ruler of the patriarchial type. Under the present dispensation it is in the last degree improbable that any body of men having all these qualities shall be found. Is the House of Commons such a body? The warmest admirer of that House will not venture to say ‘yes.’

Experience has shown that a popular house, that is, one chosen by an electorate embracing the bulk of the adult male population—is likely to be influenced by panic, popular delusion, party prejudices and corruption, to mistake temporary advantage for permanent good, to be fickle and unstable, to be feeble in resisting vicious measures, to be unjust to the opponents of the majority and to favour their partisans, to follow the party leader even when he is believed to be in the wrong, to be impatient of details, and to forget the public in the party. The popular branch of the Legislature being imperfect—wanting in some of the qualities which I have named as being essential to good law-makers—its measures will necessarily partake of the same character, and be defective, and will therefore need to be submitted to the scrutiny of a second body, by whom, if deemed unwise or mischievous, they may be hindered from going into operation, or if imperfect may be amended. Few would be prepared to entrust this delicate and most important duty to any individual. This is one of the cases in which most people believe that there is safety in a multitude of councillors; and consequently a second independent House is needed to check and revise the measures of the Commons.

If the second House does not possess the legislative qualifications in a greater degree than the first, still, its independent consideration and revision of measures will be most beneficial in themselves, and will also cause the Administration of the day and the members of the lower Branch to be more careful as to the character and details of the legislation which they introduce and adopt. Besides all this it is much more difficult to corrupt, or deceive, or intimidate two separate and independent bodies of men than a single one, and in this way a second House is a most valuable security against pernicious legislation. If we now go back and take up the list of qualities which I have said the law-making power should have, and try to see in what proportions they are severally possessed by the two Houses of Parliament, we shall find that the Upper is not a mere reflex of the Lower, but that, in some respects it is less qualified, in others it is better qualified, to share in the task of making laws."

I claimed that the result of the enquiry was to establish pretty clearly the proposition that a second House of Parliament is called for by a due regard for the welfare of the country. An Upper House, constituted generally as our Senate is, possesses as many of the qualities of a law-making body as does the Lower Chamber. Some of these qualities it possesses in a greater and others in a less degree than the latter body. It, to a certain extent, supplies the defects of the popular House, and may be regarded as being what scientific men term, "complementary" to the Commons. It has, to a considerable extent, the qualities necessary for checking hasty and amending imperfect legislation. My consideration of the general question of second chambers may be closed with one further quotation :

"When we come to look at the experience of other times and places, it will be found that our faith in the truth of this conclusion will be strengthened. 'History,' it has been well said, 'is philosophy teaching by example,' and on looking into history we find no instance of a single popular legislative chamber which was long-lived. The defects inherent in such a body have always led to its early destruction. In Greece and Rome democracy gave place to despotism;

in England the Long Parliament made way for Oliver Cromwell; and in France the Convention was followed by Napoleon. I do not purpose to go into detail, and speak of other European States where freedom perished for want of the safeguards afforded by an Upper House. I cannot call to mind any country in Europe, which can be regarded as enjoying constitutional government, where, at the present time, there is but one Chamber. Of course, it may be alleged, and with much truth, that most other countries have only followed the example of England. By so doing they have paid the highest possible tribute to the excellence of her Parliamentary institutions. Wherever the English tongue is spoken we naturally expect to find what has been called the bicameral system. In the United States we find it—in perhaps a more highly developed form than in England—not only in the general government but in the constitutions of the various States. At the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, two States—Pennsylvania and Georgia, if I remember rightly—had only a single House each, but before many years both introduced the second.

It is instructive to observe with what care our republican neighbours have tried to prevent the evils arising from the haste and other defects which are incident to the legislation of a single popular House. In the first place, there is a Constitution, adopted by not less than a two-thirds vote of the electors, laying down certain fundamental principles, which the Legislature cannot violate; then there are the two Houses, both elected, but, as a rule, for widely different periods and by distinct electoral bodies, the Upper Chamber being more independent and influential than under the British system; and there is, besides, the Governor, or Executive, who is independent of both Houses, and who—unlike the English Sovereign or the Colonial Governor—exercises very freely the right of vetoing measures passed by the two Houses. According to the theory of the advocates of a single legislative chamber, there is in all these American constitutions a vast amount of unnecessary machinery; but those perverse cousins of ours do not think so and do not feel that they have too many safeguards against unwise or vicious legislation. In most

of the States the people have become convinced that their Local Legislatures cost them too much, and have taken steps to render them less expensive. How have they done this? By abolishing their Senate? Not at all. 'Ephraim is joined to his idols'; the Senates must remain untouched; and money is saved by having but one session of the Legislature in two years. In all the important British Colonies, where there is a large English-speaking population, we also find the two-house system.

All the weighty precedents, as I have already said, are on one side. The only case which can be cited on the other is that of Ontario; for no one will say that those of British Columbia, Manitoba, and certain of the West India Islands are anything more than experiments upon a decidedly small scale. The sphere of the Local Legislature of Ontario is not very wide. Between the County Councils on the one side and the Federal Parliament on the other, the field for legislation is much contracted; and then fourteen years is a very short period in national life. The Constitution of the United States has existed for almost one hundred years, that of England for over six hundred years; and both have withstood political tempests and earthquakes from which Ontario has been free. The experiment in that Province has been conducted under exceptionally favourable circumstances. The constituency is an admirable one, conservative in disposition, intelligent, and keenly watchful over the doings of those who administer its affairs. The Province has also been singularly fortunate in its rulers. The English Constitution during its life of six centuries has withstood the effect of the acts of wicked, foolish and tyrannical monarchs, of turbulent, feeble, indifferent and dissolute nobles, as well as the effects of popular ignorance, frenzy and corruption and of foreign and domestic war and strife; and it stands now as firm and vigorous as ever, with the separate estates of Sovereign, Lords and Commons still flourishing, although their several functions have altered to suit the changed circumstances and sentiments which have grown up around them in the long lapse of eventful ages. Similar statements are true, to a less extent of course, of the Constitutions of our neighbours in the United States.

Can you put the little experiment in Ontario—made under such exceptionally favourable circumstances—against precedents like these? You might as well say that, because Hanlan can safely and comfortably cross Toronto Bay on a calm day in summer in one of his racing skiffs, therefore the same craft might undertake to carry freight and passengers over the Atlantic in mid-winter, as to say that, because a single Chamber has not failed during the past few years in Ontario, we would be safe in entrusting the destinies of our whole country, with all its various and conflicting interests, to one House chosen by popular election."

It has been alleged that the Senate does nothing and therefore should be abolished as merely cumbering the Parliamentary ground, and it has also been alleged that the same House manifests a pernicious activity in thwarting the will of the people as voiced by the Government for the time being. The two charges cannot be true of the Senate at one time; so that the true meaning of the accusers is that the Senate does nothing when the party to which the great majority of its members belong is in power, and that its pernicious activity is shown when the other party is charged with the government of the country. Without going minutely into the history of the Upper House, it may be said that the charges are, to say the least, exaggerated. Many measures introduced by Conservative Administrations have been amended and some rejected, while the number of Government Bills thrown out during the five sessions of Mr. Mackenzie's Administration did not average more than one for each session. For some years the feeling was strong amongst the members of the Senate that their House was not doing as much of the work of Parliament as it could do; and the matter was discussed more than once.

In the Session of 1885 attention was called to the then condition of things by the late Honourable J. B. Plumb. In the course of the discussion the late Sir Alexander Campbell made a speech, one sentence of which may be quoted as showing why, in the opinion of that able and experienced Parliamentarian, a larger proportion of the public business was not initiated in the Upper House: "Taking all things into consideration, the sys-

tem of responsible government, the fact that a large majority of the members of the Government must be in the other House, the power of that House over the fate of Governments, the necessity of financial and trade measures and important things of that kind originating there, I do not think that anything more can be done in the direction of bringing business to this House further than that which I took occasion to mention in the Report of 1868, which was, that it must rest with the Government to do this." (Senate Hansard, 1885, p. 656.) In the Session of 1890, on a motion of the Hon. Mr. Poirier for an Address to the Queen praying for the appointment of Senators by the Provincial Legislatures, there was a long discussion, in the course of which Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Abbott made an important speech. The whole speech will well repay reading—Senate Hansard, 1890, p. 557, sq.—and it may be well to give the following extracts here:

"What duties are properly attributable to us under the British Constitution, which we live under, that we do not do? We have, in the first place, to examine and revise carefully the legislation which comes to us from the other House, and the legislation which we introduce ourselves. We have to scrutinize carefully the general policy of the Government, so far as it comes within our purview under our constitution. These are two of the most important functions that we perform, if not the most important of them. But we have another; and it is no less vital to order and good government. We must stand in the way when hasty, inconsiderate legislation or some popular paroxysm or excitement leads to measures which are injurious and disadvantageous to our country. If we do these three things, what more does our country demand of us? What more have we to do than those three classes of things? Now have we performed those duties or have we not? I think I can show you in a moment that we have done them most efficiently and effectively, and I say that has been the course of the Senate from the first. It has gradually taken up its position in the country and it is filling that position effectively and with dignity. . . . Every private Bill that comes up receives the close attention of this House and many of them are amended by pruning superfluous clauses, altering them or adding to them in the interests of the public. . . . They (the public) would approve of us if we talked for days and days without any results, probably, but the

quiet unobtrusive labour which this House goes through in supervising and perfecting the legislation of the country, I have no doubt they would appreciate if they knew of it; but they do not know of it. It is not the kind of labour which presents itself before the eyes of the public in every newspaper of the Dominion. And great numbers, a large majority probably of our people, for whom we are earnestly, honestly and diligently working in this House and in our Committee rooms, day after day, never know that we are engaged in seeking to further their welfare at all.

I hear on all hands, and especially I hear from gentlemen in another place, of the benefit which we confer by the care which we take with the legislation; and I was asked this very day where the legislation of the country would be if the Senate were gone, by one of the very men who were engaged in creating that legislation in another Chamber. Instead of being, as is supposed by some, mere registrars of the will of the Government in another House, bound by gratitude to vote exactly for what they desire us to do, we find that last year we passed through this House twenty-five Bills introduced in the House of Commons, of which thirteen were amended, many of them in a material degree, while the House was in session. We have already dealt this year with twenty-seven of these Bills, of which sixteen have been amended, and every honourable gentleman knows that there are one or two important measures we have gone through with enormous care, which it is admitted on all hands we have benefited to a most important extent, but which are not included in this list, not having been finished in this House. In the past year, from the House of Commons we took up and disposed of thirty-seven public Bills, of which fifteen were materially amended in this House, and we disposed of fifty-nine private Bills, of which twenty were materially amended in the Senate; making a total last year of 121 Bills considered by the Senate, of which forty-eight Bills were materially amended in the course of their passage through the House. This year the number is not so great, because they have not all come before the Senate, but we have already disposed of eighty-eight Bills, of which forty-two have been materially amended in this House.

Now, of all the Bills that have thus been amended which had first passed through the crucible of the House of Commons and were sent back to that House with amendments made by us, we have never had any hesitation shown by the Lower House in concurring in the amendments that we made, except in one instance.



Last year we received a message from the Lower House informing us that they could not concur in one of our amendments for reasons which they gave. Our Committee met and examined the message and the reasons, and they sent to the Lower House an answer to those reasons, as being the reasons which had induced them to make the amendment. The House of Commons immediately accepted the reasons which were given to them in reply, and adopted the amendments without further discussion. So, in point of fact, of this immense number of Bills carefully gone through and amended in this House, every one has been accepted by the Lower House without objection except one, and in that case, after consideration and hearing the reasons which had prompted this House to make the amendment, that one was accepted also, without further objection. We performed another branch of our duties last year—it was not particularly agreeable to me, but on the whole I respected the Senate for doing what the majority considered to be its duty on that occasion, and I am bound to believe that the majority was right. A Government Bill, passed by the House of Commons, which the majority of this House disapproved of was brought before the Senate and was unceremoniously rejected. I did my best to carry it through; I thought it ought to pass; I thought we were pledged to it in many ways. I gave various reasons why it ought to have passed the House, and I think, abstractly speaking, it ought to have passed the House, but the majority of the Senate were opposed to it, and notwithstanding their gratitude to the gentleman who appointed them they rejected the Bill after a comparatively short discussion.”

The following tables, illustrating the part taken in legislation by the Senate, may be of interest. The first is a fairly complete list giving the titles of the several Government Bills introduced in the Senate and amended in that House from the Union to the present time; the second is a summary of the first—the titles being omitted; and the third is a memorandum of Bills originating in the House of Commons and amended in the Senate:

*Government Bills First Introduced in the Senate and Amended in that House.*

1867-68.	
1. Agriculture Department Bill.	9. Marine and Fisheries Department Bill.
2. Alien Laws Bill.	10. Oaths to Witness Bill.
3. Canadian Waters Navigation Bill.	11. Officers' Security Bill.
4. Oaths of Office Bill.	12. Patents of Invention Bill.
5. Copyright Bill.	13. Postal Service Bill.
6. Department of Justice Bill.	14. Quarantine Bill.
7. Evidence in Canada Bill.	15. Trade Marks Bill.
8. Incorporated Companies Bill.	

1869.	
1. Animals Contagious Diseases Bill.	8. Juvenile Offenders' Bill.
2. Cruelty to Animals Bill.	9. Patents of Invention Bill.
3. Dominion Bank Bill.	10. Peace Preservation Bill.
4. Joint Stock Companies Bill.	11. Registration of Vessels Bill.
5. Letters Patent Bill.	12. Shipwrecks Investigation Bill.
6. Justices of the Peace Bill.	13. Steamboat Inspection Bill.
7. Summary Convictions Bill.	14. Vagrants Bill.
1870.	
1. Bills of Exchange Bill.	4. Masters and Mates Bill.
2. Coasting Trade Bill.	5. Secretary of State Department Bill.
3. Lighthouses Bill.	
1871.	
1. Fishing by Foreign Vessels Bill.	3. Quebec Trinity House Officers Bill.
2. North-West Territories Government Bill.	4. Railway Companies Exemption Bill.
1872.	
1. Copyrights Amendment Bill.	3. Quarantine Bill.
2. Public Lands Bill.	4. Statutes of Canada Bill.
1873.	
1. Aliens in B.C. and Manitoba Bill.	3. Department of the Interior Bill.
2. Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill.	4. Dominion Lands Act Bill.
	5. Manitoba Claims to Land Bill.
1874.	
None.	
1875.	
1. Copyrights Bill.	3. Defective Letters Patent Bill.
2. Interpretation Act Bill.	
1876.	
1. Common Carriers Liability Bill—	Thrown out.
1877.	
No Government Bills seem to have been introduced in the Senate this year.	
1878.	
1. Liquor Traffic Regulation Bill.	
This appears to have been the only Act introduced by the Government in the Senate.	
1879.	
1. Banking Laws Amendment Bill.	2. Census Bill.
1880.	
1. Dominion Lands Act Amendment Bill.	4. Militia Laws Amendment Bill.
2. Dominion Lands Act Extension Bill.	5. Savings Bank Bill.
3. Indian Laws Consolidation Bill.	6. Temperance Act Amendment Bill.
1880-81.	
1. Consolidated Railway Act Amendment Bill.	4. Manitoba Boundaries Extension Bill.
2. Government Railway Laws Consolidation Bill.	5. Naturalization and Aliens' Bill.
3. Inland Revenue Amendment Bill.	6. Patent Laws Amendment Bill.
	7. Petroleum Inspection Bill.
	8. Prize-fighting Bill.
1882.	
1. Bridges over Navigable Waters Bill.	4. Insolvent Banks, &c., Bill.
2. Criminal Justice in Territories Bill.	5. Petroleum Inspection, &c., Bill.
3. Harbour and River Police Bill.	6. Seamen's Court Judges Bill.
	7. County Court Judges Bill.
1883.	
1. Bills of Exchange in P. E. I. Bill.	4. Lotteries Act Bill.
2. Booms in Navigable Waters Bill.	5. Penitentiary Laws Bills.
3. Civil Service Bill.	6. Superannuation Bill.
1884.	
1. Disputed Territory Bill.	5. North-West Territories Act Bill.
2. Dominion Lands Act Bill.	6. Prisoners' Transfer Bill.
3. Insolvent Banks Bill.	7. Temperance Act, 1878, Bill.
4. Manitoba Lands Bill.	

- 1885.
  - 1. Adulteration of Food Bill.
  - 2. Canned Goods Bill.
  - 3. North-West Territories Justice Bill.
- 1886.
  - 1. Interpretation Act Amendment Bill.
- None.
  - 4. Offences against the Person Bill.
  - 5. Preservation of Peace Bill.
  - 6. Real Property in the North-West Territories Bill.
- 1888.
  - 1. Submarine Telegraph Cables Bill.
- 1889.
  - 1. Dominion Lands Bill.
  - 2. Expropriation of Lands Bill.
  - 3. Interest Act Amendment Bill.
- 1890.
  - 1. Agricultural Fertilizers Bill.
  - 2. Geological Surveys Bill.
  - 3. General Inspection Act Amendment Bill.
  - 4. Indian Act Amendment Bill.
  - 5. Interest Act Amendment Bill.
- 1891.
  - 1. Bills of Exchange, &c., Bill.
  - 2. Frauds upon Government Bill.
- 1892.
  - 1. General Inspection Amendment Bill.
  - 2. Grants of Land Bill.
- 1893.
  - 1. Canned Goods Act Bill.
  - 2. General Inspection Amendment Act Bill.
  - 3. Holidays Amendment Act Bill.
- 1894.
  - 1. Baptist Church Bill.
  - 2. Youthful Offenders' Bill.
  - 3. North-West Game Bill.
  - 4. General Trusts Bill.
  - 5. Insurance Bill.
- 1895.
  - 1. Civil Service Bill.
- 1896.
  - 1. Debenture and Loan Companies Bill.
  - 2. Railway Act Amendment Bill.

- 1896, Second Session.
  - None.
- 1897.
  - 1. Forged Endorsement, etc., Bill.
  - 2. Interest Act.
  - 3. Savings Bank (Quebec) Bill.

*Summary of Government Bills Originating in the Senate and Amended in that House.*

Year.	Number of Bills.	Year.	Number of Bills.
1867	15	1885	6
1869	14	1886	1
1870	5	1887	0
1871	4	1888	1
1872	4	1889	5
1873	5	1890	10
1874	0	1891	4
1875	3	1892	4
1876	1	1893	6
1877	0	1894	8
1878	1	1895	1
1879	5	1896	3
1880	6	1896	0
1880-1	9	1897	1
1882	7		
1883	6		142
1884	7		

The Bills brought up from the House of Commons and amended in the Senate and amendments accepted by the House of Commons were as follows :

Year.	Number of Bills.	Year.	Number of Bills.
1857-68	14	1884	50
1869	15	1885	22
1870	8	1886	37
1871	9	1887	35
1872	29	1888	29
1873	22	1889	26
1874	29	1890	26
1875	34	1891	23
1876	17	1892	13
1877	40	1893	21
1878	17	1894	21
1879	23	1895	15
1880	24	1896	4
1880-81	9	1896, Last Session	0
1882	41	1897	2
1883	28		

# THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS OF CANADA

BY

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FOR three centuries, England has been the great colonizer among the nations of the world. And, in planting her Colonies in all quarters of the globe she has sought to endow the inhabitants of those Colonies with political institutions for self-government similar to those in the Mother-Land. The political institutions of England, in the course of time, have been reformed and perfected to meet the needs and requirements of advancing civilization, and the aspirations of the people for a full measure of civil and religious liberty. The present constitution of Parliament with its three integral parts, "the Crown; the Lords Spiritual and Temporal forming one Assembly; and the Commons, *i.e.*, knights, citizens and burgesses, forming one Assembly," has been maintained for full six centuries. There may, at important crises in our history, have been violent departures from the established methods, but they were only temporary. The English model has been granted by the parent state to the Colonies. It is not contended that colonial constitutions of today are identical with those of a century ago, but it can be successfully maintained that existing political conditions in the Colonies have been naturally and logically developed from the system which was originally granted to them. The purpose of this article is to give a concise view of the Legislative Councils of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada from the earliest times to the present.

Provinces were originally formed and constituted by virtue of the King's Commission and instructions, and it was only necessary that each Province should refer "to these instruments for a correct knowledge of its constitution, and for the enjoyment of every privilege and advantage of the British Constitution, which is compatible

with the relative situation of a colony and the parent state." As we shall see later, the Lieutenant-Governor, or other officer, charged with the duty of organizing the Colony and administering its government by his commission and instructions, had authority to appoint a Council and give directions for the election of members to compose a House of Assembly. The bi-cameral system of Government, it has been observed by a distinguished writer, "accompanies the Anglican race like the common law." The uniformity in this respect, in Great Britain, the United States, and the Colonies of the Empire, is noteworthy. It may be found in the deep and profound desire for liberty. It is different from that unity of power characteristic of old Rome and the nations derived from Rome. It is a system "which implies safe guarantees of undisturbed legitimate action and efficient checks against undue interference. But when the whole power of the State rests undivided and unmodified, whether in an individual, or in a body of men, or in the whole community, there is not liberty but absolutism. The true merit, then, of the bi-cameral system, is that by dividing a power that would otherwise have been beyond control, it secures an essential guarantee for freedom."

It must not be understood that the people of the British North American Colonies at the start had a system efficient and satisfactory to the people. The framework of efficient popular government was conceded to them, but it took many years of agitation to bring about the required changes. At first, the Legislative Council exercised both legislative and executive powers. It advised the Governor as to administration, and was also part of the legislature to enact laws. The anomaly, if not absurdity, of this system

rendered it impossible for a member of the popular branch of the Legislature to have a seat in the Government of the Province. The representatives of the people checked and controlled the grant of supply for the public service, but they were powerless to advise the Crown upon questions of administration. In promoting legislation they had but limited control. The Legislative Council sat with closed doors, and bills sent from the popular branch of the Legislature for concurrence were frequently not again heard of by the latter body. The history of the Legislative Councils in Canada naturally embraces four distinct periods:—

(1) From the organization of the Council, when its powers were both executive and legislative, till the time when those powers were separated, and there was an Executive Council separate and distinct from the Legislative Council.

(2) From the last-named period to the adoption of responsible government.

(3) From the adoption of responsible government to the Act of Union, 1867.

(4) From the Union to the present time.

These divisions are given to enable the reader more clearly to carry in his mind what is to follow, rather than to form a basis for discussion. It will better accomplish the purpose in view to take the different Provinces in order, and to give a rapid glance at the Legislative Council of each, its organization, its composition, the changes which have taken place, and its present position.

Nova Scotia will first demand attention, as it is the oldest under British rule. This Province, except Cape Breton, was ceded to Great Britain, in 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht. From that date till 1758 the Provincial Government consisted of a Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor, and a Council—"the latter body supposed to possess legislative and executive powers." By the Commission from George the First to Governor Phillips, dated July, 1719, he was empowered "to appoint such fitting and discreet persons as you shall either find there or carry along with you, not exceeding the number of twelve, to be of our Council in our said Province, till our further pleasure be known, and five whereof we do hereby appoint to be a quorum." Governor Phillips continued in office till 1749, when he was

succeeded by Cornwallis. In May of the latter year, Commission was issued to Cornwallis, appointing him Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Nova Scotia. By the terms of his appointment, he was authorized "to choose, nominate and appoint such fitting and discreet persons as you shall either find there or carry along with you, not exceeding the number of twelve, to be of our Council." The same authority to appoint a Council was given in turn to all the Governors.

Chief Justice Belcher, in 1755, raised a doubt as to the power of the Governor and Council to enact laws, without the co-operation of a Legislative Assembly. The question was submitted to the English law officers of the Crown for their opinion, when they gave it as their opinion that the Governor and Council had no such right. As a result of this decision the English Government instructed the Governor to take the necessary steps for the election and assembling of a Legislative Assembly. Charles Lawrence became Governor in 1756. The instructions to Lawrence to convene an Assembly were reluctantly complied with by him, and the first Assembly met at Halifax on the second day of October, 1758. From that time till 1838 the Council continued to exercise legislative and executive functions. No member of the popular branch of the Legislature could under such a system become an adviser to the Governor. Dissatisfaction, discontent, agitation against the evils of the system, were rife throughout the Province. It was pointed out that only members of the Church of England were appointed to the Council, and that the Bishop of Nova Scotia and the Chief Justice of the Province should not be members. The leader of the popular movement for redress of grievances was Joseph Howe, a man of rare endowments and great eloquence. In 1837 an address from the Assembly was passed, and sent to England asking for needed reforms. The address was from the pen of Mr. Howe. After referring to the complete responsibility of the Government in England to the people, it shows that, in Nova Scotia, the Ministry are "Your Majesty's Council, combining legislative, judicial and executive powers; holding their seats for life, though nominally at the pleasure of the

Crown; and often treating with indifference the wishes of the people and the representations of the Commons."

This address closes by declaring that "As a remedy for these grievances, we implore Your Majesty to grant us an elective Legislative Council; or to separate the Executive from the Legislative Council; providing for a just representation of all the great interests of the Province in both; and by the introduction into the former of some members of the popular branch, and otherwise, securing responsibility to the Commons; confer upon the people of this Province, what they value above all other possessions, the blessings of the British constitution." Although Mr. Howe subsequently carried a motion in the Assembly rescinding these resolutions, they had been sent forward to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, and were not without effect. His Lordship, by a despatch dated April 30, 1837, to the Governor of Nova Scotia, practically conceded the demands of the House of Assembly. When that House assembled in 1838 there were two separate and distinct Councils—the Legislative Council of nineteen members, sitting with open doors, and the Executive Council of twelve members, having four members of the House of Assembly among the number. The Chief Justice had disappeared from the Legislative Council, and it had been declared by Lord Glenelg in his despatch that the Chief Justice and his brother Judges should not take part in legislation, as the "adoption or rejection of a law may involve some question of party politics."

Instructions were issued, February 6, 1838, to Lord Durham as Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Nova Scotia, confirming Lord Glenelg's despatch, declaring it to be Her Majesty's pleasure "that there shall be, within our said Province of Nova Scotia, two distinct and separate Councils, to be respectively called the Legislative Council and the Executive Council of our said Province." The Executive Council, however, was not at any time to have more than nine members, and the Legislative Council was not to have more than fifteen members. In 1862 a clause in the commission to Lord Monck gave authority to increase the members of the Legislative Council to twenty-one, which was the limit at Confederation in

1867, and it remains unaltered to the present time.

The old Province of Quebec, comprising the present Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, was ceded to England by the Treaty of 1763. The proclamation, which was issued by the King, October 7, 1763, was declared by Lord Mansfield to be the Imperial Constitution of Canada up to the time of the passing of the Quebec Act, 1774. Prior to the last date, the government of the country had been carried on by the Governor and a Council. It was impossible to convene an Assembly, as the oath required to be taken precluded the French Catholics from qualifying. The Quebec Act of 1774 was designed to conciliate His Majesty's French subjects in Canada, and to throw upon them a share of the responsibility of government. Hitherto, under and by virtue of the Royal Prerogative, authority was given to the Governor of a Colony by his commission and instructions, to organize Councils, convene Assemblies, and generally to put in motion the machinery for establishing and maintaining government. But in the case of Quebec the Imperial Parliament directly intervened by the Act of 1774. Those who have read the *Cavendish Debates* need not be told how strong was the opposition to the measure in the English House of Commons.

By the terms of the Act, it was stated that "it is at present inexpedient to call an Assembly"; but His Majesty with the advice of the Privy Council was authorized "to appoint a Council for the affairs of the Province of Quebec to consist of such persons resident there, not exceeding twenty-three, or less than seventeen, as His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors shall be pleased to appoint." This Legislative Council was forbidden to levy rates and taxes upon the inhabitants, except for roads and public buildings within the town or district. All ordinances made by the Governor and Council had to be transmitted to the King within six months, and the same could be disallowed. No ordinance could be passed at any meeting of Council unless a majority of the whole Council were present. Two years after the passage of the Quebec Act the thirteen New England Colonies declared their independence, which was acknowledged by the Mother-Country in 1783. The effect of the war

was a large immigration of British subjects into that part of the old Province of Quebec, now known as the Province of Ontario. The methods of government obtaining did not satisfy these people, accustomed as they had been to the then prevailing forms of English administration. This agitation brought about the Constitutional Act of 1791, which made two provinces—Upper Canada and Lower Canada—where formerly there was but one. The Bill was introduced into the English House of Commons by Pitt. It was strongly opposed by Fox, on the ground that the separation of the English and French inhabitants was not desirable. The Legislative Council of Upper Canada was to consist of not less than seven members and that of Lower Canada of not less than fifteen. It was competent, however, for the King from time to time to authorize the Governor or person administering the Government in each of the said Provinces respectively, to summon to the Legislative Council such other persons as His Majesty might think fit. Legislative Councillors under this Act held their seats for life, subject to certain limitations.

The Constitutional Act of 1791 did not yield the anticipated results. Serious difficulties arose, and these culminated in the Rebellion of 1837-8. The constitution of Lower Canada was suspended, and the government of the Province was committed to a Special Council. The Imperial Government sent Lord Durham out as Governor-General with instructions to study the situation and report. The result was his famous Report and the Union Act of 1840, which again united the two Provinces into one, under the name of the Province of Canada. The Legislative Council was to consist of not less than twenty members and the tenure of office was for life. The chief difficulties in Canada from 1791 to 1840 arose from the exclusion of the members of Assembly from their proper share in government. The Legislative Council stood nearest to the Governor and assumed the functions of responsible advisers to the Crown, and of the Assembly in granting supply. These evils were remedied by the grant of responsible government as the outcome of Lord Durham's Report.\* Under the

\*EDITOR'S NOTE. From 1856 to 1867 the Legislative Council in Canada was elective. This fact did not, however, serve to ameliorate the discords of the day.

terms of the British North America Act, 1867, the Province of Canada became the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. By that Act the Legislative Council was abolished in Ontario, but continued in Quebec. In the latter Province it was to consist of twenty-four members, to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in the Queen's name under the Great Seal of the Province, and for life. They are appointed to represent the twenty-four electoral districts, referred to in the Act.

Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton were confirmed to Great Britain by the Treaty of 1763, and, by Royal Proclamation of that year, they were annexed to Nova Scotia. The first was known as the Island of St. John until 1798, when, by Act of Assembly, it took its present name in honour of the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria. Prince Edward Island was organized into a separate province, August 4, 1769, when a Commission and Royal instructions were issued to Walter Patterson, appointing him the first Governor. The Council possessed both executive and legislative powers. In 1839 the separation of powers took place. Since then there have been two Councils, a Legislative Council and an Executive Council. The Legislative Council, composed of thirteen members, by a law of 1862, became elective, and has so continued to the present. Prince Edward Island became a Province of the Dominion in 1873. Those voting for Legislative Councillors require a higher electoral qualification than do those voting for members of the Assembly, and the electoral districts are different.

New Brunswick formerly was a County of Nova Scotia. It was organized into a separate Province in 1784—Thomas Carleton, a brother of Lord Dorchester, being the first Governor. His Commission is dated August 16, 1784, and his instructions two days later. Twelve names were inserted in the instructions, as members of Council, and among them were included the Chief Justice and the Judges of the Supreme Court. It was also provided that the number should not be less than nine. The Council exercised both legislative and executive functions, and continued to do so until 1833. At the very beginning of Provincial life difficulties arose between the Council and Assembly over appro-

priation bills and the expenditure of public money. The disputed points were referred by the Governor to the Duke of Portland, at that time a member of Pitt's Cabinet. His Grace, in a despatch dated Whitehall, June 9, 1793, laid down the rule, "that the voting, and if the Assembly think proper, the appropriation of moneys voted, is peculiarly within its province." On February 11, 1833, the House of Assembly was informed by message from the Governor, "That His Majesty has been pleased, by His Royal Commission, to appoint two separate and distinct Councils in this Province, to be respectively called the Legislative Council and the Executive Council; and has vested in the Legislative Council all the powers heretofore given to the Council of this Province as far as regards the enacting of laws, and to the Executive Council all the other powers hitherto exercised by the Council originally appointed." Two days later another message was communicated, stating that a despatch had been received from Lord Goderich expressing the opinion that the expenses of the Legislative Council should be paid in the same manner as the expenses of the members of the Assembly, and that provision should be made for such payment. The House, however, refused to concur in any such recommendation.

In 1834 the Legislative Council addressed the Throne, praying, among other things, that the appointment be for life. The answer of the Secretary, Mr. Spring Rice, was that "His Majesty would not be advised to accede thereto." In the same communication the reasons are assigned for the divisions of the Councils. They are judicious, and cover the field of dispute between the Council and Assembly. "His Majesty's decision was mainly influenced by the reflection that this new arrangement might enable him to bring the Executive Government of the Province into that free communication with the House of Assembly, which is on every account so desirable. By calling some members of that House to the Executive Council, a channel for constant and unrestrained intercourse was opened, from which it seemed reasonable to anticipate very considerable public benefit. Nothing has hitherto occurred to shake the foundation on which this opinion proceeded." While the Councils were combined no member of

the Assembly could be a member of the Executive. In those days of Provincial history the political reformer had no easy or enviable task. The King's directions to make a separation of Councils, so as to bring the Assembly into greater harmony and closer touch with the Executive, were thwarted as far as possible. An "oligarchy" held sway, and the Governor, as a general rule, sympathized with this body. The appointments to both Councils for many years kept from active participation in government the men having the confidence of the people.

Although two Councils had been organized, there was yet no responsibility on the part of the Executive to the Assembly. The members of the Government did not pretend to initiate or control the grant of supply for public services. The proposal to grant aid or vote money was left to any member of the Assembly, and in consequence there was no system, no economy, no responsibility. People had not fully grasped the idea of responsible government, but many reformers, sensible of existing evils, were pushing forward, in the face of varied obstacles, to a better system. Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, in a despatch of July 11, 1843, in answer to an Address of the Assembly, directed a revision of the instruments by which the Legislative Council was constituted. He directed that the number should be increased to twenty-one, and of that number only seven should hold office at the pleasure of the Crown, and that the quorum should be eight. In a further despatch of December 30th of the same year, directions were given as to suspension of members on sufficient cause, and the declaration that "they all hold their offices at the Queen's pleasure." After a great struggle the Assembly obtained control of the Casual and Territorial Revenues in 1837, for which an adequate permanent civil list was provided. This change made the Executive more dependent upon the power which held the purse strings. The number of members of the Legislative Council was afterwards reduced to eighteen, and so continued until its abolition in 1892. The names of L. A. Wilmot and Charles Fisher will ever be held in grateful remembrance for the part they took in advancing the cause of representative government in New Brunswick.

British Columbia was erected into a Province in 1858 and Vancouver Island in 1849. They were governed by a Governor and Council. The Governor of British Columbia legislated by proclamation until 1864. He then had the advice and aid of a Legislative Council of fifteen members to frame ordinances for the government of the Province. Vancouver Island was made a Crown Colony in 1849, given a Governor and Council in 1850, was united to British Columbia in 1866, and as part of that Province entered the Dominion in 1871. After the two Colonies united the number of Legislative Councillors was increased to twenty-three. No further changes were made, and the Government of the Province was in the hands of the Governor and Council until the union with the Dominion. Since then there has been no Council and only a Legislative Assembly.

Manitoba became a Province of Canada in 1870, and had a Legislative Council of seven members until 1876, when it was abolished. The North-West Territories never had an Upper House.

In the older Provinces of Canada, the separation of legislative and executive powers was a step in advance but it did not terminate the period of dispute between the Legislative Council and the Assembly. Many addresses were sent to Downing Street, and many despatches were received from Colonial Secretaries before the system of responsible government was fully established. That system was established in the Canadas, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick by 1848, and in Prince Edward Island by 1851. The Province of New Brunswick, up to 1845, was included in the Diocese of the Bishop of Nova Scotia. In that year it was set off as a separate Diocese of the Church of England. The first Bishop of Nova Scotia was consecrated at Lambeth, Sunday, August 12, 1787, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and he was sworn in as a member of the Council of Nova Scotia, May 26, 1809. His seat was to be next after the Chief Justice, but he was not to administer the government in the event of the death or absence of the Lieutenant-Governor. When the son of the first Bishop became Bishop in 1825, he also was appointed to the Council. As his Diocese at that time

included New Brunswick, he claimed the right to take his seat in the Council of the Province, and did so upon one occasion.

As we have seen, there was a separation of legislative and executive functions in Nova Scotia in 1838. In the additional Royal instructions given to Lord Durham of March 9th, 1838, for the organization of the Legislative Council, he was directed to appoint "Our trusty and well-beloved, the Bishop of Nova Scotia," one of the members thereof. An agitation began against the Chief Justice and the Bishop holding seats in the Legislative Council. It was felt that the Judiciary should not be placed in a position to become mixed up in political differences; and that it was unfair to other Denominations of Christians to have the representative of one in Council, while the others were excluded. These views finally prevailed, and, since the introduction of responsible government, these officials have disappeared from political life in the Legislature.

In both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick before the introduction of responsible government, suggestions had been made by the Assemblies to have the Legislative Council elected, as a solution of the difficulty between the Council and the Assembly. The Colonial Secretary, however, never thought favourably of any such change, while the friends of the Council opposed it strongly, as radical and wholly unconstitutional. A war of pamphlets over the proposal took place in New Brunswick in 1835, and one writer, in the fervour of his indignation, declared, "that the project of an elective Council would be rejected with the scorn and ignominy which it deserves." Another question which it took some years to settle was the payment of members of the Legislative Council. While the Council exercised legislative and executive functions, the question could not well arise, as the members were officials discharging duties to which salaries were attached. But, when the separation took place, many of the members of the Legislative Council had no official duties beyond seats in the Council. To require them to serve gratuitously and pay their own expenses, while members of the Assembly were paid, would be manifestly unfair. And yet strong opposition was made to the proposal on the ground that the Council corresponded in the



Colony to the House of Lords in England, and that the honour of having a seat in the Council was ample recompense for the labour and outlay involved.

As late as 1837 Mr. Charles Fisher, one of the chief advocates of responsible government in New Brunswick, in opposing the proposal, said "that he could never agree to paying the Council. This bill struck at the vital principle of the constitution." He claimed that the three branches of the Legislature were intended to represent monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, and that the "second branch should be composed of men of sufficient wealth and independence to support the aristocratic character which ought to belong to them, and which they were intended to represent; and certainly such men could be found in this Province in sufficient number to compose a House, according to the true intent and spirit of their constitutional character." These difficulties in time were surmounted; the members were paid in the same way as the members of the Assembly, and without detriment to the safety or stability of the British constitution. A question of considerable importance arose in Nova Scotia, a few years ago, as to the tenure of office of a Legislative Councillor. Without entering upon a discussion of this question, it is manifest that Lord Stanley, then Colonial Secretary, in his reply to the Legislative Council of New Brunswick, August 23, 1844, and to the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia, August 20, 1845, was of the opinion that a Legislative Councillor in either Province held his seat only at the pleasure of the Crown. How far that tenure of office has been changed, if at all, by subsequent events, it is not necessary in this connection to determine. The late Sir Adams G. Archibald, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, has said that "the constitution of Nova Scotia has always been considered as derived from the terms of the Royal Commissions to the Governor and Lieutenant-Governors, and from the instructions which accompanied the same, moulded from time to time by despatches from Secretaries of State, conveying the will of the Sovereign, and by Acts of the Local Legislature, assented to by the Crown; the whole to some extent interpreted by uniform usage and custom in the Colony." This state-

ment is equally applicable to all the Provinces of Canada.

A remedy was found for colonial grievances by the adaptation of British constitutional principles to the affairs of the Colonies. The principle of self-government in all matters of local concern, with the application of responsible government, or ministerial responsibility, to the Assembly, has everywhere brought harmony where previously there was discord. The functions of a Legislative Council, within Provincial limitations, are now similar to those of the Senate of Canada and the House of Lords. The Council cannot amend any appropriation bill sent up from the Lower House. It has the power of rejection, a power rarely used. It cannot initiate any measure whereby taxation is imposed. And, for the purpose of preserving intact ministerial responsibility in both Federal and Provincial affairs, it is expressly provided by the British North America Act that the House of Commons and Provincial Assemblies shall not adopt or pass any vote, resolution or bill for the appropriation of public money unless first recommended by the Crown.

There is, no doubt, a strong feeling in many quarters that each Province of Canada should get along with a single chamber. The chief reason assigned is that of economy. But there are other considerations of great importance which should not be lost sight of in the administration of public affairs. Mr. Todd, an acknowledged constitutional authority, has well said that:—"In Colonies entrusted with the powers of local self-government, and where the policy of administration, as well as the making of general laws for the welfare and good government of all classes in the community, are under the control of a local Legislature, a second chamber is a necessary institution. It is a counterpoise to democratic ascendancy in the popular and most powerful assembly; it affords some protection against hasty and ill-considered legislation and action; and serves to elicit the sober second thought of the people, in contradistinction to the impulsive first thought of the Lower House." Our system of government is a growth, a development, adapting itself from time to time to the needs and circumstances of the occasion and, upon the whole, working out a successful result.

## MUNICIPAL INSTITUTIONS IN CANADA

BY

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**U**NDER the *Old Régime*. For the beginnings of our municipal institutions we do not need to antedate the Cession—there are no links that connect our municipal institutions with the *Old Régime*. Municipal institutions in Canada are the outcome of the largest possible exercise of political liberty, and are incompatible with the autocratic sway of a Colbert or a Richelieu. And yet, as municipal affairs of necessity deal with the common requirements of communities in township, village or settlement, it is manifest that even under the centralizing sway of the *Old Régime*, they must have possessed certain recognizable features that cannot have wholly escaped the attention of the antiquarian or historian and must therefore possess interest for the student, even though they be radically different in conception and structure from those that obtain to-day. Many of the streets of Montreal and Quebec bear witness to the manner of life of the dwellers in those cities under the *Old Régime*, and any review of Canadian municipal institutions that should pass over this earlier period would be imperfect.

Samuel de Champlain who constructed the *Habitation de Quebec* in 1608 informs us that he published ordinances for the good government of the Colony. M. de Montmagny, who succeeded Champlain, repaired and strengthened the defences of Quebec. He also traced a plan of the town, marking out the streets according to a system. Those who know the narrow and tortuous way in which the streets of the lower town of Quebec are grouped will conclude that this system, while not without its picturesque features, was not remarkable for symmetry. De Montmagny also erected a pillory which served for the publication and proclamation of public notices as well. The energetic Frontenac some years later,

applied himself to the task of giving municipal government in Quebec. He ordered the election of three aldermen, the senior of whom was to be Mayor. One of the three was to retire annually; his place to be filled by a new election; the Governor reserving the right to approve or veto the same. Frontenac also, in conjunction with the chief inhabitants, framed regulations for the administration of the town, destined, as he often declared, to become the chief city of a mighty empire. Meetings were also to be held semi-annually to consider matters of public welfare. Colbert, however, shattered all these fine projects and democratic germs by a sharp rebuke which seems to have been effective in its influence, not only upon Frontenac, but upon his successors. At Montreal, De Maisonneuve, as local Governor administered local affairs in his own person. Nominally he was subject to the Governor at Quebec, but distance made him practically independent. Ten local ordinances promulgated by De Maisonneuve have been preserved; four relate to the sale of liquor, three to the defence of the town, and the others to the construction of a church and the administration of justice. A general review of the conditions and characteristics of municipal affairs at that time can perhaps be best obtained by summarizing what is known of certain offices and customs, the names of which have come down to us.

The *Syndic d' Habitation* was an official well known in France where he represented popular rights before the administrative tribunals. There are records of the election of *Syndics* in Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers. These officials appear to have been entrusted with certain local authority and represented the community in its dealings with the Governors. The office did not commend itself to Colbert, who instructed Fron-

tenae to suppress it gradually. At Montreal, however, the office seems to have been one of importance. The duties of the Syndic in that place were, to administer the affairs of the Island by the just employment of the money given him for its requirements, subject, however, to the approval of the local Judge and the Procureur Fiscal. He also levied taxes for the support of the garrison.

The Grand Voyer was the road surveyor under the Old Régime, and the Captain of the Militia was a sort of constable and local chief of the men available for fighting. He also acted as the deputy of the Grand Voyer whose special duties were the supervision of roads and bridges, the line of streets, buildings in danger of collapse, and like matters. This office existed long after the Cession; and in 1777, 7778 and 1796 legislation upon roads and highways refers certain duties to an official who is also styled the Grand Voyer. Twenty-four feet was the required width of roads under the Old Régime, but the Legislative Council in 1777 enacted that thirty feet be the minimum width.

The Corvée was the system under which the Seigneurs, or the community, were entitled to a certain amount of manual labour from tenants or censitaires for the maintenance of roads and bridges. It was introduced from France, and was usually stipulated for in deeds of concession. In 1716 Michel Begon, Intendant, issued an order forbidding the insertion of such stipulations in future deeds of concession. The system, however, had taken deep root and traces of it have existed until very recent times. Parliament, in 1796, sanctioned the system in an effort to improve the frightful condition of the public highways, and the Act was not repealed until 1854 (18 Vic., Cap. 100).

The Intendant, however, was the official who, as the head of civil administration throughout the Colony, comprised in his own person all that is now entrusted to Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council. The ordinances of the Intendants relate to a great variety of subjects. The inhabitants were forbidden to place traps on their lands; they were ordered to erect fences; regulations respecting negroes and slaves were made; pigs were not allowed to wander through the streets; the order of precedence in church was

established to be that laid down by the Sovereign Council; the *habitants* were forbidden to gallop their horses and carriages on leaving church; missionaries were authorized to receive and execute wills; a lengthy and elaborate ordinance was issued respecting the building of houses; this was supplemented by another ordinance requiring builders to take their alignment from the Grand Voyer or Road Surveyor; regulations against fire were made and against nuisances; children and grown persons were forbidden to slide in any manner on the different hills in the City of Quebec—"ce qui expose les passantes a des accidents"; weights and measures, the value of coinage, the building of churches, the observance of Sunday, the preservation of timber, seigneurial rights, the settlement of boundaries and many other matters were determined by the Intendant. He presided at meetings of merchants and traders held for the election of a Syndic; determined the limits of private lands; issued instructions to the neighbourhood for the repair or construction of a road; required the *habitants* to exhibit their titles upon occasion; forbade those who dwelt on farms to visit the cities without special permission, and punished all violations of his ordinances. De Tocqueville says that the Canadian Intendant had much greater power than the French Intendant. As to the power of the latter we have the testimony of the great financier, Law, that all France was really governed by its thirty Intendants. "You have neither Parliament, nor estates, nor Governors" he declared to the Marquess d'Argenson, "nothing but thirty Masters of Requests, on whom, as far as the Provinces are concerned, welfare or misery, plenty or want, entirely depend."

The division of the Colony of New France into parishes was effected on the 2nd of March, 1722, by an edict of the Council of State, adopting a schedule drawn by Michel Begon, Intendant. By this edict Canada was divided into what was called the Government of Quebec, with forty-one parishes; the Government of Three Rivers, with thirteen parishes; the Government of Montreal, with twenty-eight parishes. These parishes were all fully described by their boundaries. They were primarily ecclesiastical parishes, many of which had an anterior existence as such, but

were for the first time recognized by civil authority in the Edict of 1722. The beginnings of parishes may be traced to the habitations or settlements of the Colonists. The Seigneur was the social head of these communities, administering justice among his censitaires in the absence of other jurisdiction; receiving their fealty and homage, mutation fines and *rentes*; and taking the place of the Syndic d' Habitation. No other recognition of these parishes than that of the Edict of 1722 was made by civil authority until the year 1831, when a Commission by the Legislative Assembly was appointed to establish their limits for civil purposes. The Consolidated Statutes of Lower Canada embody still later legislation on the subject; the ecclesiastical parish forming in most instances the actual boundaries of the civil parish. This illustrates the close connection which existed between the civil and religious administration of the Colony.

*Since the Cession in Lower Canada.* When the British flag replaced the standard of France upon the citadel of Quebec the autocratic rule of Intendants ceased and the movement of a freer life was felt throughout the Colony. For three years after the capitulation, affairs municipal, as well as those of larger import, were administered by military officers. General James Murray was stationed at Quebec; General Thomas Gage at Montreal, and Colonel Ralph Burton at Three Rivers. General Murray as Governor-General administered municipal affairs with the assistance of an Executive Council composed of the local Government of Montreal and Three Rivers, the Chief Justice, the Surveyor of Customs, and eight leading residents. This Council performed for Montreal and other towns the duties that now are entrusted to aldermen. Ordinances were passed relating to the baking and selling of bread, police, markets, roads and highways in Quebec and Montreal. For instance, in October, 1764, the Governor and Council decided that the six-penny white loaf should weigh four pounds and the brown loaf six pounds, so long as flour sold for fourteen shillings per cwt. The clerks of the peace were instructed to inspect markets and bakeries once in three months at least, and to stamp and brand all weights and measures. Every loaf of bread had to be stamped

with the baker's initials, and the clerks had authority to stop waggons on the streets for inspection.

On March 27th, 1766, an ordinance was passed for repairing and amending the highways and bridges in the Province, "which," said the ordinance, "for want of due and timely repairs and amendments are become impassable." In 1768, to provide against conflagrations, the Council ordered that, in Montreal and Quebec and Three Rivers, chimneys be cleaned once in four weeks during the winter, from the 1st of October to the 1st of May. Every householder was required to be provided with two buckets for water, made either of leather or sealskin, or of canvas painted without and pitched within, and holding at least two gallons each. Every housekeeper was required to keep a hatchet in his house to assist in pulling down houses to prevent the spreading of the flames, and two fire-poles of specified length and design, to knock off the roofs of houses on fire or in danger of becoming so. Every housekeeper was also required to keep on the roof of his house as many ladders as he had chimneys, so placed that easy access might be had to sweep the chimneys, or carry water up to them in case of fire. Hay or straw in a house, ashes on a wooden floor or in a wooden bucket were forbidden under penalty. Wooden houses were thereafter forbidden, and restrictions were placed upon the use of shingles, and the manner of placing stovepipes from room to room. Overseers were appointed, and the Justices were empowered to enforce penalties.

The next controlling power in municipal affairs was the Legislative Council, appointed under the provisions of the Quebec Act of 1774. This Council, which was first presided over by Guy Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester, whose name is preserved in the stately Montreal street that bears his name, consisted of twenty-three members. Montreal continued still to be governed from Quebec, the Council sitting with closed doors in the Castle of St. Louis, on the citadel rock, and deliberating, as the records show, with a good deal of practical wisdom. For some time after its appointment, however, municipal affairs received but scant attention owing to the excitement caused by the Quebec

Act. About the same time the whole Province was agitated by the American invasion. Montreal capitulated on November 13th, 1775, Montgomery's forces marching in by the Recollet Gate, and himself occupying the Forretier House on the corner of Notre Dame and St. Peter Streets. Emulous doubtless of the great exploit of Wolfe, Montgomery pushed on to Quebec and on Dec. 31st made his vigorous attack upon the citadel. But ere the New Year dawned he was cold in death. His discomfited forces withdrew, leaving Montreal and the Province once more free, and the Executive Council able to devise measures for good government. Amongst the municipal ordinances enacted we find regulations for markets, and penalties against buying in the roads or streets. Butchers and huxters buying to sell again were forbidden to do so before ten in the forenoon in summer, or noon in winter, under a penalty. Provisions and provender and livestock brought by schooners or such craft could not be disposed of until an hour's notice had been given to the inhabitants by the bell-man, so that all might have equal chance in buying. (17 Geo. III, cap. 4).

In 1791 the Constitutional Act was passed, which divided Canada into Upper and Lower, and gave each Province Parliaments and Legislative Councils. The Parliaments continued the paternal oversight of our local affairs that the Councils had previously exercised. Every municipal statute or ordinance defined and explained the duties of the magistrates in relation to it. At first a good deal of jealousy existed between the Justices and the military, which culminated in an attack upon Thomas Walker, a Justice who had given offence to the military, the affair causing great excitement at the time. It gave occasion to Chief Justice Hey to present a special report, and in 1769, in a second report, to declare that the authority given to the Justices had been too largely and too confidently entrusted to them in judicial matters. The ample powers originally intended to facilitate the course of justice became the instruments of oppression in the hands of men who regarded the office as an opportunity for private emolument. The Chief Justice's vigorous protests procured an abridgment of the Magistrates' powers, not

without loud remonstrances from the latter. As the population increased, however, a better selection was possible, and powers of local and municipal administration were entrusted to them. They formed the local administrative body which carried into effect the ordinances of Councils or Parliaments. This is indeed the characteristic feature of the municipal administration of Montreal and Quebec from the time of the Cession until the cities obtained their first Charters in 1832. These Charters were limited to a period of four years and at the end of that time, owing to the disturbed condition of the country, were not renewed. Montreal and Quebec received their second Charters in 1840, and since that time, in common with the leading towns and cities of the Province, look directly to the Legislature for any increase or modification of their corporate powers and are not governed under the provisions of a general Act as are the towns and cities of Ontario.

During the administration of the Special Council in Lower Canada, consequent upon the suspension of the Constitution, an ordinance was passed (4 Vic., Cap. 4) "to provide for the better internal Government of this Province by the establishment of Local or Municipal Institutions therein." The Province was divided into Districts, each of which was constituted a body corporate with special but limited powers. It was enacted that each District should have a Warden appointed by the Governor, and Councillors elected by the inhabitant householders. Every parish and township with a population of 3,000 and upwards elected two councillors; every parish and township having a population less than 3,000 elected one councillor, subject, however, to the Governor's proclamation in such matters. Municipal service as a councillor was compulsory under pain of a fine. One-third of the Council retired annually. Four quarterly meetings were held in the year, but special meetings might be held under the authority of the Governor, who also determined the place of meeting for each Council and appointed the district clerks and treasurers. It was required that two auditors, one named by the Warden, the other by the Council, be appointed annually. These District Councils were empowered to make by-laws for

roads, bridges and public buildings, the purchase of real property, schools, assessments, penalties for refusal to take municipal office, parish officials and police. No by-laws for the erecting of any public work was valid without a previous estimate and report as to expenditure, and all by-laws were subject to disallowance by the Governor. These District Councils were authorized to exercise all the powers and duties of the Grand Voyers, who were thus virtually abolished, but provision was made for indemnification of these officials. No councillor received any emolument for his services. The Governor might dissolve any Council at pleasure, but in such case the Warden had powers to cause a new election to be held. By a special clause this ordinance was not to be construed as applying to the Cities of Quebec and Montreal. The foregoing ordinance was complementary to one which was passed at the same time by the Special Council (4 Vic., Cap. 3) "to prescribe and regulate the election and appointment of certain officers, in the several parishes and townships of this Province, and to make other provisions for the local interests of the inhabitants of these divisions of the Province." The officials mentioned in this ordinance are three assessors, one collector, one or more persons to be surveyors of highways and bridges, two or more fence-viewers and inspectors of drains and one or more persons to be pound-keepers, but certain of these offices might all be filled by one person. The control which the first of these ordinances so conspicuously reserved in the hands of the Governor was doubtless due to the troubled condition of the country and doubts as to the wisdom of entrusting larger local liberty to the District Councils. In 1845, however, this ordinance was repealed by an Act (8 Vic., Cap. 40) which constituted every township and parish a municipal corporation represented by an elected Council of seven, whose head, styled the Mayor, was also elective. Two councillors retired each year. A very considerable measure of authority was confided to the Councils in 24 classes of subjects detailed in the statute. Provision was also made for the incorporation of villages or towns. Any three land-owners of a village containing sixty houses or upwards within a space of 60 arpents might requisition the

Senior Justice to call a meeting to consider the advisability of petitioning the Parish Council to fix limits and boundaries for the village or town. If the decision was affirmative, the boundaries were fixed and the election of councillors and incorporation followed, the councillors electing the Mayor.

Two years later (10 and 11 Vic., Cap. 7) the parish and township municipalities were abolished and county municipalities were substituted—the Municipal Council consisting of two councillors elected by each parish and township of the county for two years, one-half retiring annually. In the event of any parish or township refusing to elect their councillors the Governor was empowered to appoint them. Any town or village comprising at least forty houses within an area of not more than thirty arpents might be incorporated as a town or village and elect a Council of seven, the specified powers of the Council relating chiefly to fires, nuisances and matters of public order. The usual assessors, collectors and overseers were appointed under this statute, and the office of Deputy Grand Voyer was created. The powers of the Council were not materially altered but additional powers were given which included the right to impose fines for contravention of by-laws; to compel circus companies, showmen and liquor dealers to take out licenses; and to contract for the maintenance of summer and winter roads. In 1850 (13 and 14 Vic., Cap. 34) Municipal Councils were permitted to amend their assessment rolls if in their opinion the valuation already made was insufficient; they were also permitted to levy a rate of one-half penny in the pound upon the assessed value of rateable property for general purposes. Any township containing 300 souls was by this amendment permitted to elect councillors, and to be considered a township or parish for all municipal purposes. This statute also contained provisions for the sale of lands upon which taxes were due, for the construction and maintenance of roads, bridges, fences; for the imposing of penalties and for other matters.

In 1853 (16 Vic., Cap. 138) an Act was passed to empower the municipalities of the Counties of Two Mountains, Terrebonne, Rouville and Missisquoi to take stock in any railroad companies

for the construction of railways passing through the said counties respectively, and to issue bonds to raise funds for the payment of the same. During the same session another Act (Cap. 213) was passed extending these provisions to the Councils of all county, town and village municipalities in Lower Canada and to the taking of shares by the same in the capital stocks of railway companies. A provision in this Act, exempting by-laws for railway enterprises and investments from being submitted to the people, was repealed in 1854. By Act in 1854 (18 Vic., Cap. 13) a Consolidated Municipal Loan Fund for Lower Canada, similar to one enacted for Upper Canada, was established. This fund was limited to £1,500,000 for each Province, and was managed by the Receiver-General under the direction of the Governor-in-Council. It was provided that any incorporated city, town or village might raise money on the credit of this Fund for gas or water-works, drainage or roads, to an amount not exceeding 20 per cent. on the aggregate assessed valuation of the property affected by any by-laws that might be passed in any municipality.

In 1855 (18 Vic., Cap. 100) a most important and elaborate Act—the Lower Canada Municipal and Roads Act—was passed. It reformed the municipal system of the Province and established therein (1) county, (2) parish and township, (3) town and village municipalities, all of which were represented by elective Councils. This statute was amended and classified (by 197 20 Vic., Cap. 101) and by a later statute (22 Vic., Cap. 101) which permitted appeals from the discussion of Councils in certain cases. This Act must be considered as the basis of the actual municipal system in operation at the present time. In 1876 (40 Vic., Cap. 29) the Town Corporation General Clauses Act was passed. In 1888 the statutes of the Province were revised and under the title of Municipal Matters (Acts 4178 to 4640) are to be found the legal enactments that apply to every town corporation or municipality established by the Legislature, unless expressly modified by a special charter. It may be stated that Quebec, Montreal, Sherbrooke, Three Rivers, St. Hyacinthe and other cities and towns have preferred and have obtained incorporation by special statutes or charters which from time to time, on

petition, the Legislature amends. By the general clauses above referred to, a Municipal Council has jurisdiction throughout the entire extent of the municipality and beyond these limits, where special power is conferred.

By-laws, resolutions, and other municipal orders must be passed by the Council in session, and, to be authentic, the original must be signed by the presiding officers of the Council, and by the secretary-treasurer. Loans, whether by the issue of debentures or otherwise, can only be made under a by-law of the Council to that effect, approved by a majority in number, and in real value, of the proprietors who are municipal electors. The Council has the right to make, amend, repair or revise, in whole, or in part, from time to time, by-laws which refer to its officers, or the municipality, upon the following subjects: government of the Council, its officers, aid to public works, public markets, sale of intoxicating liquors, masters and servants, public health, indemnities, relief and rewards, decency and morals, public nuisances, sewers, ditches and water-courses, streets and highways, carters, lighting and water supply. Annual valuation rolls and municipal lists are made, and special powers are given to exempt from, or commute, taxes in favour of industries, and also to expropriate land for municipal purposes.

The Province of Quebec also possesses a special Municipal Code which applies to all the territory of the Province excepting the cities and towns incorporated by special statute. This territory is divided into county municipalities which include county, village or town municipalities. The inhabitants and ratepayers of every county, country, village and town municipality form a corporation or body politic which under its corporate name has perpetual succession and may exercise all the powers in general vested in it or which are necessary for the accomplishment of the duties imposed upon it. The Code recognizes municipalities in the form of parishes, townships, united townships, towns, villages or counties, and contains provisions common to all these various kinds of municipalities, such as the representative and executive character of the Municipal Council, the delegation of its duties to committees of its members, the judicial revision of

its resolutions and by-laws, the swearing in of its members, the duties of its head, whether Mayor or Warden, the conduct of its sessions, the obligations of its officers.

Under the Municipal Code the County Council is composed of the Mayors in office of all the local municipalities in the county. Such Mayors bear the title, in Council, of "County Councillors." The head of the Council is called the "Warden," in French "Préfet," and is chosen from among the members of the County Council during the month of March in each year. The ordinary or general sessions of County Councils are held on the second Wednesday in the months of March, June, September and December in each year in the *chef-lieu* of the county. The Board of Delegates is composed of the Wardens and two other delegates from each of the county municipalities, the inhabitants of which are interested in some work or matter which may fall within the jurisdiction of the councils of such municipalities. The Local Council consists of seven councillors elected throughout the Province on the second Monday of every January; nominations may be verbal or written and the voting is open. In the event of the municipality failing or neglecting to fyle the required number of councillors, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province may appoint them. The second part of the Municipal Code treats of the powers of the Municipal Council. Each one has the right to make, amend, or repeal by-laws which refer to itself, its officers, or the municipality, upon the following subjects: the government of the Council and its officers; public works; aid to colonization, agriculture, horticulture, arts and sciences; the acquisition of property and public works; direct taxation; loans and issue of debentures; a sinking fund for liquidating debts; a census; rewards for discoveries; penalties and other objects.

The special powers of County Councils to make by-laws relate to the *chef-lieu* of the county; the location of the Circuit Court and registry office; roads and bridges; fires in the woods; indemnities to members of Council. Every by-law which orders or authorizes a loan or issue of debentures must before coming into force and effect, be approved by the electors of the municipi-

ality, when the taxable property of the whole municipality is subject to the payment of the loan or debentures, and in all cases by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. By-laws may be attacked on the ground of illegality by any municipal elector. All real estate is taxable except Government, religious and educational holdings and (to a limited extent) railway companies. The valuation roll is made in the months of June and July biennially, is revised by the Council and is open for inspection during a specified delay. The Municipal Code next deals with the all-important subject of roads; of those persons liable to render service on roads in the absence of a *procès-verbal* or by-law; winter roads—the line of which is marked by means of *balizes* of spruce or cedar; front roads, by-roads, winter roads on rivers, municipal bridges, ferries and water-courses; expropriations for municipal purposes; appeals from the passing of by-laws by a rural municipality to the County Council; the collection of taxes, municipal debts and sale of lands for taxes; and appeals to the Circuit Court from decisions by Justices, or the County Council, in municipal matters.

The special powers of local Councils to pass by-laws relate to: public highways, roads and bridges, public places, sidewalks and sewers, ferries, plan of the municipality, sale of liquors, limitation of licenses for sale of liquors, storage of gunpowder, sale of bread and wood, personal taxes, indemnities and relief, public nuisances, decency and good morals, public health. Town and village Councils have additional powers with regard to masters and servants, public markets, water and light. In Quebec there are 67 county municipalities named and described in the Provincial Statutes (R.S.Q. 73), which also mention the cities and towns especially incorporated. (*Ibid.* 75).

Since 1763 in *Upper Canada*. After the Act of Union (3 and 4 Vic., Cap. 35) by which Upper and Lower Canada were united into one Province, under the name of the Province of Canada, there was passed (4 and 5 Vic., Cap. 10) "An Act to provide for the interior government" of Upper Canada, by establishing local or municipal authorities therein. It enacted that from and after the first Monday of January, 1842, all the



inhabitants of each district of the heretofore Province of Upper Canada, and of each district therein and hereafter to be established, would be constituted into a Corporation and as such be capable of perpetual succession, of having a common seal, of taking and defending suits, and acquiring and possessing immovables within the respective districts for the use of the inhabitants, and of joining in such contracts as were necessary for the exercise of their corporate functions; and that the said powers should be exercised by the Council and in the name of the Council of each respective district. It created for every district a District Council, to consist of a Syndic, named and appointed by the Governor of the Province by letters-patent, whenever occasion required, and holding his position during the Governor's pleasure; and one or two councillors for each of the townships in the respective districts, according to their population, elected annually by the freeholders and heads of families in the district. Every township of more than 300 inhabitants had two councillors. The property qualification of the councillors was real estate in the district, or an adjoining district, worth £300. No person attainted of treason or felony by any Court of Justice in any part of the Empire could act as councillor. Those elected were obliged to serve under pain of a fine and were obliged to take an oath of office. One-third retired annually. Four meetings were held in the year and majority of the votes decided all questions.

In 1846 (9 Vic., Cap. 40) the statute creating District Councils was amended. An allowance of six shillings and three pence for each day's actual attendance at Council meetings was sanctioned. The councillors were permitted to elect their own Wardens and District Treasurers. In May, 1849 (12 Vic., Cap. 80), a praiseworthy effort was made "to provide by one general law for the election of municipal corporations and the establishment of regulations of police, in and for the several counties, cities, towns, townships and villages in Upper Canada." To this end all the Acts in force in the Upper Province were repealed, and for certainty a schedule was appended to the repealing statute including enactments from the date of 3 Geo. III., Cap. 10 and onwards. This

elaborate Act laid the basis of municipal institutions in Upper Canada. It incorporated (a) townships, detailing in thirty-three paragraphs the powers of the Township Council—constituted by five elected councillors who chose a Town Reeve from their number, and where the resident freeholders numbered five hundred a Deputy Town Reeve also. This important Act also incorporated (b) counties, the Municipal Council for the county being composed of the Town Reeves and Deputy Town Reeves of the several townships, villages and towns within the limits of each county; (c) villages, with a Council of five councillors and a Reeve whose powers to pass by-laws were carefully enumerated; (d) towns with a Council composed of three councillors for every ward and presided over by a Mayor; (e) cities with a Council composed of one alderman and two councillors for each ward, the Mayor being elected from among the aldermen. The Act also made provision for police in villages and the appointment of three police trustees to enforce regulations concerning fire, furnaces, refuse, nuisances, etc.

In 1851 the Statute of 1849 was amended (14 & 15 Vic., Cap. 109) to adapt it to changes in the assessment laws, and in 1852 (16 Vic., Cap. 22) was passed the Act to establish a consolidated Municipal Loan Fund which was reproduced in Lower Canada and has already been referred to. In 1858 (22 Vic., Cap. 99) the growth of municipal institutions called for a further legislative expansion of powers and rights in a still more elaborate and complete form. Twenty-four years passed before the Province felt the necessity of exercising its powers, definitely reserved to it by the Confederation Act, with respect to municipal affairs. The Act (46 Vic., Cap. 18) consolidated all previous Acts and in turn has found a place in the Revised Statutes of the Province (Cap. 184). The Province of Ontario now possesses a system of municipal institutions admirable in its symmetry and efficiency (R.S.O., Chap. 184). Provision is made for the incorporation of (1) villages, (2) towns and cities, (3) townships, (4) counties, (5) provisional county corporations; all of which are represented by elected Councils.

A population of 750 established by census within an area of not more than 500 acres enables

a County Council, on petition, to incorporate the inhabitants as a village and to inaugurate proceedings for the election of a Council. A population of over 2,000 in an incorporated village enables such village to be erected into a town; a population of over 15,000 entitles a town to be erected into a city. A township beyond the limits of an incorporated county may by proclamation be attached to an adjacent incorporated county and erected into an incorporated union of townships with some other township of such incorporated county; a junior township containing 100 resident freeholders and householders may, upon the passage of a by-law to that effect by the County Council, be separated from such union and in certain cases this may be accomplished (such as where the public convenience is thereby promoted) when the number of freeholders and householders amounts to 50. New townships, not already within the limits of an incorporated county, may by proclamation be formed into a new county and a separation of united counties may be effected when the junior county is shown to contain upwards of 17,000 inhabitants. By formal enactment the inhabitants of every county, city, town, village, union of counties and union of townships, already incorporated, continue to form a body corporate within the limits of their established boundaries.

County Councils must consist of the Reeves and Deputy Reeves of the townships and villages within the county and of any towns which have not withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the county; the head of the Council is styled a Warden and is elected from their number by the Reeves and Deputy Reeves. The Council of every city consists of the Mayor and of three councillors for every ward where there are less than five wards, and of two councillors where there are five or more wards. The Council of every incorporated village consists of one Reeve and four councillors; the Council of a township consists of a Reeve and four councillors. The officials of municipal corporations consist of a head officer (Warden, Mayor or Reeve), clerk, treasurer, assessors and collectors, auditors and valuers. The head of the Council is its chief executive officer and it is his duty to be vigilant and active at all times in

causing the law for the government of the municipality to be duly executed and put in force; to inspect the conduct of all subordinate officers, and to cause all negligence, carelessness and positive violation of duty to be punished; to communicate to the Council from time to time all such information and to recommend such measures, within the powers of the Council, as may tend to the improvement of the finances, health, security, cleanliness, comfort or ornament of the municipality.

The jurisdiction of every Council is confined to the municipality it represents, except where specially extended, and its powers are exercised by by-law when not otherwise authorized. Council is deemed a continuing body notwithstanding any annual election of members. The Ontario Act contains full and particular provisions respecting the authentication, confirmation and quashing of by-laws, objections thereto by ratepayers, by-laws creating debts and yearly rates and anticipating appropriations. The powers of Councils, are detailed in the statute by special description of the by-laws which may be passed with regard to various matters; these practically include every possible emergency of municipal life. No general clauses granting general powers such as are frequently seen in the charters of English and German cities have been enacted by the Legislature in respect to municipalities; the principle adopted being that of a special delegation of powers and the assumption of the possibility of prescience as regard the necessities of municipal legislation and administration. Reference should be made to the Assessment Act (Chap. 193 R.S.O.), in virtue of which all municipal, local or direct taxes or rates may be levied equally upon the whole rateable property, real and personal, of the municipality, according to the assessed value of such property and not upon any one or more kinds of property in particular, or in different proportions. The exemptions include property rested in Her Majesty's Indian Lands, places of worship, public, educational and municipal buildings, and various other real and personal holdings. For municipal purposes the Province of Ontario is divided by statute into forty-three counties, certain of these being united for municipal and judicial purposes.

The various townships, towns and incorporated villages within the bounds of these counties are also recognized by statute. (R.S.O. Chap. 5.)

A more extended analysis of the municipal system of Ontario would extend beyond the limits of the space here allotted, and it must, therefore, suffice to say that probably no part of the world has as yet witnessed so complete and autonomous an extension of the principle of local government, blending in the most harmonious manner with the higher functions of government in the spheres of Provincial and Federal administration, and affording so unsurpassed a method of training the citizen in the appreciation and determination of public questions, whether of local or of national import.

*Province of Manitoba.* The Governor and Company of adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, commonly called the Hudson's Bay Company, incorporated by letters patent granted by His Majesty King Charles the Second, having in consideration of certain local and commercial privileges and of £300,000 in cash, surrendered to the Government of Canada all their rights and interests in Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories, the Province of Manitoba was carved out of that enormous tract of land, and by an Imperial Order-in-Council was united to the Dominion of Canada on the 15th of July, 1870. Provision for the Government of the new Province had previously been passed by the Dominion Parliament in accordance with the British North American Act. By the Revised Statutes of Manitoba (Chap. 100) which revised, consolidated and amended previous Provincial legislation, and has in turn been amended, an aggregation of over 500 persons may, upon petition to the Lieutenant-Governor, be incorporated into a village; over 1500 persons may likewise be formed into a town, and over 10,000 into a city.

The Council of every city consists of the Mayor and two aldermen for every ward; of every town, of a Reeve and two councillors; of every village, of the Reeve and four councillors; and of every rural municipality, of a Reeve and not more than six nor less than four councillors, as the municipality shall by by-law decide. The property qualification of Mayor, aldermen, Reeve and councillors is, in cities, freehold to the value of

\$2,000, or leasehold to the value of \$4,000; in towns and villages freehold to the value of \$500 and in rural municipalities ownership of real estate. The other qualifications common to all Canadian municipalities, such as British allegiance, residence in the municipality, masculine sex, and the attainment of majority, also obtain in Manitoba. Members of Council may by by-law be awarded a salary or indemnity, which in Winnipeg is fixed at \$300 per annum. Nominations for the Council are held annually on the second Tuesday of December and the elections two weeks later. In cities aldermen are elected for two years and voting is by ballot.

Within one year from the passing of any by-law, resolution or order, the same may be attacked by petition of any municipal elector presented to a Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench asking for the issue of a rule *nisi*. The famous Manitoba School case was instituted by such a rule requiring cause to be shown why a by-law whereby the City of Winnipeg imposed a tax on Catholics and Protestants, indiscriminately, for public school purposes should not be quashed for illegality and unconstitutionality. The municipal institutions of Manitoba are obviously borrowed and based upon those of Ontario and ensure a like amplitude of power in matters of local administration.

*Province of British Columbia.* Prior to Confederation what is now the Province of British Columbia comprised the separate Colonies of Vancouver's Island and British Columbia, and the united Colony of British Columbia. In lieu of statutes, ordinances were promulgated by the Executive Council. The earliest of these relating to municipalities was passed on the 28th of March, 1865, and authorized the Governor, on the petition of what, in his own opinion, constituted a sufficient number of residents in any town or place in the Colony, to grant municipal institutions by charter. In every such charter the Governor might define the limits of the municipality, divide it into wards, prescribe the mode of elections, the qualification of voters, the manner in which the revenue should be collected and convey such corporate powers as might be necessary. In 1881 the Municipal Act was passed by the Legislature of the Province confirming

the rights of existing municipalities. This Act authorized the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, on the petition of a majority of freeholders, householders, free minors, peremptors and leaseholders, being of the full age of majority, comprising not less than thirty miles, to issue letters patent incorporating such locality as a municipality. The Act further prescribed the mode of election to the Municipal Council, which in the cities was composed of the Mayor and aldermen, and, in other municipalities, of the Reeve and councillors. The powers of the municipalities to communicate and enforce by-laws are specifically detailed, and they are restrained from incurring liabilities beyond the revenue of the current year.

*Province of New Brunswick.* The Revised Statutes of New Brunswick, published in 1854, contain, under various titles, a record of the manner in which municipal institutions were established and maintained prior to that date. The Province was divided into fourteen counties, each of which was divided into various parishes, and certain towns were distinguished as shire towns. The earliest statutory provision for constituting a municipality provided that, when at least fifty resident freeholders, householders and ratepayers of any county petitioned the Sheriff to that effect, a public meeting should be called by him at the Court House to determine the propriety of incorporating the county, and if not less than 100 householders were present, and if of these two-thirds were in favour of the corporation, then upon the Sheriff's certificate to the Governor-in-Council, a charter of incorporation was issued, conveying the rights of municipal government, limiting, however, the holding of real estate by the municipality to an annual value of not more than £500. Provision was made for the election of councillors, and the Chairman of the Council was styled the Warden. The various by-laws which the Council might make were described in detail. Provision was also made for the election by the ratepayers *visa voce*, of various town and parish officers, viz., three overseers for the poor, two or more constables, three commissioners of roads, one or more collectors of rates, a town or parish clerk, two or more fence reeves, pound keepers, a clerk of market, hog reeves, boom masters, surveyors of dams, an inspector of

butter, scalers of leather, surveyors of grindstones, assessors of rates, surveyors of roads, field drivers and timber drivers.

It is enacted that the election of these officials should be confirmed by the Justices of the Peace in Sessions. This latter body was authorized to appoint a county treasurer, county auditor, trustees of schools, overseer of fisheries, port warden, harbour masters, pilots and fire-wards. The great roads and highways of the Province were described, and regulations made for their proper maintenance. It is noteworthy that, whereas in the early days the formation of municipalities was optional with householders of the county, later legislation formally enacted that in each county there shall be a County Council which shall exercise all the powers of a body corporate.

The Statutes of the General Assembly of New Brunswick for the year 1898, page 34, contain a consolidation of the law relating to municipalities. In each county there is a County Council, the number of councillors for each county being determined. It is noteworthy that the principal cities of the Province, such as St. John, Moncton, St. Stephen, Campbellton, as well as certain important parishes, besides having their local Councils are also represented in the larger County Councils. The City of St. John, for example, is represented in the County Council, and the City and County of St. John by its Mayor and fifteen aldermen who are *ex-officio* county councillors. The County Councils meet twice a year, and meetings may be adjourned from day to day for eight days, but for no longer period. The consolidation still contained the provisions relating to the appointment of parish officers, but these are now elected at the general meeting of the County Council instead of by the ratepayers. The powers of the municipalities are exercised through the County Council, by means of by-laws specified in detail, no general grant of powers being conveyed by the Legislature.

*Prince Edward Island.* The Province of Prince Edward Island has not felt the necessity of developing municipal institutions to the same extent as other Provinces vaster in extent and relatively more sparsely settled. The Legislature has largely performed the duties of a Town or

County Council. In 1870, however, an Act was passed for the better government of rising towns and villages in this Island. The preamble declared that "it is expedient that municipal authorities be established in certain towns and villages." The residents of any town or village desiring incorporation may petition the Lieutenant-Governor for such incorporation, whereupon a Justice of the Peace is appointed to lay out the bounds of the new municipality and to convoke a public meeting of the freeholders. If two-thirds of those qualified are in favour of the proposed incorporation, a report to that effect is made to the Lieutenant-Governor, who may thereupon issue his Precept to any Justice directing the election of three Wardens. The Wardens may appoint a secretary-treasurer and assessors. After incorporation any Acts of the Legislature are without effect, but by-laws require the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor before going into effect. The by-laws that the Wardens may pass are such as provide for the imposing and collecting of assessments and for the government and general management of affairs, but the assessments are limited to one shilling in the pound on the annual value of real estate. This statute, however, has never been taken advantage of, although still in force. Charlottetown and Summerside are the only incorporated towns in the Island and are so constituted in virtue of special Statutes which provide for the election of a Chairman and town councillors, and enumerate the various matters within the scope of the powers of Councils.

*Province of Nova Scotia.* In this Province, as appears from its Revised Statutes, the Grand Jury and the Sessions of the Peace for many years possessed powers of administration and control in municipal matters. Chapter 57 of the Revision of 1884 contains a permissive statute which enabled counties and townships to obtain incorporation, and to exercise thereafter the powers entrusted to Grand Juries and Sessions. The Town Reeves as heads of Township Councils formed the County Councils and the heads of the latter were called Wardens. In 1879 an Act was passed providing for the incorporation of the counties with powers similar to those exercised in the other Provinces. Members of the Council

are not composed of the Town Reeves as formerly, but are elected directly by the ratepayers; the councillors thus elected then choose a Warden from among their number. All by-laws, however, must be laid before the Legislature within the first ten days of the next ensuing Session and are subject to its approval.

In 1895 the Legislature amended and consolidated the Acts relating to the incorporation of towns. A town is not considered to be such whose population within an area of 500 acres does not exceed 700; and can only be incorporated when the inhabitants take steps to that end. The election of Mayor and councillors takes place on the first Tuesday of each year, and provision is made for the annual retirement of three councillors. The Town Council, in each incorporated town, has the sole power and authority, subject to the approval of the Governor-in-Council to make by-laws and ordinances for the good rule and government of the town, and may from time to time revise or amend the same. These powers are more particularly detailed in upwards of sixty special clauses. Towns may also maintain Municipal Courts, police and fire-wards; and have also full control over all public streets, public highways and lands, and all drains, sewers and ditches. Broad powers of assessment are intrusted to the Council, who may annually assess whatever sums may be necessary to defray the current expenses of the year, and any deficit for a previous year. But the inhabitants of the towns are exempt from county rates. An interesting provision, which recalls the old system of the New England States, provides that before applying to the Legislature to make any extraordinary expenditure the Council shall call a public meeting of the ratepayers of the town, to whom the proposed expenditure shall be submitted for approval.

*Summary.* The delimitation of powers by the British North American Act reserved to each of the Provinces the right to legislate with regard to municipal institutions. Nowhere are the rights of local government more freely conceded or more generally exercised than in Canada. The conspicuous features of our municipalities may be summarized as an elective Council over which presides a Mayor, Reeve or Warden with super-

visory functions—all sworn to allegiance and to faithful performance of duty. The powers of Councils and the organization of the municipality are usually detailed by statute, general clauses conveying municipal powers not being considered sufficiently definitive. Municipal Councils are continuing bodies notwithstanding intervening elections and changes in *personnel* resulting therefrom. The municipality is represented by the Council. The Legislatures maintain a control over all the municipalities. In two Provinces, Ontario and Manitoba, the Legislatures provide a general Act which governs all municipalities, but in the

other Provinces special charters are granted to towns and cities which do not desire to place themselves under the general laws also provided in such Provinces. The occasional complaint that Canada is thus too much governed by Federal, Provincial and Municipal authorities need not occasion concern. The vast extent of our territory compels a generous concession of local powers, while the freedom and independence thus developed prove in the highest degree promotive of the comfort of our citizens and their attachment to their country.



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## THE ELECTORAL FRANCHISE IN CANADA

BY

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**E**LECTORAL franchise, or suffrage, is the political privilege of the people to participate in their own government, by voting for such Parliamentary representatives or public officers as are requisite for the efficient execution of the governmental powers and functions of the nation. This right of voting is for the purposes of preserving the vigilance and continuity of the national sovereignty, of perpetuating political liberty and for the protection of individual rights. The purposes therefore being political and national, the right of voting exists for the general and public interest of the whole community, and not for the benefit of the individual voter. Political liberty and public rights are defined and limited by the legal restraints of positive law, and not in any institutional sense by nature. Positive law prescribes the purposes for which the suffrage, or right of voting, is to be exercised, and the conditions and qualifications necessary for its enjoyment, and the causes for which it may be forfeited.

Suffrage is the political right of government which every free community or nation grants to such number and class of its members, and with such limitations, as the national and political interests of the community or nation require. Mr. Justice Blackstone in his *Commentaries*, has defined franchise and liberty as synonymous terms; and says that the theory of the British political system is that the ultimate sovereignty of the nation is in the people, from whom spring all legitimate authority; and that as the people cannot debate or legislate in a collective body, but by representation, this sovereignty consists in the election of representatives for legislative purposes. Therefore, in the election of knights, citizens and burgesses to Parliament consists the exercise of the democratical part of our consti-

tution and it is, consequently, of importance to regulate by whom and in what manner the suffrages are to be given.

In Saxon times when legislation was the prerogative of the Sovereign and his Witan, their legislative acts did not become operative until the consent of the people was given in their general assemblies, which were usually held in open and uninclosed places, where the exclusion of persons, who, under our modern political rules would have been disfranchised, was impracticable. And, when the Crown conceded to the people the right of electing Parliamentary representatives, the elections to the House of Commons were made by a popular assembly of the inhabitants called the County Court. Both the early statutes and the King's writs required that the member should be elected freely and indifferently by all the people (*omnes inhabitantes*) there present, who should attend on the proclamation—the only statutory qualification then prescribed being, that “the choosers of knights of the shire be resident within the same shires.” There was no procedure for having a scrutiny of votes; and the only recognized way of determining the election of the member was by “voices or a show of hands.” What is known as the common law of England, the *lex non scripta*, derives its obligatory force from the spontaneous observance of certain usages and customs which public experience had found to be practical and beneficial; and the general acceptance of certain precepts and maxims which had been evolved from the principles of common justice and right, and which, without any Parliamentary or regal process of legislation, had spontaneously become interwoven with the written laws of the nation.

The political right of franchise above described had been exercised by all classes of the people,

whether freeholders or not, and including persons of the lowest class but of free condition of life, at Parliamentary elections from a period prior to the commencement of the recognized code of English statute law in 1225 (20th Henry 3) until 1429 (8th Henry 6), when a property qualification was, for the first time, required of Parliamentary electors. Thus by the process which crystallizes long usage and general customs, adopted without executive compulsion, into the English common law, and by the recognition of that usage and custom in the statutes of the earlier Parliaments and in the writs of election issued by successive Sovereigns prior to 1429, a Parliamentary franchise, or political right of voting, had been spontaneously legislated into the Common and Parliamentary law of England. This in modern days would be described as "Universal or Manhood Suffrage"; while by restricting such political right of voting to residents of the county it may be said to have originated the so-called modern political doctrine of "one man, one vote."

The historic facts respecting this early franchise are confirmed by writers on the election laws, one of whom says: "When the elective system was adopted in counties, the common law immediately conferred the right of electing representatives upon the community at large, to be exercised by all free and lawful men." And in Prynne's "*Brevia Parliamentia*" (1662) the former right of voting was thus stated: "Every inhabitant and commoner in every county had a voice in the election of Knights, whether he was a freeholder or not." The Act which abolished this early or common law franchise, and prescribed that the elector's political intelligence and right to control the governmental policy of the nation should depend upon the value of the landed property he possessed, was passed in 1429 (8th Henry 6, chapter 7), and was intitled: "What sort of men shall be choosers, and who shall be Knights of Parliament?" Its enactment is said to have been due to the influence of the aristocratic element then in Parliament. It disfranchised large numbers of persons who had theretofore exercised the right of electing members of the House of Commons, and restricted the future exercise of that right to "people dwelling and resident in the counties, whereof every one of them shall have free land or

tenement to the value of 40s. by the year, at least, above all charges." One of its provisions empowered the Sheriff to take a scrutiny of the votes by examining the voters upon oath as to the value of their freeholds. The Act, however, only applied to shire or county elections, and left the franchise in boroughs and towns to be regulated by the common law, or the local charters. From that time to the present the voters for members of the Imperial House of Commons are required to possess a property qualification.

The political right of electing representatives to a Colonial Legislature was in the early-formed American Colonies regulated either by the Royal Instructions to the Governor, or by the Royal Charter establishing the Colony, or by a common agreement among the founders of the Colony. Some Royal Charters prescribed the English statutory rule of a property qualification of the value of 40s. sterling a year for the electors. But in the New England and some other Colonies, the right of election was vested in the "freemen."

In the former Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada the Constitutional Act of 1791, 31 Geo. III., c. 31, which granted to each Province a Parliamentary constitution, prescribed that voters in counties should be: Owners of lands held in freehold, or in *fief*, or *in roture*, or by virtue of the Governor's certificate of the yearly value of 40s. sterling; and that voters in towns should be (1) Owners of dwelling houses and lots held as aforesaid, of the yearly value of £5 sterling; and (2) Tenants, residents of the town for twelve months before the election, who had paid a year's rent of £10 sterling. The further qualifications for all voters were: (a) the full age of 21 years, and (b) subject of the Crown by birth, naturalization or conquest.

The disqualifications were: (a) being attained for treason or felony; (b) being within the description of persons disqualified by Acts to be passed by the Provincial Legislatures. The disqualification of voters prescribed by the Upper Canada Acts were: (1) Persons who had sworn allegiance to a foreign state, and had become residents therein (40 Geo. III., c. 3; 4 Geo. IV., c. 3); (2) Persons (a) whose deeds of land had not been registered three months before the election, or (b) who had not been in the actual possession



or receipt of the rents and profits of their land for twelve months before such election (4 Geo. IV., c. 3). In 1820 a member for the proposed University of Upper Canada was provided for, the electors of which, besides the qualifications required by law, were to be those entitled to vote in the Convocation of the University (60 Geo. III., or 1 Geo. IV., c. 2). In Lower Canada the disqualifications were: (*a*) not being in receipt of the rents and profits of his land for six months prior to the election, unless within that time the land came to him by descent or marriage (2 Geo. IV., c. 4); (*b*) fraudulent grantees; and (*c*) persons guilty of perjury (5 Geo. IV., c. 33). By the Canadian Union Act, 3 & 4 Vic., c. 35 (Imp.), it was declared (S. 27) that, until otherwise provided by the Legislature of United Canada, the existing laws of Upper Canada, and the laws in force in Lower Canada in 1838, relating to the qualification and disqualification of voters, should be continued. The United Legislature of Canada made no provision respecting the qualification of electors until 1849, when the prior Acts were consolidated in 12 Vic., c. 27, and the property franchise defined by the Imperial Act was continued. In 1853 and 1854 the franchise was extended to three classes of persons—owners, tenants, or occupants of lands: in townships, of the assessed actual value of \$200, or the assessed yearly value of \$20, and in towns, of the assessed actual value of \$300 or the assessed yearly value of \$30 (16 Vic., c. 153; 18 Vic., c. 7; 18 Vic., c. 87). In 1858 provision was made for the preparation of certified lists of voters with similar qualifications to those previously defined; all of which provisions were subsequently consolidated in C.S. C., c. 6. In Nova Scotia by R.S., N.S., c. 28; and in New Brunswick by the Act 18 Vic., c. 31, a property qualification was required in voters for members to their respective Legislative Assemblies. By the British North America Act of 1867 (S. 51), and until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provided, these Provincial laws relative to the qualification of voters at elections of members of the Legislatures in the several Provinces, and the oaths to be taken by voters, were made applicable to the election of members of the House of Commons. Subsequently temporary Acts, adopting the Provincial franchises

for the Dominion elections, were passed by the Parliament of Canada; in 1871, 34 Vic., c. 20, amended by 35 Vic., c. 13; and in 1873, 36 Vic., c. 27. The Dominion Elections Act of 1874 superseded these temporary Acts and provided (S. 40) that all persons qualified to vote at elections for the Provincial Legislature, and no others, should be entitled to vote at the elections of members of the House of Commons; and that the lists of voters prepared for such Provincial elections (where such lists were required to be made) should be the lists of voters for elections to the House of Commons.

The Dominion Franchise Act of 1885 repealed the above provisions, but (S. 9) adopted for Dominion elections the Provincial manhood franchises of British Columbia and Prince Edward Island, and prescribed for the other Provinces an elaborate Parliamentary franchise, classified under a series of ten electoral titles, and combining, with a minimised recognition of a real property qualification, a manhood qualification dependent upon certain family relations and residence, and also giving recognition to a personal property qualification dependent upon certain occupations, residence and racial descent. The voters were classified as (1) owners, (2) tenants and (3) occupants of real property, (4) income voters, (5) real property owners' sons, (6) farmers' sons, (7) tenant farmers' sons, (8) fishermen, (9) annuitants on real estate, and (10) Indians (except in Manitoba, British Columbia, Keewatin and North-West Territories) in possession of a distinct and improved lot of land on a reserve. This Franchise Act was repealed in 1898 by 61 Vic., c. 14, and the Provincial Franchises for Provincial elections were again adopted for Dominion Parliamentary elections, excluding, however, the electoral disqualification of officials and others under the several Provincial statutes. Such persons on taking the following oath, in addition to the electoral oath, may vote: "I (A.B.) do swear that I am legally qualified to vote at this election, and that I verily believe my name was omitted from the list of voters by reason of my being —— at the time such list was prepared, and for no other reason." The Act disqualifies criminals, lunatics, and paupers receiving charitable support.

In each of the several Provinces the primary

qualifications required of voters are (1898) as follows:

1. Male persons whose names are registered or entered on the list of voters for Provincial Legislative elections.

2. Of the full age of 21 years and

3. British subjects by birth or naturalization. The Provincial or local qualifications are as follows:

*Ontario.* (1) Residents (*a*) within the Province for twelve months, (*b*) within the municipality for which the voters' list is prepared for three months, and (*c*) within the electoral district for thirty days prior to the sittings for registration of voters; or (2) Residents within the Province, municipality and electoral district for (*a*) nine months prior to the day fixed by statute or by-law for beginning to make the assessment roll; or (*b*) for twelve months prior to the last day for making complaints to the County Judge under the Ontario Voters' List Act. (See R.S.O. (1897), c. 9, form No. 16.) Special provisions enable the following to be registered as voters, (*a*) members of the permanent Militia Corps, (*b*) students attending educational institutions; (*c*) enfranchised Indians, and (*d*) unenfranchised Indians if the latter are entered on the Assessment roll for real property in cities and towns of the value of \$200, or in villages and townships of the value of \$100. (R.S.O. (1897, c. 8.)

*Quebec.* (1) Owners or occupants of real property of the value of \$300 in cities, \$200 or yearly value of \$20, in other municipalities; (2) Tenants paying an annual rent of \$30 in cities or \$20 in other municipalities; (3) Retired farmers, or *rentiers* of the yearly value or equivalent of \$100; (4) Residents in the electoral district for a year, having an income of \$300. Special provisions enable priests, *curés*, *vicaires*, missionaries and ministers of religious Denominations, teachers in public and separate schools, fishermen and the sons of farmers and of proprietors to be registered as voters. Indians are not mentioned. (59 Vic., c. 9; and 60 Vic., c. 21).

*Nova Scotia.* (1) Persons assessed for real property (including such as are exempted from taxation) to the value of \$150, or real and personal property to the value of \$300; (2) Yearly tenants of such property, (*a*) where the owner is

assessed, or (*b*) who are assessed for real and personal property assessed to the value of \$300; (3) Persons assessed for yearly income of \$250 who are residents for one year prior to the 1st of January next preceding the meeting of the revisers; (4) Fishermen owning boats, tackle and real property to the value of \$150; (5) Workmen occupying houses valued at \$150, belonging to the company employing them, if such workmen have resided in such houses for a year from the 1st January next preceding the meeting of the revisers. Special provisions enable the sons of persons, or widows, whose properties are assessed to an amount sufficient to give each son a property qualification as above, to be registered as voters. Indians are not mentioned. (52 Vic., c. 1; 53 Vic., c. 3; 55 Vic., c. 8, and 55 Vic., c. 9.)

*New Brunswick.* (1) Owners of real estate of the value of \$100, or of real and personal property of the combined value of \$400; (2) Persons assessed for \$400 yearly income, if *bona fide* residents in the electoral district; (3) Priests or other Christian ministers or teachers in charge of congregations; (4) Teachers and Professors employed in any school or college within the electoral district; (5) Residents in the electoral district for twelve months next preceding the 1st May of the year in which the voters' list is made out. Special provisions enable students not registered elsewhere to be registered as voters. Indians are not mentioned. (52 Vic., 3; 54 Vic., c. 10.)

*Manitoba.* (1) Residents (*a*) in the Province for twelve months and (*b*) in the electoral district for three months, prior to the date of the proclamation appointing the registration clerk for registering manhood suffrage voters. But Indians and persons of Indian blood receiving annuities within three years prior to the date of registration of voters are disqualified. (R.S.M., c. 49; and 57 Vic., c. 9.)

*British Columbia.* (1) Residents (*a*) in the Province for twelve months, and (*b*) in the electoral district for two months, immediately previous to their claiming registration as voters. Indians, Chinamen and Japanese are disqualified. (C.S.B.C. 1897, c. 67).

*Prince Edward Island.* (1) In a town or royalty (excepting Princetown and Royalty) persons,

who, for six months before the teste of the writ of election, are (a) owners of freehold estates of the yearly value of \$6, or (b) occupants of houses or lands of the yearly value of \$6, or (c) occupants of 8 acres of reserved land on Cardigan Point in Georgetown; (2) In an electoral district, persons who for six months before such writ are owners or occupants of buildings or land of the yearly value of \$6; (3) In a town or electoral district, (a) twelve months' residence therein, and (b) performance of statute labour, or payment of commutation money for the preceding year (unless exempted); (4) In Charlottetown and Summerside, (a) twelve months' residence in the electoral district, and (b) payment of Provincial or civic poll-tax of not less than 75 cents for the preceding year. Indians are not mentioned. (53 Vic., c. 1.)

*North-West Territories.* The qualifications for voters in the Territories of Alberta, Assiniboia and Saskatchewan are, (1) male persons; (2) of the full age of twenty-one years; (3) British subjects, and (4) residents, (a) in the North-West Territories for twelve months, and (b) in the electoral district for three months. Indians are not entitled to vote (58 and 59 Vic., c. 11 D.). This is the only express provision in the Dominion Statutes respecting the disqualification or right of Indians to vote.

In several of the Provinces persons holding certain official positions, or engaged in certain employments, or belonging to certain classes, are disqualified from voting at Provincial elections, but by section 6 of the Dominion Franchise Act, 1898, the following persons, if disqualified by Provincial laws, may vote at Dominion elections, on taking the prescribed oath: "No person possessed of the qualifications generally required by the Provincial law to entitle him to vote at a Provincial election shall be disqualified from voting at a Dominion election merely by reason of any provision of the Provincial law disqualifying from having his name on the list, or from voting—(a) The holder of any office; or (b) Any person employed in any capacity in the public service of Canada, or of the Province; or (c) Any person belonging to or engaged in any profession, calling, employment, or occupation; or (d) Any one belonging to any other class of persons, who,

although possessed of the qualifications generally required by the Provincial law, are, by such law, declared to be disqualified by reason of their belonging to such class." There is no provision in the Dominion Franchise Act allowing persons found guilty of corrupt practices (*manœuvres electorales*), and thereby disqualified from voting at Provincial elections, to become qualified to vote at Dominion elections.

### Provincial General Elections since Confederation.

ONTARIO.	QUEBEC.
Sept..... 1867	Aug. and Sept..... 1867
14th March..... 1871	June and July ..... 1871
11th Jan..... 1875	30th June..... 1875
5th June..... 1879	24th April..... 1876
27th Feb..... 1883	25th November..... 1881
28th December..... 1886	14th October..... 1886
11th June..... 1890	17th June..... 1890
19th June..... 1894	8th March..... 1892
1st March..... 1898	11th May ..... 1897
NOVA SCOTIA.	NEW BRUNSWICK.
September 11th... 1867	June ..... 1870
May ..... 1871	June ..... 1874
December ..... 1874	June ..... 1878
10th September ... 1878	15th June..... 1882
13th June..... 1882	26th April..... 1886
15th June..... 1886	21st January..... 1890
21st April..... 1890	22nd October ..... 1892
15th March ..... 1894	16th October..... 1895
20th April..... 1897	February..... 1899
MANITOBA.	BRITISH COLUMBIA.
27th December..... 1870	October..... 1871
23rd December..... 1874	September..... 1875
18th December..... 1878	April-May..... 1878
16th December ... 1879	June-July ..... 1882
23rd January ..... 1883	7th July ..... 1886
9th December..... 1886	13th June..... 1890
11th July ..... 1888	July ..... 1894
23rd July ..... 1892	July..... 1898
15th January ..... 1896	
NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES.	
1888; 1891; October, 1894; November, 1898.	
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.	
April ..... 1873	30th June..... 1886
10th August..... 1876	30th January..... 1890
2nd April ..... 1879	13th December.... 1893
1st May ..... 1883	28th July..... 1897

**Canadian Parliaments during the Union.**  
From 1841 to Confederation the Legislature of Canada (Upper and Lower) met as follows:

First Parliament, 8 April, 1841.....23 Sept., 1844.  
1st Session.....14 June, 1841.....18 Sept., 1841.  
2nd do. .... 8 Sept., 1842.....12 Oct., 1842.  
3rd do. ....28 Sept., 1843..... 9 Dec., 1843.

Second Parliament, 12 Nov., 1844. 6 Dec., 1847.  
1st Session.....28 Nov., 1844. 29 Mar., 1845.  
2nd do. ....20 Mar., 1846. 9 June, 1846.  
3rd do. .... 2 June, 1847. 28 July, 1847.

Third Parliament, 24 Jan., 1848. 6 Nov., 1851.  
1st Session..... 25 Feb., 1848. 23 Mar., 1848.  
2nd do. .... 18 Jan., 1849. 30 May, 1849.  
3rd do. ... 14 May, 1850. 10 Aug., 1850.  
4th do. .... 20 May, 1851. 30 Aug., 1851.

Fourth Parliament, 24 Dec., 1851. 23 June, 1854.  
1st Session, 1st part. 19 Aug., 1852. 10 Nov., 1852.  
1st do. 2nd part. 14 Feb., 1853. 14 June, 1853.  
2nd do. ....18 June, 1854. 22 June, 1854.

Fifth Parliament, 10 Aug., 1854. 28 Nov., 1857.  
1st Session, 1st part 5 Sept., 1854. 18 Dec., 1854.  
1st do. 2nd part 23 Feb., 1855. 30 May, 1855.  
2nd do. .... 15 Feb., 1856. 1st July, 1856.  
3rd do. .... 26 Feb., 1857. 10 June, 1857.

Sixth Parliament, 13 Jan., 1858.....10 June, 1861.  
1st Session..... 25 Feb., 1858.....16 Aug., 1858.  
2nd do. .... 29 Jan., 1859..... 4 May, 1859.  
3rd do. .... 28 Feb., 1860.....19 May, 1860.  
4th do. .... 16 Mar., 1861.....18 May, 1861.

Seventh Parliament, 15 July, 1861. 16 May, 1863.  
1st Session .....20 March, 1862. 9 June, 1862.  
2nd do. ....12 Feb., 1863. 12 May, 1863.

Eighth Parliament. 3 July, 1863.....15 Aug., 1866.  
1st Session.....13 Aug., 1863.....15 Oct., 1863.  
2nd do. .... 19 Feb., 1864.....30 June, 1864.  
3rd do. .... 19 Jan., 1865.....18 Mar., 1865.  
4th do. .... 8 Aug., 1865.....18 Sept., 1865.  
5th do. .... 5 June, 1866.....15 Aug., 1866.

**Canadian Parliaments since Confederation.**

FIRST PARLIAMENT.

Session.	Opening.	Prorogation.
1st Session.....	6 Nov., 1867.....	22 May, 1868.
2nd do. ....	15 April, 1869.....	22 June, 1869.
3rd do. ....	15 Feb., 1870.....	22 May, 1870.

4th do. ....15 Feb., 1871.....14 April, 1871.  
5th do. ....11 April, 1872.....14 June, 1872.  
Dissolution July 8, 1872.

SECOND PARLIAMENT.

1st Session.....15 March, 1873.....13 Aug., 1873.  
2nd do. ....23 Oct., 1873..... 7 Nov., 1873.  
Dissolution Jan. 2, 1874.

THIRD PARLIAMENT.

1st Session.....26 Mar., 1874.....26 May, 1874.  
2nd do. .... 4 Feb., 1875..... 8 April, 1875.  
3rd do. ....10 Feb., 1876.....12 April, 1876.  
4th do. .... 8 Feb., 1877.....28 April, 1877.  
5th do. .... 7 Feb., 1878.....10 May, 1878.  
Dissolution Aug. 17, 1878.

FOURTH PARLIAMENT.

1st Session.....13 Feb., 1879.....15 May, 1879.  
2nd do. .... 12 Feb., 1880..... 7 May, 1880.  
3rd do. .... 9 Dec., 1880.....21 Mar., 1881.  
4th do. .... 9 Feb., 1882.....17 May, 1882.  
Dissolution May 15, 1882.

FIFTH PARLIAMENT.

1st Session..... 8 Feb., 1883.....25 May, 1883.  
2nd do. .... 17 Jan., 1884.....19 April, 1884.  
3rd do. ....29 Jan., 1885.....20 July, 1885.  
4th do. ....25 Feb., 1886..... 2 June, 1886.  
Dissolution Jan. 15, 1887.

SIXTH PARLIAMENT.

1st Session.....13 April, 1887.....23 June, 1887.  
2nd do. .... 28 Feb., 1888.....22 May, 1888.  
3rd do. ....31 Jan., 1889..... 2 May, 1889.  
4th do. .... 16 Jan., 1890.....16 May, 1890.  
Dissolution Feb. 3, 1891.

SEVENTH PARLIAMENT.

1st Session.....20 April, 1891.....30 Sept., 1891.  
2nd do. .... 25 Feb., 1892..... 9 July, 1892.  
3rd do. .... 26 Jan., 1893..... 1 April, 1893.  
4th do. .... 15 Mar., 1894..... 23 July, 1894.  
5th do. .... 18 April, 1895 ..... 22 July, 1895.  
6th do. .... 2 Jan., 1896... .. 23 April, 1896.  
Dissolution April 23, 1896.

EIGHTH PARLIAMENT.

1st Session.....19 Aug., 1896..... 5 Oct., 1896.  
2nd do. .... 25 March, 1897.....24 June, 1897.  
3rd do. .... 3 Feb., 1898.....13 June, 1898.

## SECTION VII.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, FORESTS AND FISHERIES.



# THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF CANADA.

BY

J. J. CASSIDY, Editor of the "Canadian Manufacturer."

**I**N reviewing the history of the industrial progress of Canada since it came under the British flag in 1763, it may be expedient to divide that history into four periods, because of the varying political and fiscal conditions which existed during those epochs, and which exercised very material influence on that development.

*First*, the period from 1763 to 1842. In 1763, by the Treaty of Paris, Canada was ceded to Great Britain. In 1774 the Quebec Act, proclaiming the Province to be under the British flag, was passed by the Imperial Parliament. In 1791, the Constitutional Act was passed by the same authority, under which the territory was divided into two Provinces called Upper Canada and Lower Canada. In 1841, the union of these two Provinces was consummated under the name of the Province of Canada, and its Legislature granted responsible government, which, however, was not definitely established until 1847.

*Second*, the period from 1842 to 1855. During the earlier part of this period Canada enjoyed great benefit from the preferential treatment accorded to its products in the British market; but in 1846 the Corn Laws were suspended, and in the following year all the tariff preferences which Canada and other Colonies had enjoyed in the British market in grain, lumber, timber, animals and their products, etc., were swept away. The reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States was signed in June 1854, went into effect in Canada in October of that year, and in the United States in March 1855. This Treaty expired on March 17th, 1866, under denunciation by the United States.

*Third*, the period from 1855 to 1870. During this period the Provinces of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia were united under the Act of Confederation, as the

Dominion of Canada; the names of Upper Canada and Lower Canada being changed to Ontario and Quebec respectively. During this period the industrial progress of Canada was largely affected by the eleven years of the operation of the reciprocity treaty with the United States.

*Fourth*, the period from 1870 to 1897. In 1871 the Province of Prince Edward Island, with its population of 94,021; British Columbia, with 36,224; and Manitoba, with 18,995; were brought into the Confederation. In 1875 Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories were detached from Manitoba and placed under separate jurisdictions as the provisional districts of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Athabasca. This brought the population of the Dominion up to 3,635,000. By this union, all of the British possessions in North America, except the Island of Newfoundland, became included in the Dominion of Canada, and these accessions exercised an important influence on the fiscal policy and consequent industrial progress of the country.

As introductory to the period from 1763 to 1842, one or two facts of commercial interest may be noted. In 1736 about 80,000 minots of wheat (the equivalent of about 90,000 bushels) were exported from Canada. Dr. Lillie, in his work upon Canada, refers to the arrival in 1752, at Marseilles, France, of two ships laden with wheat from what was then called New France. During the enjoyment of the special advantages which Canada derived as a Crown Colony, from the preferential treatment accorded to her products in the markets of the Mother Country, its industrial energies, up to 1842, were largely devoted to farming, lumbering, and ship building. Besides these there were numerous flour and oatmeal mills, saw-mills, asheries, tanneries, breweries, distilleries, carding and fulling mills, foun-

dries, agricultural implement works, wagon and carriage works, etc. Most of these industrial establishments, apart from milling and ship-building, were small concerns of local character, depending for their supplies of materials upon their immediate vicinity, and mainly upon country roads for the transportation and distribution of their products. Up to 1842 there was only one railway in operation in Canada, that between Laprairie and St. John's, Que., its length being sixteen miles. The water communication between Upper Canada and Montreal was very defective because of the small capacity of the batteau canals between Prescott and Montreal, and the cost of transportation was in consequence enormously high. With such defective facilities for commerce between the two Provinces, or even between different sections of the same Province, it would have been impossible to undertake manufacturing on any extensive scale.

The statistical history of these eighty years is mainly a record of the increase in population, the extension of agriculture, and the progress made in lumbering and ship-building. A few statistics afford a fair description of the expansion of Canada during the period under consideration. In 1784 the population of Lower Canada was 113,012; number of arpents of land under cultivation, 1,569,818. In 1827 the population was 471,379; number of arpents under cultivation, in crops, 1,002,198, and under pasture, 1,944,397.

Many incidents which occurred during these eighty years bear testimony to the enterprising spirit of the merchants of Lower Canada—especially Montreal. In 1764 only 67 vessels arrived at the city of Quebec from the sea, with an aggregate tonnage of 5,500 tons; while in 1841 1,221 vessels arrived there, having an aggregate of 425,148 tons. In 1809 the second steamboat ever constructed on the American continent was built at Montreal by Mr. John Molson, and was named *Accommodation*, her maiden trip being made to Quebec. The first sod turned towards the construction of the Lachine canal was on July 17th, 1821. In 1825 this then small canal was finished at a cost of \$440,000, but it soon proved inadequate to the requirements of trade. In the same year efforts were made to induce the Government to deepen Lake St. Peter so that vessels

of 250 tons burden might reach Montreal from the sea. In 1831 the steamer *Royal William* was towed up from Quebec, where it was built, to Montreal to receive its engines. This steamer made a voyage to Halifax and Boston, and was the first ocean steamer that ever crossed the Atlantic.

Shipbuilding was a flourishing industry in Lower Canada in the middle of the last century. In 1752 ten ships were built at Quebec, of from forty to one hundred tons burden each, while in 1841 sixty-four ships were built there, aggregating 23,122 tons. In 1850 nine ship-yards in Quebec employed 1,338 men; in addition to which there were a number of smaller establishments. The quality of the ships built was good. Messrs. Tonge & Co., of Liverpool, in their circular for 1852, say: "We have much pleasure in noticing a marked improvement in the model, material, and finish of Canadian ships, the majority of which have been constructed to class for six or seven years, and to which a decided preference is given by buyers over the spruce ships, or those classing for but four or five years, even at a much increased price. Among those which have arrived within the last eight months will be found some as fine specimens of naval architecture as has ever been produced, combining both carrying and sailing properties of no ordinary kinds."

The period from 1842 to 1855 was a critical one in the history of Canada's commercial and industrial development. By the suspension of the British Corn Laws in 1846—soon after followed by their permanent repeal, and by other Acts involving the almost total abolition of the Imperial duties on grain and animal products, timber, and ships—all the valuable advantages which Canada had enjoyed in the British market for so many years under the preferential duties granted to the Colonies, were suddenly swept away. For years the financial, commercial, agricultural, manufacturing, and other industrial interests of Canada were virtually paralyzed. Referring to the disaster that had overtaken the country, Lord Elgin, the then Governor-General, wrote: "Peel's bill of 1846 drives the whole of the produce of the country down the New York channels of communication, destroying the revenue which Canada expected to



derive from Canal dues, and ruining at once mill owners, forwarders, and merchants. The consequence is that private property is unsaleable in Canada, and not a shilling can be raised on the credit of the Province." And again he wrote: "What makes it more serious is that all the property of which Canada is thus robbed is transplanted to the other side of the line, as if to make Canadians feel more bitterly how much kinder England is to the children who desert her than to those who remain faithful."

As the condition of Canada under the Acts of the Imperial Parliament prior to and after 1846 was so radically altered, this great difference should be stated so as to show how disastrous were the immediate effects of the fiscal policy which Great Britain had adopted. Without going further back than 1842 to illustrate the working of the Corn Laws it may be stated that in April of that year, an Imperial Act was passed to amend the laws for the importation of corn, under which heavy duties, on a sliding scale, were imposed on all grain, flour, and meal imported from foreign countries; and the duties were increased or decreased according to the price of wheat as reported in the weekly official returns in the British markets. A much lower stated amount of duty was to be levied on wheat or flour imported from any of the British possessions. In this latter case, the duty was fixed at five shillings per Imperial quarter for wheat, and the duty on the barrel of 196 pounds of flour was to be equal to the duty on 38½ gallons of wheat. The Canadian Government was given to understand that even this reduced rate of duty would not have been imposed but for the fact that Canada admitted United States wheat free of duty, which wheat, or the flour made therefrom, might find its way into British ports at the Colonial rates of duty. Learning this, the Legislature of Canada passed an Act imposing a duty of three shillings sterling per Imperial quarter on all wheat imported into the Province. This was done with the hope or expectation that Great Britain would remove or reduce the duties on Colonial wheat and flour, fixed by the Imperial Act above alluded to. The Canadian Act was reserved by the Governor-General for the consideration of Her Majesty. The result was that in July, 1843, the Imperial Parliament

passed an Act reducing the duty on wheat and flour, the produce of Canada, imported thence into the United Kingdom; under which Act, all wheat and flour, the produce of Canada, imported into the United Kingdom for consumption there, should be admitted subject to a duty of one shilling per quarter of wheat, and to a duty on flour per barrel of 196 pounds equal to the duty on 38½ gallons of wheat.

This was a generous and welcome concession to Canada, and imparted a vigorous stimulus to two of its most important interests, milling and forwarding, and was eminently calculated to largely increase the revenues derived from the canals and harbours. An avenue was thus opened for a large trade in flour made from American wheat, as the flour thus manufactured was admitted into England on the same terms as if made from Canadian wheat. With wheat valued at fifty shillings in England, the case stood thus: The Canadian miller who imported wheat from the United States, paid the Canadian duty on 4½ bushels, the equivalent of a barrel of 196 pounds of flour, or 40½ cents. If the flour was shipped to England he paid the duty there, 14½ cents, or a total duty of 55 cents. With wheat at fifty shillings in England, United States flour there would pay \$1.00 per barrel duty. Under this favourable legislation a large amount of Canadian capital was invested in new flouring mills of large capacity, in enlarging and improving old mills, in building warehouses and elevators, and in constructing sailing vessels, steamers and barges for lake and canal navigation, of much greater capacity than had been formerly in use.

Nor was it only in wheat and other grains and flour that Great Britain discriminated in favour of her Colonies, but also in cattle and their products, and in timber and ships. The duties on horses, cattle, and sheep, when imported from any of the British possessions, were only one-half of the rates levied on similar foreign animals; the duties on hams, bacon, and meats, salted or fresh, were only one-fourth of the rates on similar foreign products, and clover and grass seeds and hay were rated at half the duties imposed upon similar foreign articles. A duty of twenty-five per cent. was levied on foreign-built ships, but not upon colonial ships. The duty on square

timber, if from foreign countries, was twenty-five shillings per load of fifty cubic feet, but if from British possessions, one shilling per load; on deals, if from foreign countries, twenty-eight shillings per load, if from British possessions, two shillings; on staves, if from foreign countries, twenty-eight shillings, if from British possessions, two shillings per load; on lumber when planed or otherwise prepared for use, if from foreign countries, ten per cent., if from British possessions, five per cent. Still another advantage which Canada enjoyed was the control of the supply of flour and lumber for the British West Indies, these being subject to heavy duties there except when imported from British possessions. Another indirect advantage conferred upon Canada by Great Britain was through an Imperial Act guaranteeing the payment of interest on a loan of £1,500,000 to be raised by the people of Canada. This enabled the Canadian Government to borrow this amount of money on very favourable terms, and to proceed at once with many important public works which were urgently required.

These are some of the valuable advantages which Canada derived from its Imperial connection. The disadvantages were unimportant. The British Government exercised sovereign control over the customs tariff and the collectors of customs, which was not fully relinquished until 1847. It also controlled the post office service, established post offices and mail routes, and fixed rates of postage. It had also, through its navigation laws, the monopoly of all the shipping trade by sea, which included that to and from Canada. These last two matters of control were not surrendered until after 1847.

Up to 1846, although the cost of transportation of agricultural products from Upper Canada to Europe, *via* Montreal, was much greater than from the Western States *via* the Erie Canal and New York, this disadvantage was more than counterbalanced by the difference between the duties levied in Great Britain on United States and on Canadian products. Under such circumstances Canada was enabled not only to forward all its own products by its own St. Lawrence route, but had good reason for expecting to divert a large proportion of the trade of the Western States to the same route.

In 1846, however, the position of Canada was completely changed. In that year an Imperial Act was passed to amend the laws relating to the importation of corn, by which, until the first day of February, 1849, the duties on all grains and flour, foreign and colonial alike, were fixed at one shilling per Imperial quarter for wheat, and four pence halfpenny per hundredweight on flour and meal of all kinds. Appended to this Act was a schedule of the duties charged on wheat, which had been in force, but were now repealed as follows:

If valued under 48 shillings per quarter, to pay a duty of 10 shillings per quarter.			
If 48/.	and under 49/.	to pay a duty of 9/.	per qtr.
49/.	“ 50/.	“ 8/.	“
50/.	“ 51/.	“ 7/.	“
51/.	“ 52/.	“ 6/.	“
52/.	“ 53/.	“ 5/.	“
53/.	and upwards,	“ 4/.	“

On wheat flour the duty per barrel was equal to the duty on 38½ gallons of wheat. Owing to the failure of the potato crop in Ireland in 1846, and the lamentable famine which followed, Imperial Acts were passed early in 1847, suspending until September of that year the duties on buckwheat and meal, Indian corn, and cornmeal and rye; and allowing the importation of any of these articles from any country in foreign ships, anything in the Navigation Laws to the contrary notwithstanding. In 1846 an Act had been passed which reduced the duty on foreign timber. The suspension of the duty on wheat was soon followed by an Act imposing a duty of one shilling per quarter on that article, generally described as a registration duty, which was continued for about twenty years, after which grain of all kinds and flour and meal, were made entirely free of duty.

By this legislation all the preferential advantages which Canada had enjoyed in the markets of Great Britain were abolished, but it was not until June, 1847, that the effect of these Acts was fully realized. Owing to the failure of the potato crop in Ireland there was such a demand for foreign breadstuffs that prices during the winter of 1846-47 advanced rapidly, and continued to do so until the following month of May. The exhaustion of the Government appropriation

to help the destitute people of Ireland tended to make money dear; the gigantic railway bubble which Hudson, the so-called railway king, had inflated, suddenly burst under the pressure of a tight money market, and a financial panic followed through which even East India bonds declined rapidly. Breadstuffs of all kinds were then flowing into British ports in vast quantities, attracted thither by the very high values that had prevailed, and these, owing to the financial troubles, were sold at ruthlessly sacrificed prices.

In Canada an unusually large stock of breadstuffs had accumulated, and all the inland lake and river craft available proved totally inadequate to move the quantities offering for transportation; warehouses were filled with wheat and flour, and the ocean fleets at Montreal and Quebec were being loaded and despatched as rapidly as possible. With such a rush of business, and with high prices prevailing for everything, flour having advanced to \$8.50 per barrel in Montreal, very little apprehension was felt regarding the newly introduced free trade policy of Great Britain. Those were the days of only fortnightly mails from Europe. The last mail from England, received in May, had brought most encouraging news for owners and shippers of breadstuffs; the first mail in June brought intelligence of the financial panic there, the collapse of value of all kinds of securities, and the frightful decline in prices of breadstuffs. The value of flour in Montreal immediately declined \$4.00 per barrel, and all other breadstuffs in proportion. The losses sustained by exporters, merchants, millers, grain dealers, and others were enormous, and failures were numerous. Then arose the question as to what would become of all the investments which the Imperial policy of 1843 had encouraged in the building of new warehouses, mills, elevators, vessels, etc.!

To add to the general embarrassment the timber business, which had then grown to one of great magnitude, became suddenly and distressingly depressed. In 1845, which had been a very prosperous year for the lumber and timber trade, the quantity of square timber received in Quebec aggregated 27,702,344 cubic feet, of which 24,223,000 feet were exported, the exports *via* the St. Lawrence being valued at \$5,587,452, to

which should be added \$1,200,000 for sawed lumber exported to the United States, the total value being \$6,787,452.

This year of successful trade led to an immense increase of production during the following season. The quantity of square timber received in Quebec in 1846 was 37,300,643 cubic feet, of which only 24,242,689 feet (about the same quantity as in 1845) was exported. In the succeeding year (1847) the quantity received in Quebec, including the stock held over from 1846, was 44,927,253 cubic feet. The quantity produced below Quebec, and in New Brunswick, had also been largely increased. The over-production, induced largely by the profitable business of 1845, was attributed in part to an injudicious regulation of the Crown Lands Department requiring that a stated quantity of timber should be cut on every limit in each season. The abolition of the preferential duties on timber in Great Britain occurring at the same time as the over-production in Canada, placed the timber interests of the country in a disastrous condition, from which it required many years to recover.

When the conditions of the two chief industries of Canada—the agricultural and timber—in 1847 are considered, together with the frightful losses sustained by the banks, the lumbermen, merchants, millers, forwarders, and others, it is not surprising that a feeling of sullen and gloomy despair prevailed where but a short time before the prospects had been bright and satisfactory.

Up to 1847 the revenues of Canada had been derived chiefly from customs duties, which were imposed partly by Imperial and partly by Provincial statutes. The collectors of customs acted under instructions from the Home Government, and were independent of the Provincial Government, and the revenue was apportioned between the two Provinces by a Board of Commissioners. In 1839 the proportion was fixed at three-fifths for Lower Canada and two-fifths for Upper Canada. This method of collecting revenues, and the apportionment of them, was a cause of frequent friction. Upper Canada was in debt and required money for the construction of public works of pressing necessity, and desired an increase of revenue. Lower Canada had ample

revenue and objected to any increase of customs duties.

Under authority of an Act of the Imperial Parliament, to enable the Legislatures of certain British possessions to repeal or reduce certain duties, the control of the customs tariff passed into the hands of the Canadian Legislature. In July, 1847, this Legislature passed an Act repealing the Imperial Act and various Provincial Acts, and imposing certain duties in lieu of all other duties. Under the customs tariff then passed, higher duties for revenue purposes were imposed than had been previously authorized by the Imperial Parliament, no distinction being made between British and foreign merchandise. This new power in the hands of a Canadian Parliament was destined to have a close connection with, and to exercise an important influence upon, Canadian industrial enterprise.

With all preferences in the British markets abolished, the question of cheaper inland and ocean transportation pressed itself upon the attention of the Canadian Legislature. The Rideau Canal was opened in 1832, and the Welland Canal in 1833, but the Cornwall Canal not until 1842; the Beauharnois Canal in 1845; the Williamsburg Canals in 1847; and the enlarged Lachine Canal in 1848. These latter completed a much more efficacious means of transportation between the Western Lakes and Montreal than existed in 1842, but proved inadequate to establish any superiority in point of cheapness over the route *via* the Erie Canal to New York. In 1850 the work of deepening the ship channel between Montreal and Quebec was assigned to the Harbour Commissioners of Montreal: the work was commenced in 1851, and before the close of that season the depth of the channel had been increased from 11 to 13 feet, the cost of which was not at the expense of the revenue of the country, but of the trade of the port. In 1850, for the first time, foreign vessels ascended the St. Lawrence to Montreal to take in cargo. In 1853 the ship channel had been deepened to 15 feet, and the steamer *Genova* arrived in Montreal, being the first ocean steamer ever to reach that city. She was followed by the *Sarah Sands* and twice by the *Lady Eglinton*, but these were comparatively small vessels and larger ships were required

to conduct a profitable ocean trade. In 1855 the ship channel had been deepened to 16 feet 6 inches. Between 1842 and 1856 the wharfage accommodation in Montreal Harbour was increased from 4,950 to 8,440 lineal feet. In addition to the improvements at Montreal and on the ship channel below that city, large sums were expended on light-houses and piers on the lower St. Lawrence. The cost of transportation between Montreal and Europe was being greatly reduced, and so also were the rates of ocean insurance, through the lessened dangers of navigation.

In addition to a vigorous policy looking to the reduction of cost in ocean transportation the Legislature appropriated very liberal sums in aid of railway construction and other internal improvements. Towards railway construction it agreed to lend \$12,000 per mile for all railways completed in such thorough condition as to pass the inspection of the Government engineers. In order to enable municipalities to undertake or aid needed local public works and improvements, a loan fund of ten million dollars for each of the two Provinces was established, through which municipalities might obtain Government debentures in exchange for their own, on condition that the projects to be assisted should be approved by the Governor-in-Council. All of the fund of Upper Canada was quickly taken up, also part of that for Lower Canada, but the greater part of this latter was cancelled in consideration of the amount of public funds which were appropriated to the redemption of the Seigneurial Tenure in that Province.

In 1842 there were only sixteen miles of railway in operation in Canada; in 1847, fifty-four miles; in 1855, 877 miles, with a large number of miles under construction. In July, 1854, the first stone of the Victoria Bridge, which spans the St. Lawrence River at Montreal, was laid. In the same year Mr. John Redpath established an extensive sugar refinery in Montreal, an industry which resulted in the establishment of a direct trade between Canada and the West Indies and other foreign sugar-producing countries.

It may be thought that Canada was somewhat rash in undertaking such extensive projects and incurring so much debt. A few of the enterprises

may have been in advance of their immediate requirements, and not warranted by a conservative estimate of their probable advantages. But under the depression which followed the repeal of the Corn Laws a vigorous development policy was absolutely necessary. Not only did the expenditures on public works greatly alleviate this depression, but the good judgment of those who promoted them was fully justified by the results. On frequent occasions the charges for transportation and sale of a bushel of wheat from the time of its delivery from a farmer's wagon at ports on Lake Ontario to receipt of returns from England amounted to seventy-five cents, which was more than the price obtained in England in some subsequent years. Frequently during the past few seasons this service has been transacted at a cost of about fifteen cents per bushel.

In the early part of the period from 1855 to 1870 the prosperity of the country was greatly promoted by the high prices obtained for wheat and other farm products during, and for a short time after, the Crimean war, and this prosperity was further promoted by the large amounts expended in the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway and other similar enterprises, which created a large demand and good wages for labour, and a great demand for horses, lumber, timber, hay, oats, potatoes and other farm products.

In 1857 the Russian war had ceased to influence prices, the Grand Trunk Railway had been completed, and there was a general failure of the wheat crop throughout Canada. These incidents tended to create a depression in all the industries of the country, from which the recovery was slow until 1861 when the war of secession in the United States broke out, which, for the following four or five years opened up an extensive demand in that country, and at good prices, for all kinds of Canadian products, which were admitted there duty free under the Reciprocity Treaty then in force.

It is not intended to here discuss this Treaty at any greater length than may be necessary to show its influence upon the industrial progress of Canada. Co-incident with the abolishment of the preferential duties with which Great Britain had favoured Canada, occurred the beginning of

the shipment in bond through the United States to Europe of a large proportion of the surplus products of Upper Canada, the cost of transportation of which was frequently less than by the St. Lawrence route. This American route possessed the advantage of having sea-board ports open at all seasons of the year, and in addition to this there was quite a large market in New York, Boston, and other American cities, for Canadian wheat, flour, oats, seeds, fish, lumber, etc. On the other hand Canada imported largely from the United States of corn and cornmeal, hog products, coal, etc.

Soon after the passing of the Canadian Tariff Act of 1847, under which there was no longer to be any discrimination in favour of British goods, a considerable and annually increasing trade in general merchandise became established between Canada and the United States. In some lines of manufactured goods, such as heavy cottons, boots and shoes, machinery, hardware, glassware, musical instruments, books, household furniture, etc, American goods were preferred to others, partly because of their cheaper prices, but largely because of their better adaptation to Canadian styles and requirements. Not only in manufactured articles, but also in groceries, sugars, teas, coffee, tobacco, naval stores, dried fruits, spices, etc., a large business was carried on by American merchants with Canada. By removing the restrictions imposed by the bonding system and of customs duties upon the interchange of raw products, a much larger commerce between the two countries might have been transacted to mutual advantage, because, owing to differences in soil and climate, each country was better adapted than the other for the production of certain articles. The loss of revenue at the moderate rates of duty then prevailing would not have been a very serious matter to either country.

In Canada public feeling was strongly in favour of free trade in raw products. In both commercial and manufacturing circles, particularly in the eastern cities of the United States, there was also a very general desire to cultivate trade with Canada. New York was specially interested because of the considerable revenue it derived from its canal tolls on Canadian produce, which in some years amounted to between three and

four hundred thousand dollars. The time was opportune for negotiating a liberal reciprocity treaty, and Lord Elgin, the then Governor-General of Canada, accompanied by two Commissioners appointed by the Canadian Government, proceeded to Washington for that purpose. A treaty was there arranged establishing free trade between the two countries for ten years, in the raw products of the farm, the forest, the mines, and the fisheries. It secured for the United States the use of the St. Lawrence River and the Canadian canals on the same terms as were enjoyed by the people of Canada; and it granted to Canada the right of navigation on Lake Michigan on equal terms with American shipping. The Treaty was signed in Washington on June 5, 1854, and was proclaimed there on March 16, 1855. The necessary notice of the abrogation of this Treaty was given by the United States, and it was terminated on March 17, 1866.

During the first eight years of the Treaty there was ample time for the development of the natural free interchange of raw products between the two countries. The limit of this interchange appears to have been about \$20,000,000 per annum on each side. It cannot be contended that the increase between 1856 and 1866 afforded a fair basis for expecting a proportionate increase in future years. During the civil war the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of able-bodied men from the field of American industry to the field of battle, and the waste and destruction of property which always accompany warfare, created an exceptionally large demand for Canadian products. During 1865-66 and for some time after, the United States was undergoing a process of recuperation. In evidence of its previous exhaustion of domestic supplies, and of the extraordinary requirements made upon Canada, the following figures speak clearly enough: In 1859-60 the value of live animals imported from Canada was \$1,658,970; in 1865-66, \$8,057,460. In 1859-60 no barley is reported as having been imported, but in 1865-66 the value of imported barley was \$4,896,799; in 1859-60, wheat, \$1,784,847; in 1865-66, \$3,584,082; in 1859-60, flour, \$3,008,175; in 1865-66, \$4,498,824; in 1859-60, butter and cheese, \$511,916; in 1865-66, \$1,977,437; in 1859-60, lumber and timber, \$3,416,481;

in 1865-66, \$5,003,040. These are all reported as having been imported from Canada by the United States under the Reciprocity Treaty.

The British North America Act followed the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866 and provided for the confederation of the Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick under the name of the Dominion of Canada. In 1871 the following other Provinces were brought into the Confederation: Prince Edward Island, with a population of 94,021; British Columbia, with 36,224, and Manitoba, with 18,995, making the population of the whole Dominion, 3,635,000. In 1875 Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories were separated from Manitoba and placed under distinct jurisdiction.

Under the Act of Confederation, three principal objects were held in view and were to be consummated as soon as possible: (1). The bringing into the Dominion of all the British possessions in North America, including the acquisition of the North-West Territories, and their development by inter-railway connection. In 1871 the surveys for the Canadian Pacific Railway were commenced, and in 1880 the contracts for its construction from ocean to ocean were signed, and in 1881 were ratified by the Dominion Parliament. The work of construction was prosecuted with great vigour, and the road completed in 1885. (2). The construction of the Intercolonial Railway to connect the western with the maritime provinces. The necessary funds for this work were secured on very favourable terms through a loan granted by the Imperial Government. This railway was completed and opened for traffic from Quebec to Halifax in 1876. (3). The enlargement and deepening of the St. Lawrence and Welland canals, together with such corresponding improvements in the channels between Kingston and Montreal as might be found necessary.

Mr. R. Montgomery Martin, in his work on the British Colonies, gives the following interesting figures regarding early Canadian development:

	Imports.	Exports.	Population.	Tons of shipping.
1784	£ 500,000	£ 150,000	113,000	95,000
1836	2,588,000	1,321,750	1,200,000	348,000

He reports the exports by sea during the year 1840 as follows: ashes, barrels, 24,498; flour, barrels, 356,210; wheat, bushels, 562,862; peas,

bushels, 59,878 : butter, pounds, 211,497. As far back as 1808 there were exported from Quebec oak and pine timber, staves, ships' masts, etc., valued at \$629,440, and 3,750 tons of new ships valued at \$150,000.

In 1842 there were in the Province of Upper Canada 414 flouring mills, 63 oatmeal mills, 330 carding and fulling mills, 14 paper mills, 897 saw-mills, 1,021 asheries, 261 tanneries, 96 breweries, 147 distilleries, and 22 foundries. The census for 1851 shows that in the preceding ten years the population had increased to 952,000, or about 95 per cent., and the increase in acres under cultivation about 112 per cent. There were in the Province at the time of taking that census 692 flour and oatmeal mills, 1,567 saw-mills, 221 carding and fulling mills, 74 woollen mills, 51 asheries, 232 tanneries, 50 breweries, 102 distilleries, 97 foundries, 8 shipyards, and 388 other industrial establishments.

In Lower Canada in the decade from 1841 to 1851 the population increased to 890,260, or about 28 per cent., and the increase in acres under cultivation about 35 per cent. In the latter year there were 541 grist mills, 1,065 saw-mills, 193 carding mills, 18 woollen mills, 13 breweries, 7 distilleries, 12 shipyards, 38 foundries, 186 asheries, 204 tanneries, and 123 other industrial establishments.

The census returns relating to the industrial establishments in Canada previous to 1871 are not very complete, nor do they afford any reliable comparisons of the progress previously accomplished to the different periods of years in which they were taken. The census of 1871, being the first taken after the confederation of the four Provinces, affords a fair starting point from which to follow up the progress of the manufacturing industries during three decades. The following figures will illustrate this progress :

Year	Number of establishments.	Capital invested.	Amount paid in wages.	Number of hands employed.	Value of raw material.	Total value products.
<b>Year 1871:</b>						
Ont.....	20,961	\$ 37,874,010	\$ 21,415,710	87,281	\$ 65,114,804	\$114,706,799
Que. ....	14,079	28,071,868	12,389,673	66,714	44,555,025	77,205,182
N.S....	4,887	6,041,966	3,176,266	15,595	5,806,257	12,338,105
N.B....	3,829	5,976,176	3,869,360	18,352	9,431,760	17,367,687
Totals.	43,756	\$ 77,964,020	\$ 40,851,009	187,942	\$124,907,846	\$221,617,773
<b>Year 1881:</b>						
Ont.....	23,070	\$ 80,950,847	\$ 30,604,031	118,308	\$ 91,164,156	\$157,989,870
Que.....	15,763	59,216,992	18,333,162	85,673	62,563,967	104,662,258
N.S.....	5,493	10,183,060	4,096,445	20,390	10,022,030	18,575,326
N.B.....	3,005	8,423,282	3,866,011	19,922	11,060,842	18,512,658
P.E.I.....	47,331	\$158,776,181	\$ 56,899,649	244,293	\$174,810,995	\$299,740,112
Man.....	1,617	2,085,776	807,208	5,767	1,829,210	3,400,208
B.C.....	344	1,383,331	775,507	1,921	1,924,821	3,413,026
N.W.T...	196	2,952,835	929,213	2,871	1,273,816	2,926,784
N.W.T...	24	104,500	35,425	83	79,751	195,938
Totals.	49,512	\$165,302,623	\$ 59,447,002	254,935	\$179,918,593	\$309,676,068
<b>Year 1891:</b>						
Ont.....	32,151	\$175,972,021	\$ 49,733,359	166,326	\$128,142,371	\$239,871,926
Que.....	23,037	118,291,115	30,699,115	117,389	85,630,496	153,255,583
N.S.....	10,496	19,821,986	7,240,611	34,955	16,099,229	31,043,392
N.B.....	5,429	15,821,855	5,970,914	26,675	12,501,453	23,849,655
P.E.I....	71,113	\$329,906,977	\$ 93,643,999	345,345	\$242,373,549	\$448,020,556
Man.....	2,679	2,911,963	1,101,620	7,910	2,092,067	4,315,910
B.C.....	1,031	5,684,237	1,995,981	4,403	5,688,151	10,155,182
N.W.T...	770	14,404,394	3,586,897	11,507	5,119,258	11,999,928
N.W.T...	375	1,713,179	425,153	1,081	846,017	1,827,310
Totals.	75,968	\$354,620,750	\$100,663,650	370,246	\$256,119,042	\$476,348,886

It will be observed that the progress in industrial enterprise during the last ten years was much greater both in proportion and in extent than in the preceding decade. That this was brought about by tariff protection, or what is generally known as the National Policy, which was adopted in 1879, may be admitted. From 1873 to 1878, Canada, in common with other countries, suffered severely from the commercial depression that prevailed all over the world. Under the moderate tariff which had previously been in force considerable progress had been made in many of our manufacturing industries. In the older settled sections of the country the greater proportion of the farming lands had been cleared and fenced and equipped, and there was no longer any large employment for farmers and farm labourers. Farming had ceased to be the profitable operation it had formerly been, and the factories which had been and were being established drew from the country all the employees they required. During the depression Canadian manufacturers suffered severely because of the large importations of the surplus products of similar establishments in the United States which were forced upon the Canadian market at sacrifice prices. Many of our manufacturers were ruined and went out of business, and others were unable to retain the usual number of employees. Owing to the unfavourable prospects of agriculture as an occupation, to the disinclination for farming, and to the inadequacy of other industries to afford employment for all seeking it, there was a large and steady outflow of emigrants from Canada to the United States. With a view to retaining as far as possible these dissatisfied Canadians in their own country, the Government adopted the policy of tariff protection to home industries, in the expectation that manufacturing industries would so extend and multiply as to afford employment for all who desired it. It cannot be contended that this policy was successful in the degree anticipated, for emigration to some extent has still continued. But it is equally clear that it largely mitigated that evil; for if there has been a reduction of the rural population, there has been a large increase in that of the cities and towns, evidently owing to the wide expansion of manufacturing and other industrial enterprises. To

statesmen must be allotted the task of deciding the question whether the advantages claimed for the National Policy by its supporters compensated for the disadvantages which its opponents allege have resulted from it.

It is not pretended that the excess in total value of the products of the industrial establishments of Canada in 1891 over that of 1881 represents a like increase in the value of the home-made articles, as some of the material employed was probably valued more than once during the various processes of manufacture. But the tables show that during the decades there must have been a very large displacement of some foreign manufactures in favour of similar Canadian products, and that this displacement was much greater in the decade ending in 1891 than in that ending in 1881. A striking feature in connection with the large increase in the production of Canadian manufactures is exhibited in the fact that it was not accompanied by any falling off in the export and import trade of the Dominion, as is shown from official figures; the average for the previous decades being as follows:—

	Imports entered for consumption.	Population.	Imports per capita.
1871 .....	\$ 86,947,482	3,485,761	\$24.94
1881 .....	100,821,537	3,905,285	25.82
1891 .....	109,054,998	4,369,262	24.96
	Exports.	Population.	Exports per capita.
1871.....	\$74,173,618	3,485,761	\$21.28
1881.....	83,352,752	3,905,285	21.34
1891.....	93,019,360	4,369,262	21.29

The census returns show that during the ten years from 1881 to 1891 there was an increase of 115,321 in the number of people employed in what was called "Industrial Establishments," or 46 per cent. Taking the four original provinces, Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, the increase in the number of hands employed in industrial establishments from 1871 to 1891 was 157,413, or about 84 per cent.; increase in capital, \$251,942,957, or 323 per cent.; increase in amount of wages paid annually, \$52,792,990, or 129 per cent.; increase in total value of products, \$226,312,783, or about 102 per cent. Taking the value of the total products of all the industrial establishments in Canada in 1871 and dividing it into the number of the population,



this value is found to be \$95.80 per capita; and, by like method, the per capita value for 1891 is found to be \$98.54. Taking all imports and home manufactures together, the purchasing power of the country in 1871 was \$120.74 per capita; and in 1891, \$123.50. Perhaps this may be considered an over-estimate, because, as has been shown, the value of the materials of many of the manufactures of Canada were probably included in the returns more than once, passing as they do in a more or less finished condition from one process to another under different classifications; but the proportion thus treated would be the same in both years. Without pretending to be able to arrive at an exact estimate of the consumption of manufactured products in either of those years, the conclusion seems to be justifiable, in view of the very great reduction in the prices of all commodities during the past twenty years, that there has been a very large increase in the annual quantity of merchandise purchased by the people.

In many lines of Canadian manufactures the products are equal, in point of excellence and cheapness, to those of any other country. Not only in flour, cheese, bacon, canned meats, fruits, and other articles closely connected with our agricultural and farming industries, but also in many manufactures which require much skill and experience. Among these may be mentioned agricultural implements of all kinds; engines; boilers and machinery; all kinds of iron and wood-working tools, and tools for workmen; stoves, radiators, and iron castings generally; many descriptions of cotton and woollen goods; leather, and manufactures thereof; doors, sashes, matches, wood pulp, and other manufactures of wood; organs and pianos, etc.

In evidence of the excellent quality and cheapness of Canadian manufactured products, the Trade and Navigation returns for 1896 show the following values for exports for that year: Agricultural implements, \$595,000, chiefly to Great Britain and Australia, but some to France, Germany, Holland, and Russia; cottons, \$823,338, of which \$549,000 went to China; leather, and manufactures thereof, \$2,000,000, most of which went to Great Britain and Newfoundland; musical instruments, \$346,000, chiefly in organs sent

to Great Britain; wood pulp, doors, sashes, matches, spools, furniture, and other manufactures of wood, \$1,495,000, most of which went to Great Britain; and whiskey, \$377,863, nearly all of which went to the United States; in addition to which there was exported a large value of miscellaneous articles. The total value of manufactures, the produce of Canada, exported during the year amounted to \$9,365,384.

A very fair test of the excellence and cheapness of some articles of Canadian manufacture may be found by a comparison of our export trade with that of the United States. In agricultural implements the manufacturers of both countries have an extensive home market, but they require outlets to foreign countries for their surplus products. The value of the exports of all kinds of agricultural implements from the two countries compare as follows:

	From United States.	From Canada.
1894.....	\$ 5,027,915	\$ 466,477
1895.....	5,413,075	665,667
1896.....	5,176,775	595,277
Total.....	\$15,617,765	\$1,727,421

In proportion to the population of the two countries, the exports from Canada are about 55 per cent. larger than from the United States. Nor does this show the full percentage in favour of Canada. A large number of Canadian implements are shipped to New York, Boston, and other Atlantic seaports in the United States, for re-shipment to Australia, Argentina, and Europe, and are included in the United States returns of exports. A similar result is found in a comparison of the exports of the two countries in leather and manufactures thereof, and in musical instruments and many other articles. With regard to foreign commerce Canada largely exceeds the United States in per capita value of imports and exports, assuming the population of the United States to be 70,000,000, and of Canada 5,000,000. This excess should steadily increase as the Dominion and its products become more favourably known in Great Britain, which is, of course, the market for Canadian as well as American staple products. The official returns of the two countries give the following recent figures as to their commerce:

Total value of the import and export trade of the United States :

	Imports.	Exports.	Total foreign commerce.
1894.....	\$ 654,994,622	\$ 892,140,572	\$1,547,135,194
1895.....	731,969,065	807,538,165	1,539,507,230
1896.....	779,724,674	882,606,938	1,662,331,612
Total for 3 years.....	\$2,166,688,361	\$2,582,285,675	\$4,748,974,936
Annual average.....	\$1,582,991,645		

Total value of the import and export trade of Canada :

	Imports.	Exports.	Total foreign commerce.
1894.....	£123,474,940	\$117,524,949	\$240,999,889
1895.....	110,781,682	113,638,803	224,420,485
1896.....	118,011,508	121,013,852	239,025,360
Total for 3 years.....	\$352,268,130	\$352,177,604	\$704,445,734
Annual average.....	\$234,815,245		

According to these figures the value of the foreign commerce of the United States averages \$22.61 per capita, and that of Canada, \$46.96 per capita.



The Hon. Sir Antoine Aimé Dorion,  
Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench, Quebec, 1874-91.

## PROGRESS OF CANADIAN INDUSTRIES

BY

E. B. BIGGAR, Editor of the *Canadian Journal of Fabrics* and of the *Canadian Engineer*.

THE growth of the textile trades of Canada is a fair measure of the development of Canadian manufactures in general, from the hand work of the primitive times to the factory methods of modern days. Textile manufacturing in Canada began as a domestic industry and continued so almost till the present century; and those who survey with pride its present magnitude and high character must not forget how much we are indebted to the skill, patience and deftness of the French-Canadians for its early success as a native industry and for its later achievements under the modern factory system. If the French Canadians had not become a strong element in the population of Canada the cotton, woollen, silk and other textile industries of Canada could not have become what they are to-day, nor could our boot and shoe and other branches of the leather trades have attained their present enviable position. Indeed, the United States itself could never have gained its prominence in cotton manufacturing and in boot and shoe manufacturing had it not been able to draw upon the Province of Quebec for its factory hands.

It was not without effort that the textile trades were planted and nourished both among the French and English Canadian people, and special providences mark the history of this as of all other departments of industry. From the period of the first colonization of Canada to nearly the close of the 18th century, it was the policy of Governments to regard Colonies as existing commercially for the benefit of the Mother Country, and local manufacturing was prohibited as far as possible in order that factory owners at home might grow richer and maintain their prices. But the very exactions in prices and the further extor-

trade of the country was farmed out. drove the French-Canadian colonists first into smuggling and then into making cloth for themselves, in some cases with the consent of the French authorities, in other cases in spite of them. The Intendant Talon, for one, realized that the planting of domestic industries was for the benefit of the colonists and in times of need would be a relief to the Government at home; and in 1671 wrote that he had caused druggets, coarse camlet, bolting cloth, serge, woollen cloth and leather to be made in the Colony, adding: "I have of Canadian make wherewithal to clothe myself from head to foot." The Ursuline Nuns willingly assisted him in this policy and taught the girls of the Colony to spin and weave while at their schools; and these girls going out into the world as wives of farmers and hunters carried their knowledge of their art all over the Colony. The flax spinning-wheel, the wool spinning-wheel and the clumsy loom were a part of the furniture of almost every house, and in course of time these industrious women provided every fabric needed for the household, from the clothes they wore even to the towels used in the kitchen, the carpeting on the floor and the bed clothing under which they slept. Of their costumes Roberts, in his recent History,\* says:

"Out of doors, and in the winter especially, the costumes of the nobility were more distinctly Canadian. Overcoats of native cloth were worn, with large, pointed hoods. Their pattern is preserved to the present day in the blanket coats of our snowshoers. Young men might have been seen going about in colours that brightened the winter landscape. Gay belts of green, blue, red or yellow enriched the waists of their thick overcoats; their scarlet leggings were laced up with green ribbons; their moccasins were gorgeously

\*NOTE. *History of Canada* by Charles G. D. Roberts, M.A.

embroidered with dyed porcupine quills; their caps of beaver or marten were sometimes tied down over their ears with vivid handkerchiefs of silk. The *habitants* were rougher and more sombre in their dress. A black homespun coat, grey leggings, grey wollen cap, heavy moccasins of cowhide—this grave costume was usually brightened by a belt or sash of the liveliest colours. The country women had to content themselves with the same coarse homespuns, which they wore in short full skirts, but they got the gay colours, which they loved, in kerchiefs for their necks and shoulders.”

As stated, these fabrics were woven on hand looms, made entirely of wood, even to the loom reeds, which were formed of thin reeds of hickory and stood a surprising amount of wear. The preparatory processes were of course done by hand, the carding being done on two hand cards about nine inches square and in appearance not unlike a curry comb used for grooming horses. From butternut wood and the berries and roots of wild plants dyes were obtained and much knowledge was obtained from the Indian in this branch of the work. On these primitive looms not only were the various cloths made but also the *catalonnes* or rugs and carpet (so-called from Catalonia in Spain), the homespuns and linens, which are still a feature of home industry in many parts of rural Quebec. The making of such an article as the *ceinture flèche* (the bright coloured sash worn by the *habitant*, and still surviving as a part of the snow-shoe costume of our winter sports) was by a different process. This article, so-called from the arrow-head figures in the pattern, was made by braiding, the strands out of which it was formed being tied at one end to a pole, which was suspended to the ceiling, while to the other end of each strand was attached a weight. As the threads were braided into each other according to the colour the tension produced by the weight not only avoided tangling but enabled the braider to obtain that hard compact fabric which is peculiar to the genuine *ceinture flèche* and which has not been successfully imitated on a loom. As it took about two weeks to make a single sash, and the work was very tedious, it is not surprising that these articles were always rather expensive. This work became localized about Indian Lorette, the most expert operators being Indian women and, as it is now almost an extinct

industry, the genuine sashes are highly prized, a good *ceinture flèche* with long tassels sometimes bringing as much as \$50.

As a complement to a native woollen industry the grazing of sheep and the growing of flax and hemp for linen cloth and cordage was attempted with more or less success in the early period of the French Régime in Canada. The Jesuits' Relations in 1668 show the existence of hat and shoe factories and speak of proposals to establish manufactures of linen cloth and leather; and the Census of 1681 showed that in a total population of 9,677 there were four weavers of cloth, one carpet weaver, one ribbon weaver, four rope makers, six hatters and one carder. The Census of 1671 showed that there were 407 sheep and 36 goats in Canada, but in 1685 the goats had diminished to 14, while the sheep increased to 787, and in 1695 there were 918 sheep. In Acadia, in 1693, there were 1,164 sheep, which steadily increased in numbers till, in 1827, in Nova Scotia alone there were 173,731 sheep. In New France, in 1720, the number of sheep reported was 12,175, while by 1765 these had increased to 28,022. In 1719 it was recorded that 45,970 lbs. of flax and 5,080 lbs. of hemp were grown in New France, these products having, in 1734, increased in the case of flax to 92,246 lbs. and diminished in the case of hemp to 2,221 lbs. The sheep-raising industry continued to develop steadily in Canada, following the advance of colonization in all the Provinces, till, in 1851, the numbers were as follows: Upper Canada, 967,168; Lower Canada, 647,465; New Brunswick, 168,038; Nova Scotia, 282,180; Prince Edward Island about 80,000; Red River and Assiniboia about 2,000. Newfoundland had also in 1857, 10,737. The last Census, of 1891, showed the number of sheep in the various Provinces to be as follows: British Columbia, 49,163; Manitoba, 35,838; New Brunswick, 182,941; Nova Scotia, 331,492; Ontario, 1,021,769; Prince Edward Island, 147,372; Quebec, 730,286; North-West Territories, 64,920; making a total of 2,563,781 head, from which were grown 2,665,976 lbs. of fine wool and 7,365,994 lbs. of coarse wool.

It was not only in Quebec but in Acadia that the Canadian settlers learned to clothe themselves with fabrics of their own making. Ville-

bon, writing in 1699 from Fort St. John, describes the settlement at Port Royal, and says "The people feed themselves and have a surplus to sell. Flax and hemp prosper. Some use no other cloth but homespun. The wool is good and most of the inhabitants are dressed in their woollen homespun." Among the settlers who came out with Governor Cornwallis to found the City of Halifax in 1749 were three glovers, three needle makers, four weavers, one hat maker and one wool comber. Lieut.-Governor Francklin, of Nova Scotia, in a letter to the Earl of Shelburne in 1766, says "The country people in general work up for their own use into stockings and a stuff called by them 'homespun, what little wool their sheep produce; and they also make a part of their coarse linen from the flax they produce. The Townships of Truro, Onslow and Londonderry, consisting in the whole of 694 men, women and children, composed of people chiefly from the north of Ireland, make all their linen and even some little to spare to the neighbouring towns. This year they raised 7,524 lbs. of flax, which will probably be worked up in their several families during this winter." This and the information given in previous letters appears to have stirred up the jealousy of manufacturers at home, who looked upon the Colonies as existing for the benefit of their own class, and enquiries were made as to the extent and nature of this development.

Francklin, who was evidently in sympathy with the colonists and who at the same time had the confidence of the Home Government, therefore allays this jealousy by writing subsequently, "I cannot omit representing to Your Lordship that this Government has at no time given encouragement to manufactures which could interfere with those of Great Britain nor has there been the least appearance of any association of private persons for that purpose, nor are there any persons who profess themselves weavers, so as to make it their employment or business, but only work at it in their own families during the winter and other leisure time. It may also be proper to observe to Your Lordship that all the inhabitants of this Colony are employed either in husbandry, fishing or providing lumber, and that all the manufactures for their clothing and the

utensils for farming and fishing are made in Great Britain." This may have merely meant that all the trimmings required for the completion of the colonists' clothing were imported from Great Britain, but it either satisfied the official mind at home, or else what went on in Nova Scotia was unnoticed in the rumblings that preceded the revolution in the larger American Colonies. Commenting on Governor Francklin's letter, Murdock, the Nova Scotia historian, says: "It is obvious from this as well as from a multitude of other facts that a close jealousy existed among the manufacturers of England against any attempts in America to do anything in that line; and this narrow policy, influenced by a few avaricious capitalists engaged in manufactures, did more to lose the old Provinces to England than any other circumstance."

*Woollen Manufactures.* The manufacturing of textile fabrics remained a domestic industry, and was carried on by hand down to the first quarter of the present century. In the wool industry the first application of power was in the department of carding and fulling, in the former of which the narrow carding machines of American design were introduced, and were operated chiefly by water-power. The fulling mills were also mostly of American design and manufacture. In 1827 there were 91 carding mills and 79 fulling mills in Lower Canada, and in Upper Canada, in 1842, there were 186 carding mills and 144 fulling mills. In 1844 Lower Canada had 169 carding mills and 153 fulling mills, while in 1848 Upper Canada had 239 fulling mills and 65 establishments enumerated as woollen mills. In New Brunswick, in 1847, according to Abraham Gesner, there were "a few machines of simple construction for carding wool and fulling cloth." The Census of 1851 gave 52 carding and weaving establishments in the same Province. In Upper and Lower Canada and the Maritime Provinces at this time there were in all about 385 carding and fulling mills, and about 250 establishments where weaving was carried on, apart from the hand-loom weaving done in the homes of the people. No record was kept of the latter industry, but from the fact that in New Brunswick there were 5,475 hand-loom and in Nova Scotia 11,096, and, assuming the average

product of a loom to be 110 yards per year, it is probable there were in Upper and Lower Canada at that date about 43,300 hand-looms. At all events the Census of 1851 showed that there were produced in that year 622,237 yards of home-made cloth in New Brunswick; 1,129,154 yards home-made flannels and fulled and unfulled cloth in Nova Scotia; and 4,765,000 yards of home-made flannel and cloth in the two Canadas. Upper Canada exceeded her sister Province in the production of flannel but Lower Canada produced more of the other woollen cloths.

The era of the factory system in textile manufacturing in British America had now fairly begun, and the hand-loom industry no longer increased. For a period of ten or fifteen years it barely kept pace with the increase of population, the Census of 1871 showing a yearly production of 7,641,917 yards of home-made cloth in the four Provinces then composing the Dominion. The product of Prince Edward Island, with Red River and the Territories, would make a grand total of about 8,500,000 yards, but when we come down to the Census of 1891 we find the product of home-made cloth and flannel had dwindled in every Province till the total for the Dominion is only 4,320,838 yards. Of this total about one-half, or 2,205,014 yards, is made in Quebec, where old customs have been cherished more reverently than elsewhere in Canada, and where economy and simplicity of life still mark the rural population. It is only in that Province and in parts of the Maritime Provinces that the spinning-wheel and hand-loom are still common features in the furniture of a household. The manufacture of woollen goods on power-looms may be said to have begun about the time of the Canadian Rebellion, though one mill in Quebec dates back to 1826. This was started at L'Acadie by Mahlon Willett, father of S. T. Willett, woollen manufacturer of Chambly. This mill was equipped with a twenty-four inch carding machine, a "Billy" for making slubbing, a spinning Jenny of seventy-five spindles and two hand-looms—power-looms not yet having been introduced. It was operated at L'Acadie till 1830, when it was moved to Chambly, where water-power was available. On this scale it was carried on till 1837, when the new "Golden" process—that is, a first

and second "Breaker," and the condenser or modern system of carding—was introduced, along with a spinning Jack and four power-looms. The "Chambly flannels" produced at this mill became celebrated in later years. In Ontario the factory system of woollen manufacturing was instituted by Barber Bros., of West Flamboro, who, after operating a paper and woollen mill at that village for some years, moved to Georgetown, purchasing a small mill from a man named Comfort, who found himself ostracised owing to his active sympathy with the rebels. Later on the Barber Bros. removed to Streetsville, where the business was conducted on a much larger scale, the mill producing etoffes, tweeds, shirtings, flannels and Kidderminster carpets. A report to the *Journal* of the Board of Arts and Agriculture on this mill in 1862 showed that it had 2,000 spindles, employed ninety hands, with a monthly wages bill of \$1,600, and produced 18,954 yards of cloth in August of that year.

Fraser and Crashaw's mill at Cobourg, which had been established about 1849 as a satinette mill, had at this time grown to be a mill operating 45 looms, producing 800 yards of tweed per day, and employing 100 hands. A French dyer had been imported and here we have the first record of aniline dyes being used in a Canadian mill (1864). A writer of the time grows eloquent over the modern and intricate machinery used in this mill, which had its fearnoughts, scribblers, spinning mules, twistlers, spoolers, warpers, rotary fulling mills, scouring machines, gigs and finishing machinery. "Our grandmothers," he says, "could spin but a thread at a time. That had been done ages before, perhaps by the Queen of Sheba, Semiramis and Cleopatra, and it was all that Hercules could do, inspired by the Lydian Queen, Omphale. Now one man, inspired by Arkwright, spins with a two-thousand Hercules power". Andrew Paton, who had come to Canada from Scotland in 1855, established in Galt, in partnership with a man named Patrick, a woollen mill which produced the first Scotch tweeds made in this country. In 1866 Mr. Paton moved to Sherbrooke, Quebec, and there started the mill which afterwards became the largest woollen factory in Canada, a concern now widely known as the Paton Manufacturing Company.

In the eastern part of the Province the County of Lanark early became a centre of woollen manufacturing, which has developed till now that county may be called the Yorkshire of Canada. Settled by a hardy class of Scotch weavers and intersected by streams of very pure, soft water, affording good water privileges, woollen manufacturing began as naturally as dyke building did when the Acadian dyke builders from Rochelle sailed up the Bay of Fundy and providentially landed on the marshes of Cumberland in Nova Scotia.

Many of the Scotch weavers who had turned farmers on landing in Lanark took to the loom again when opportunity offered and the pioneer in the business in Eastern Ontario was James Rosamond, who started a mill in Carleton Place, in 1845, with three looms and 120 spindles, making grey cloths, "satinets" and flannels, and later on blankets and dress flannels. In 1857 he moved to Almonte, starting a two-set mill in which George Stephen (now Lord Mount-Stephen) took an interest, and so good were the products and so energetic was Mr. Stephen in pushing Canadian-made goods that by the year 1864 the capacity of this mill was doubled, and two years later the present large mills of the Rosamond Woollen Company were built. These were the halcyon days of the Canadian woollen manufacturer. He was not yet forced by the demands of the trade to use shoddy, and the consumer was generally content to pay even more for home-made goods than for a foreign article—knowing that he got better value in cloth made from Canadian wool. The dealer was also contented with but few patterns, houses like George Stephen & Company frequently ordering from one mill a thousand pieces of the same pattern, whereas a wholesaler now wants hundreds of different patterns from a mill and only one to a dozen pieces of each pattern. Thus, by long runs on one pattern the expenses of designing were comparatively trifling while the cost of production was reduced generally. The manufacturer had not only these things in his favour, but he had that precious advantage which his successor of this generation can but envy, in dealing with wholesale firms who espoused the cause of the home manufacturer, who rejoiced in his prosperity, and

helped him to uphold prices to the point of good living profit. By this confraternity of interest the manufacturer in those days throve well under a nominal protection of 17 per cent. and many new mills sprang up throughout the country, greatly diversifying the products, while the "custom" mills and carding mills still made a good living.

The Census of 1871 showed 270 establishments where wool cloth-making was carried on in the four Provinces of which the Dominion was then composed, the annual wages being \$917,827 and the annual value of the products being \$5,507,549, and the hands employed, 4,453. Of these establishments 233 were in Ontario, 23 in Quebec, 6 in New Brunswick, and 8 in Nova Scotia. There were besides these, 650 carding and fulling mills, of which 158 were in Ontario, 323 in Quebec, 70 in New Brunswick and 99 in Nova Scotia, the total annual wages being \$146,370 and the value of products \$2,253,794, and hands employed, 1,224. There were also 11 hosiery factories of which ten were in Ontario and one in Quebec, employing 245 hands, paying \$39,233 in wages and producing \$199,122 worth of goods. The dyeing and scouring establishments were 35 (of which 19 were in Quebec) employing 106 hands and paying \$20,947 in wages, with a total product of \$124,871. Besides this there was still produced 7,641,917 yards of cloth made in the homes of the people on hand-loom. The Census of 1891 gave Canada 377 woollen mills possessed by the Provinces as follows: British Columbia 1, Manitoba 2, New Brunswick 7, North-West Territories 1, Ontario 303, Prince Edward Island 7, Quebec 39, and Nova Scotia 17. The total hands employed were 7,156, annual wages \$1,884,483, and total products \$8,087,871. Five other concerns mistakenly classified under other headings should have been added to the list.

The knit goods branch of the woollen trade began in Belleville in 1857 when W. E. Adams started a small factory with three hand machines. In the following year a man named Crane started a knitting factory at Ancaster with power machines, supplying his own yarn with a one-set yarn mill. This establishment afterwards became known as the Ancaster Knitting Company, with which the late James Watson, father of E. P.

Watson and R. McD. Watson, whose knitting factory has lately been removed from St. Catharines to Paris, was connected. In 1867 Mr. Adams, after having worked some time for Mr. Crane, went to Paris and started a factory in partnership with John Penman, as the Penman & Adams Knitting Mills, thus giving a start to the knitting business which has ever since been the special industrial feature of Paris. Circular knitting frames were first introduced into a mill started by the late Joseph Simpson in Toronto in 1865. Full fashioned wool underwear was first made in Galt by R. Turnbull, founder of the business now carried on by the C. Turnbull Company of that town. The knit goods trade of Canada has developed steadily. The Census taken in 1891 put "knitting factories" and "hosiery factories" under two separate heads, and gave under the former head 58 establishments and under the latter 223. Putting the two together we have 281 factories, divided as follows: New Brunswick 1, Nova Scotia 100, Ontario 109, Prince Edward Island 5, Quebec 66. Those with the most superficial knowledge of the trade know there is something wrong here, but taking the figures for what they are worth we have 2,143 hands employed in knit goods, with annual wages of \$464,121 and an annual product of \$1,917,057.

*Carpet Manufacturing.* The manufacture of carpets on power-looms appears to have had its beginning in the woollen mill of Barber Bros., as before mentioned, some time in the forties, but it was not till the seventies that the industry became specialized. The first edition of the *Canadian Textile Directory* (1885) showed that, apart from the hand-loom weavers, there were seven carpet factories in Canada, all in Ontario, with a total of 135 looms, of which about 100 were still operated by hand. These all manufactured ingrain carpets, except the factory of William Mitchell, Cobourg, which was engaged in jute and cocoa mattings and rugs. With this very modest and modern beginning the reader will be surprised to learn that according to the Census of 1891 Canada had 557 carpet factories employing the very humble complement of 915 hands with annual wages of \$150,734 and products of \$548,619. The industrious census-taker evidently included

all the hand-loom and rag carpet weavers. As a matter of fact the *Canadian Textile Directory* of 1892 recorded 18 factories with a total of 232 looms, of which 66 were power-looms. The products were as in 1885, but one concern essayed to make Kidderminster carpets. The first Axminster carpets and rugs were made by the Toronto Carpet Manufacturing Company, and in 1895 the first Brussels carpets were made at Elora. A Brussels loom had been imported about 1891 at Markham but never operated. Associated with this branch is the manufacture of floor oil-cloth, the first factory for which was started in 1872 by the Dominion Oil Cloth Company of Montreal; and of hair cloth for furniture coverings, etc., the first factory for which was started in Toronto in 1882. There are now two factories in this line in Canada—the Canada Hair Cloth Company and the Dominion Hair Cloth Factory—both at St. Catharines, the former having been established in 1886.

Before dismissing woollen fabrics it may be interesting to note that experiments have been made from time to time in Canada with fabrics made from other animal fibres than wool. Sample pieces of cloth have been made from cow's hair and from the fur of the rabbit (wild hare) and other wild animals, but the most noteworthy experiment of this kind was in the manufacture of cloth from the wool of the buffalo. In the year 1822 the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company, having made peace with each other, planted a colony on the banks of the Red River. Among the servants of the Company, whose energies were now turned into the occupations of peace, was John Pritchard who conceived the idea of gathering up the wool of the thousands of buffaloes whose dead bodies were scattered about the plains in those days of wanton buffalo slaughter, and of making it up into cloth. The proposal caught the imagination of a good many employes of the Company, now settled there with both time and money at their disposal, and a Company was formed with a capital of £2,000, the factory to include a tannery for working up the hides as well as the wool. It was assumed by the promoters that buffalo hides and wool could be had for the trouble of picking them up, and that little capital or skill would be



required in the fabrication of the goods. Skilled operatives such as wool dressers, curriers and leather workers were imported from England and a factory built, while women were encouraged to go out wool-gathering and hunters were exhorted to preserve the hides of buffaloes they shot and bring them to the factory. To the sanguine mind of the projectors there appeared to be fortunes in the business and good employment for half the colony. But on getting down to business it was found that it cost something to gather the wool scattered over the wide plains and that the price of a hide when brought to the factory ranged from eight to ten shillings sterling. Before the wool could be freed from the hide it had to be soaked, heated and pulled by expert hands, and even boys thought themselves ill-paid at four or five shillings a day. Women who took the wool home to spin were paid for spinning at the rate of a shilling a pound. Some leather and cloth were produced at the new factory but it was found that these products could not compete with fabrics imported from the Old Country. But what boded still worse for the enterprise was the drunkenness and disorder amongst the factory hands. Rum was to be had in unlimited quantities at the establishment, and for days at a time the workmen, from the Manager down, did nothing but drink and carouse. Hides were allowed to rot, wool to spoil and material to go to waste, and when in 1825 the concern was wound up it was found that not only was the whole of the original capital used up but the Company was indebted to the Hudson's Bay Company to the extent of £500. This loss hung over the heads of the shareholders in the "Buffalo Wool Company" for several years, till at last the Hudson's Bay Company generously relieved them by cancelling the debt. An interesting account of this curious venture is given in Alexander Ross' description of the Red River Settlement.

*The Cotton Industry.* It has been frequently stated by lecturers and writers on trade topics that cotton manufacturing in Canada began in the early sixties, and the honour of pioneer operations has been variously awarded to the Parks Mill at St. John, the Lybster Mill at Merritt, and the Dundas Cotton Mill. But there

were at least three mills long antedating any of these, the first having been erected in Sherbrooke, Quebec, in 1844. This mill was noteworthy in more than one respect. It was the first limited liability company in Canada, and in its introduction into the Legislature we have one of the first, if not the very first, recorded utterances of Sir John Macdonald in Parliament. Those who remember Sir John's enthusiasm for home manufacture will be surprised to find him on record as an opponent of the Bill, but it was because this was the first application of the limited liability principle to any manufacturing enterprise, and Sir John evidently wished to be cautious in the interest of shareholders and the public. Though the Act was not passed till 1845, the mill was built in 1844, and one of its promoters was the late Sir A. T. Galt, who presented the petition in favour of the Bill. The Committee to which the Bill was referred reported in its favour on account of the large amount of capital required to start a cotton factory. The capital was fixed at £12,000, and the mill had a capacity of 1,200 spindles. It manufactured grey sheetings, its manager being Adam Lomas, father of the present proprietor of the Lomas Woollen Mill at Sherbrooke. It ran successfully for several years, when it was burnt down and never re-built.

In the same year in which this started a petition was presented to the Legislature by Thomas Miles and others, asking for incorporation as the "Chambly Cotton Manufacturing Company," but the project appears to have fallen through. The next mill was established at Thorold in Upper Canada in 1847. For an account of this the writer is indebted to John H. Thompson, publisher of the "History of Thorold," recently issued under the auspices of the Thorold and Beaver Dams Historical Society. Of the original promoters of the mill the only one still living is James Munro, of Thorold, who was treasurer and secretary of the Company. The capacity in spindles is unrecorded, but the mill operated fifteen to twenty looms, and made grey sheetings and other plain goods, along with cotton batting. When the mill began operations Kerr, Brown & Company, a wholesale firm of Hamilton, bought the entire output. Owing, however, to lack of capital, and probably lack of

technical skill among the operatives, the mill was not a financial success, and closed down after a couple of years, to the loss of all concerned. After lying idle till 1856 two Americans named Nutley, and Willard, from the Southern States, undertook to operate it, but after two more years their management was cut short when it was discovered that they had not only forged the names of several individuals with whom they had business relations, but had forged Government orders on which they got bales of cotton released from the customs. Mr. Munro again took hold in the interest of the creditors, but fate was against it, and the factory was destroyed by fire in 1864. A third and more successful cotton mill was started in Montreal in 1853 by F. W. Harris. This mill had a capacity of 1,500 spindles and forty-six looms, and made tickings, denims and seamless bags. Two years after its establishment a batting and wadding mill was added. An account of this mill in a pamphlet now out of print states that the cost of the machinery was £6,500, and that it employed seventy hands, mostly women and children, whose wages amounted to £2,000 annually. About 300 yards of denims and ticks were made per day. The account went on to say: "The denims are of the same weight and quality as the well-known Amoskeag denims, finished without starch or other stiffening. The ticks are of the same quality, and have been sold here a penny a yard less than the same goods cost in Boston and New York." The batting and wadding branch cost £3,000, and had thirteen carding machines. It turned out 6,000 yards of wadding, and 1,200 lbs. of batting per day, which was said to be rather more than the home market could absorb. These mills, which afterwards were confined to the manufacture of plain grey cottons, existed down to the year 1870 or later.

Meantime, in 1861, William Parks and Son started at St. John, N.B., a mill which remains as the oldest of the existing cotton mills of the Dominion. In the same year a mill was started at Dundas, in Upper Canada, by Joseph Wright from England. The capacity of this mill was stated to be 6,000 lbs. of yarn and 120 bales of batting (6,000 to 4,000 lbs.) per week. Afterwards it made cotton cloth as well as yarn, and in 1866 it employed 150 to 200 hands. When

the stupendous character of the civil conflict in the United States became realized throughout the world, disturbances were felt in the textile as well as other trades and the immediate effect in Canada was to give an impetus to both cotton and linen manufacturing. The cotton industry was paralyzed over the border, and many in the European trade believed that the United States would never regain its lost position in either cotton growing or manufacturing. Between 1860 and 1865 the number of mills in Canada increased from one to five, their locations being at Dundas, Merritton, Hastings, Montreal and St. John. Their total capacity was about 40,000 spindles, and their products were chiefly grey cottons, sheetings, shirtings, yarns, bags and batting and wadding. When the war closed and trade began to resume its old channels, prices fell and a check was put upon further extensions in cotton manufacturing in Canada for some years. The Census of 1871 showed only eight mills in the whole Confederation, of which five were in Ontario. The total hands employed were 745 and, though the capacity of the mills was not stated in the returns, it is estimated at about 95,000 spindles. In 1878 the Government inaugurated the National Policy, by which the duties on cotton goods were increased from 17½ per cent. to a range of 20 and 35 per cent., and this gave such a stimulus to home manufacturing that by the Census of 1881 there were reported 19 cotton mills in Canada, employing in all 3,527 hands. As a matter of fact five mills, reported in this Census, were only under construction and not yet in operation in any department, and of the 14 mills actually running the spinning capacity was about 243,000 spindles. The first edition of the *Canadian Textile Directory*, published in 1885, showed that, besides those engaged in the manufacturing of wadding and batting, there were in all Canada 25 mills with 9,702 looms and 461,748 spindles. The second edition, published in 1889, showed the same number of mills, but with an increased capacity, namely, 11,282 looms and 519,700 spindles. When the third edition of the *Directory* was published in 1892 the number of mills was still the same but the capacity had increased a little further, there being then 12,288 looms and 546,700 spindles.

The fact that for a period of twelve years there was no increase in the number of mills and a very small increase in the productive capacity of those already built is to be accounted for by the over-investment of capitalists in mills equipped for goods of the same class. For the common class of cottons most easily produced the mills in existence in 1882 could supply a population twice that of Canada, and the mill owners were forced either to abandon their property or import machinery by which to diversify their products. The latter was the policy adopted by some, and by 1890 the Canadian mills were producing a very wide range of goods, some of a fineness and quality that were not thought attainable a few years before, and comparing favourably in value with any European or American goods of the same class. In 1884 a factory for cotton print goods was built at Magog, Quebec, operating six printing machines (afterwards increased to eight machines) and this establishment absorbed from the home market a large quantity of grey cottons as raw material which would otherwise have maintained a glut of common grey goods or have shut up some mills. Even with these changes the competition of many of the mills was so reckless that events forced on an amalgamation of the great majority of the mills into two great syndicates, one of which has made a specialty of the manufacture of coloured goods of a high grade. This syndicate, known as the Canadian Coloured Cotton Mills Company, is presided over by David Morrice, Sen., of Montreal, who, during the long and trying crisis through which the cotton industry passed in the years under notice, guided the affairs of the mills (for a large number of which he was agent) with a wisdom that has been justified by the subsequent progress of the industry. The over expansion of the industry and the excessive competition among the mills operating on grey goods led, however, to a development never contemplated in the dreams of the promoters of early cotton manufacturing—namely, the exportation of Canadian grey cottons to foreign countries, notably to China. The first experimental shipment was made to China in 1886, on the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and such was the favour with which Canadian goods were received among the Chinese mer-

chants that considerable shipments have been made every year since. The subjoined table shows the amount in pounds' weight of the Canadian cottons and of American cottons that have been shipped to China over the C. P. R. since this trade began. Practically all the Canadian-made goods pass over the C. P. R. and are shipped in the steamers of that Company from Vancouver to China. As these goods average  $3\frac{1}{4}$  to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  yards to the pound, it will be easy to calculate the amount of this trade in yards. In 1889 a mill of 12,000 spindles was built at Montmorency Falls especially for this trade, and the product of two or three other mills is devoted to the export trade, which has since been successfully directed also to Central and North Africa.

## SHIPMENTS OF CANADIAN AND AMERICAN COTTONS

TO CHINA, VIA C. P. R. :

	Canadian Cottons. Lbs.	American Cottons. Lbs.	Totals. Lbs.
1887.....	1,742,205	4,055,970	5,798,175
1888.....	2,009,974	6,816,798	8,826,772
1889.....	886,322	12,245,150	13,131,472
1890.....	2,279,150	17,079,730	19,358,880
1891.....	2,466,944	7,413,167	9,880,111
1892.....	1,825,259	4,322,452	6,147,711
1893.....	1,742,312	9,321,205	11,063,517
1894.....	3,770,343	4,303,701	7,074,044
1895.....	3,521,004	5,208,654	8,730,158
1896.....	3,392,042	11,834,372	15,226,414
1897.....	2,471,278	4,898,470	7,369,748
1898.....	1,375,257	8,639,191	10,014,448

The above figures do not include 36,727 lbs. of cotton duck shipped to China and 296,549 lbs. shipped to Japan from Canada in 1897; and 63,648 lbs. of cotton duck for China and 211,683 lbs. for Japan shipped from Yarmouth in 1898. The fourth edition of the *Canadian Textile Directory* just published shows that there are 22 cotton mills in the Dominion with a total capacity of 15,557 looms and 643,312 spindles.

*Flax, Linen and Hemp.* The introduction of linen and hemp manufacturing in Canada was contemporaneous with that of the woollen industry. That mine of information on early Canada, the *Relations des Jésuites*, has records of proposals to introduce linen cloth-making as early as 1668, and, as rope-makers were in the Colony in

1681 it is evident that a certain amount of cordage was made at that date. That the industry flourished and expanded is also evident from the records of the production of flax and hemp. In 1719 45,970 lbs. of flax were grown, which increased to 54,650 lbs. in 1721 and to 92,246 lbs. in 1734. In 1719 5,080 lbs. of hemp were grown but in 1721 the production had fallen to 2,100 lbs., while in 1734 it was 2,221 lbs., showing an almost stationary trade in the home product of hemp. It may here be observed that although hemp growing was encouraged by Legislative enactments and bounties and prizes, not only under the French régime but under the rule of Britain; in most of the Provinces of Canada the manufacture of rope and twines and other hemp fabrics never seems to have become thoroughly naturalized, though the hemp plant both in its wild and cultivated state grows well. Prof. Macoun, the Dominion Botanist, reports seeing hemp in the North-West growing to a height of twelve feet and there are varieties of wild fibre plants which should work up very successfully into binder twine, if not into other twines and cordage. Samples of binder twine made from a wild plant growing plentifully in the Province of Quebec have been submitted to the writer within the past two weeks by Mr. Kenny, of St. Vincent de Paul, and have been very favourably reported on by manufacturers of binder twine, so that this industry, now rising in importance, may soon derive a large part of its raw material from a neglected wild weed.

As to the flax plant, three species are indigenous to the North-West and other parts of Canada—the *Linum perennæ* with blue flower; the *linum striatum* and the *linum rigidum* bearing yellow flowers—and these, which all grow luxuriantly over a vast area of country, may one day be utilized in the manufacture of twines when machinery is invented capable of working them up to advantage. As already mentioned, the true flax plant has been grown in Canada for over 200 years, and produces a fibre of excellent quality. If improved machinery or cheaper labour could be applied to the growth and manufacture of flax a large industry could be developed in Canada, especially in the North-West, where there is not only a rich soil, but a vast extent of country lying beyond the

line of safe wheat growing, which would be a good flax-growing region. Flax matures for linen-making purposes in northern Russia nearly to the latitude of Archangel (lat. 64) and planting it in corresponding temperatures in the Canadian North-West we could have an area of 100,000,000 acres capable of raising flax, entirely outside of the great wheat belt. The Mennonite settlers in Manitoba commenced the cultivation of flax on a rather extensive scale about twenty years ago, but, except for the linen cloths they made up for their own consumption, their principal object was in selling the seed to linseed oil mills in the United States, the fibre being left to rot on the ground. It is worthy of note here that while Ontario and Quebec seed is remarkably rich in oil (about 14 lbs. to the bushel) that of Manitoba and the North-West is still richer, yielding 16 lbs. to the bushel, which is probably the highest yield in the world. The quality of the fibre from Canadian-grown flax is equally beyond dispute. In 1886 the writer sent a sample of Canadian flax, grown in Prince Edward Island, to Belfast to be treated and reported on. It was taken in hand by David S. Thompson, the Manager of the White-abbey Spinning and Weaving Company, who had it woven into a piece of cloth and samples of yarn, which the Secretary of the Company forwarded with a letter in which he stated that "The spinning and weaving have been performed under the personal superintendence of Mr. Thompson, who was most particular in testing the quality of the flax, yarns and linen. Mr. Thompson is perfectly satisfied with the trial." Another spinner to whom I submitted the sample of cloth and yarn said he had never seen better goods made from any selection of Continental or Irish flax.

As regards ropes an extensive owner of both steam and sailing ships told me that the value to him and other owners of ships "could not be priced, as they would be invaluable and almost everlasting if they could get ropes made entirely from such flax yarns. You can exhibit your samples with pride and satisfaction that such results have followed your endeavours to prove that Canadian soil will grow flax to suit any manufacturer." There is no difficulty, therefore, about the growing of the raw material. The two

problems to be surmounted are the invention of improved machinery for the treatment of the flax and fibre, and the training of cheap skilled labour in the manufacturing processes. Two interesting attempts to establish a Canadian linen industry were made in Ontario at the time of the American civil war. Then, as now, the chief centre of British linen manufacturers was Ulster, Ireland. As the American war dragged on the opinion began to develop among Belfast mill-owners that King Cotton was to be dethroned, and King Linum set up in his place. The famine in raw cotton raised the price of linen goods to such a pitch that fortunes were made in the trade, and large sums were spent in building new mills and extending the capacity of old ones. The enthusiasm spread to Canada, and in 1864 a company was formed by Andrew Elliott, James Hunt and Calvin Clafin, of Preston, with George Stephen (now Lord Mount-Stephen), of Montreal, who started a mill at Preston, still standing as part of the woollen mill of George T. Pattinson & Company. No better place in Ontario could have been selected to make the experiment, as the County of Waterloo was almost exclusively settled by German farmers who then made, and still continue to make, the raising of flax a leading feature of their husbandry. Years before this M. B. Perine had established large flax scutching mills—afterwards manufacturing twines and founding their present flax business—and a considerable business was done besides in home-made linens. The scheme of the new Company was to manufacture linen goods and make also linseed oil and oil-cake. The linen mill contained twenty-six looms, six spinning frames, with two wet spinning frames, and made seamless bags, towelings and canvas for sacks, also ropes and twines. But the mill had scarcely got into smooth running order before the war came to a close, with the consequence of renewed attention to cotton-growing in the south, and a fall in the price of linen goods. Fortunes were lost by Belfast linen merchants and manufacturers as quickly as they had been made during the war, and the Canadian linen mill was doomed to failure also. After running about three and a half years the linen department closed, and most of the machinery was sold out to parties in the United States at half its

cost, the wet spinning frames being sold as old iron. The oil branch, however, paid well, and was afterwards removed to Montreal.

The other venture was made at Streetsville in 1866, the capital being found largely by Gooderham and Worts of Toronto and Mr. Perine of Doon. The Company, known as the Streetsville Linen Manufacturing Company, invested \$100,000 in the business, having a five-storey mill and employing 70 to 100 hands for a time. An account of it in the *Journal* of the Board of Arts and Agriculture stated that it was devoted chiefly to making double webbed linen for seamless bags, the cloth being cut to lengths of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  yards by machinery and hemmed by sewing machines, after which the bags were pressed and put up into bales, each containing 100 bags. About 1800 bags were turned out per week, selling at \$10 to \$15 per bale. The mill had a capacity for making also 600 lbs. of twine and rope per day. This enterprise failed from the same causes which doomed the Preston factory, and no large experiments have since been made at manufacturing linen piece-goods by machinery in Canada. As before stated, a considerable amount of cordage and rope, made from home-grown and imported material, has always been made in Canada, a special feature being the manufacture of binder twine by modern machinery, 10 factories being in existence, operating about 1,096 spindles and capable of producing about 14,850 tons of binder twine per year. As for the domestic linen industry it has from the earliest colonization of Canada been an interesting feature of rural life, especially among the French-Canadians. Longfellow speaks of the "kirtles of homespun" worn and woven by Evangeline, some of which would be of linen, and many writers allude to it in all phases of French-Canadian history. Visitors to the back settlements of Quebec, to the Acadian settlements of Nova Scotia and those of the North-West may to-day see the hand scutcher, the hand-loom and the hand-spinning-wheel in many a home; and the visitor to the farmer's market in French-Canadian towns may buy home-made sheetings and towelings made by the same primitive implements as were used by the peasants of Normandy in the middle ages. Bouchette gave the quantity of flax raised in

Lower Canada alone in 1827 as 1,313,648 lbs. and the home-made linen as 10,058,676 French ells. In the early part of this century societies for the encouragement of flax and hemp existed both in Upper and Lower Canada. In Upper Canada, in 1842, 166,881 yards of home-made linen were made, and two years later 857,623 yards were made in Lower Canada. The Census of 1861 gave 37,055 yards as the product of the domestic looms of Upper Canada, and 1,021,443 yards as that of Lower Canada. By the Census of 1871 it was 25,502 yards in Ontario, 1,559,410 yards in Quebec, 74,241 yards in New Brunswick and 111,987 yards in Nova Scotia—a total of 1,771,140 yards. In addition to this there was produced of dressed flax 1,165,117 lbs. in Ontario, 1,270,215 lbs. in Quebec, 37,845 lbs. in New Brunswick and 111,588 lbs. in Nova Scotia—a total of 2,584,765 lbs. This material was chiefly used for upholsterers' tow and for export to the United States for manufacturing purposes. There are now in Ontario about 45 flax mills producing "dressed line" and upholsterers' tow for the home and export trade. While this branch of the trade is well maintained the manufacture of home-made linens is now steadily declining—the Census of 1891 showing only 633,724 yards produced in the whole Dominion, divided as follows: Manitoba 25 yards, New Brunswick 24,922, Nova Scotia 25,990 yards, Ontario 5,477 yards, Prince Edward Island 8,951 yards, Quebec 568,359 yards. Of the total production of 18,503,664 lbs. of dressed flax and hemp recorded in 1891, no less than 17,887,489 lbs are credited to Ontario.

*Silk Manufacturing, etc.* The first silk spinning mill in Canada was established in Montreal in 1876 by Belding, Paul & Company, under the management of Frank Paul. This mill has been phenomenally successful in its specialty of sewing silks and silk twists, having taken the gold medal at the World's Fair at Chicago in competition with mills of the best reputation in the United States and Europe. In 1882 a ribbon branch was established and in 1885 the Company took over the Corriveau Silk Mills plant, which had been started two or three years before in the manufacture of silk piece-goods, but which went into liquidation at the close of 1884. The Com-

pany continues the manufacture of all three classes of goods. A second mill for the manufacture of sewing silks has also been established at St. John's, Quebec, by the Corticelli Silk Company, under the managership of W. H. Wyman, which has had a very successful career. In recent years various industries, subsidiary to the textile mills, have sprung up in Canada, such as clothing factories, corset factories and factories for the making of blouses, mantles, cloaks, and other articles of ladies' and men's wear. The factories engaged on shirts, collars and cuffs alone employ at the present time about 5,000 hands, and the Canadian clothing factories (which employ a still greater number of hands) have not only obtained control of the home market, but such firms as Shorey & Company, of Montreal, have done a large export trade within the past few years to the West Indies and other Colonies in competition with the world.

*The Paper and Pulp Industry.* Paper manufacturing began in Canada early in the present century. The first mill of which we have any record was established at St. Andrews, near Lachute, Quebec, in 1803. Bouchette, in 1817, makes the following reference to this mill: "On the River Rouge, or River du Nord, . . . is a paper mill, the only one, I believe, in the Province, where a large manufacture of that article in all its different qualities is carried on with much success, under the direction of the proprietor, Mr. Brown, of Montreal." The first mill in the Maritime Provinces is recorded by Murdoch as follows: "The first and, I fear, the only, paper mill as yet in Nova Scotia was built and worked by the owner of the *Recorder*, A. H. Holland, about 1819, at a little distance from Bedford Basin on the road leading westward to Hammond's Plains." The first in Upper Canada appears to have been a mill at Ancaster, started in 1820. In 1827 there were three paper mills in Lower Canada, and in 1842 Upper Canada had 14 mills. At the Census of 1851 the two Provinces had five mills each, the next Census (1861) adding one mill to Lower Canada. The Census of 1871 gave 12 mills to Ontario, 7 to Quebec, 1 to New Brunswick, and 1 to Nova Scotia—these 21 mills employing 760 hands, using material to the value of \$522,573 and sending out products to the total value of

\$1,071,651. The following is a comparison of the returns of the Census of 1881 and of 1891:

Paper Mills.		1881.	1891.
Number of mills.....		36	34
Number of hands employed .....		1,520	1,792
Annual value of material.	\$1,409,427	\$1,220,423	
“ “ of products.	2,446,693	2,575,447	
Pulp Mills.		1881.	1891.
Number of mills.....		5	24
Number of hands.....			1,025
Annual value of material.	9,400	469,845	
“ “ of products.	63,300	1,057,810	

The increase in the pulp trade has been most marked in the Province of Quebec, where the number of mills in 1891 was seventeen, Ontario having three, Nova Scotia two, and New Brunswick and British Columbia one each. The growth of the Canadian pulp trade is one of the most remarkable features of our manufacturing interests. In 1886, during the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, a Canadian took some samples of pulp made in Quebec, and submitted them to English paper manufacturers, with the suggestion that a trial should be made of Canadian pulp. Some of them smiled pityingly at the idea that Canada could compete with Norway, Sweden or Germany in the pulp trade, but he predicted that within ten years Canada would be regularly shipping pulp to Great Britain. The prediction has been fully realized, however, and to-day it is recognized amongst wood-pulp users throughout the world that the Canadian article surpasses that of any other pulp-producing country. It is admitted in Great Britain now that Canadian pulp is as much superior to that of the United States as American is superior to that of Norway or Sweden. The fibre of the Canadian-grown spruce and hemlock from which pulp is made has a finer texture, and is stronger and tougher than that of any other country, except perhaps a very restricted area in the United States. One of the reasons suggested is the fact that in Canada the transition from summer to winter and from winter to summer in the great spruce belts is more sudden, while the cessation of vegetation is more complete in winter than in other countries. In those countries where the spring and autumn are long drawn out, and the vegetable life is half dead

and half alive for a considerable time, the fibre of the spruce is apt to be brittle and weaker; while the trees contain more knots. Whatever the reason, the fact is now admitted by paper manufacturers and other users of wood-pulp. The export of wood-pulp first figures in the Trade and Navigation Returns of 1890, when the value of the shipments was \$168,180. This increased steadily year by year till in 1897 the export of Canadian pulp amounted to \$741,959, and in 1898 to \$1,210,421. There are now about a dozen pulp mills in the country working entirely on export orders, and, considering the fact that large water-powers are distributed over the spruce-bearing areas of Canada, which aggregate over half a million square miles, the paper and pulp manufacturers are destined in the near future to become the leading feature of our many industrial activities. The mills of Canada are likely within the next ten years to supply a large part of the pulp, if not of paper, to all the paper manufacturing countries of the world. The chief destination of these exports at present is the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany—the first-named two being our best customers. There are now fifty-five pulp and paper mills in Canada, with a total capacity of eight hundred and forty-four tons of pulp per day, and three hundred and twenty-one tons of paper and card-board per day. Besides these about twenty new mills, chiefly pulp mills, are in course of erection or in contemplation, in Quebec, Ontario and the Maritime Provinces.

*The Boot and Shoe Industry.* The leather and kindred industries, like the paper and pulp trades, are branches of manufacturing for which nature has equipped Canada with special facilities. A country of fine pasturage and with a providential distribution of rainfall and water supply capable of maintaining in the healthiest condition countless herds of cattle; with unlimited quantities of tanning material for the preparation of leather; and with a skilful and reliable labour population to work it up into all kinds of goods; there is nothing wanting but rightly directed energy to place Canada in the foremost rank of leather manufacturing countries. Already Canadian leather is gaining a reputation abroad, and even our boot and shoe manufactures have within the past few years begun to ship their products to

Great Britain, Australia and other countries; a Montreal firm (to cite one instance) having established a branch in Paris, France, within the past year. The first boot and shoe factory of which we have any record was established in Montreal in 1828, but this was before the introduction of any of the wonderful machines which have revolutionized boot-making in half a century. Between 1840 and 1850 over half a dozen small factories came into existence in Montreal, the first of these to use machinery being Brown & Childs, who established a three-storey factory on Notre Dame Street, and, in 1847, imported several Singer sewing machines for putting together the uppers of boots. The introduction of these machines was resented by all the workmen in the various factories, and, when the mob which burnt the Parliament Buildings in 1849 had accomplished that disgraceful act of incendiarism and were burning for more work of the sort, one of them raised the cry of "On to Brown & Childs!" The cry was instantly caught up and the mob rushed with one impulse towards the boot factory. But the proprietors, knowing the sentiment of the workmen on the sewing machine question, had anticipated trouble and when the mob arrived it found the building lighted up and constables posted inside and out, while a detachment of the military appeared at the factory and the rioters were compelled to fall back baffled. The firm maintained their policy of using machines and in a year or two started a branch in Toronto.

The introduction of the many ingenious machines now in use in the boot and shoe factories was a matter of evolution. The first McKay machine for the sewing of soles—replacing the old pegging system—was imported by Scholes & Ames, of Montreal, about 1860. Men had to be imported to operate these machines, and, as they drew big wages, they tried to perpetuate the notion that the machines were of the most delicate construction and that only operators of the most consummated skill could manage them. For several years the machines were kept closeted off from observation and surrounded with as much mystery as the Disappearing Lady on the Stage; and of course the operators maintained the mystery as long as possible. The screw wire machine, the Goodyear machines, and many other labour-sav-

ers followed the McKay machine, and it is worth while noting that Canadian inventors have taken a large share in bringing out new machines and improvements on others in this line in the past forty years. The cities of the Province of Quebec, notably Quebec and Montreal, have become pre-eminent in the leather industries, especially in the boot and shoe making, as, out of a total of 76 establishments in Canada that may be called factories, those two cities have together 47 establishments, of which 29 are in Quebec. The Census of 1891 gave the number of hands in the boot and shoe industry of Canada as 18,041 and the annual value of products as \$18,990,381, but this included under the head of "boot and shoe factories" the cobbler in the back street, as well as the factory employing a thousand hands, so that no use can be made of them in calculating the real factory work. No statistics that can be depended on are available of the boot and shoe factories, properly speaking, but some interesting figures were prepared by the late W. J. Patterson, of the Montreal Board of Trade, showing the state of the trade in that city in 1882. There were then in Montreal 30 boot and shoe factories employing 3,500 persons of both sexes, while the number dependent on this handicraft was put down at 10,000. The annual output was about 4,500,000 pairs valued at \$5,400,000, and he estimated the total product of the factories of all Canada at 6,750,000 pairs that year. The following was a pretty accurate list of the machines in use in the various Montreal factories: 675 sewing machines, 34 pegging machines, 28 sole sewers, 23 sole cutters, 8 heeling machines (Bigelow and McKay), 45 eyeleting machines, 28 punching machines, 23 skiving machines for sole leather, 56 skiving machines for other purposes, 34 rolling machines, 23 heel burnishing machines, 23 edge burnishing machines, 28 sand-paper buffing machines and 17 beating-out machines. According to the Census of 1891 there were 802 tanneries in Canada (of which 354 were in Quebec and 233 in Ontario) employing 4,263 hands, the annual value of the output being \$11,422,860. The exports of sole leather and upper leather in 1897 to Great Britain alone were valued at \$1,258,043 and of manufactures of leather \$10,581—about an equal quantity of the latter going to the United States.



## CANADIAN INDUSTRY AND THE CHINESE QUESTION

BY

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OUR national life is affected by our international relations; from without as well as from within flow the life-giving currents of a nation's energies. Although these currents spring largely from the relations which our own citizens have with each other in rendering mutual benefits and services and sharing mutual interests, their purity is often touched and sometimes tainted by the men and things that reach us from other lands and the associations we have with other peoples. Of those who come to us from other lands, the immigrants are broadly divisible into the naturalizing class who don our nationality and the sojourning class who remain alien to it. Of the latter the Chinese labourers, notwithstanding the Chinese Immigration Act, are continuing to come in large numbers. Should this continued coming be stopped, or given a more decided legislative check? That is the Chinese Question. Nothing more is meant—not expulsion nor deportation. Being at peace and under treaty with China, we engaged, by permitting her subjects to enter, to protect them as our own subjects in life and liberty, and in the right to the exclusive disposal of what, under the law, they have produced by their own exertions or received by free gift or fair agreement. Expulsion, then, is not an issue. The question does imply, however, that, having in the absence of express treaty obligation to the contrary, the undoubted right through our Government to annex what conditions we please to the permission to enter our territory, and even the right, when we think proper, to forbid its being entered at all, we should decide whether its continued entry by non-assimilating Chinese labourers would not be such a menace to our national life as calls for prohibition, or, at least, a more stringent measure of restriction.

First, then, as to the vital parts of our national life, in order that we may study how each is acted upon by Chinese agency. Labour, the cause of all value, is one; commodities, the product of labour, is another; capital, the savings from the sum-total of our products, is the third; and international commerce is a fourth department of our economic life. But the economic is not the only phase of Canadian life. Of the other great national life-spheres—the political, the religious, the social, the domestic, art, science, education, language—each may also feel the effect of Chinese contact. And, if each, then all; for each of these departments touches all others, modifies and conditions all others, and ought to subserve all others. If, then, we would not sacrifice class to class, if we would not immolate civilizing institutions at the altar of material advantage to the few, but would obviate their certain decline, we must take into account this inter-dependence of these great departments of our national activities and trace through all, as vital to all, the present effects upon each of continued Chinese immigration. Present effects, I say, because, whatever new life for decaying China there may be in the womb of the future, it is in the present we live and with existing causes and their present effects that we deal.

These causes are to be found in certain Chinese habits of thought and action brought from China and hardened by long centuries of isolation and environment into permanent racial characteristics. Man is the creature of environment and nowhere has the law been better exemplified than in China. Walled in by natural and artificial barriers from intercourse with any but inferior tribes, the Chinese without help or hindrance from abroad worked out, and, long prior to the Christian era, had stereotyped almost in its pres-

ent form, the whole body of their law, literature and customs. From remote antiquity the operation of these unchanging institutions, and this isolation, upon Chinese character, like the operation of climatic conditions upon Chinese colour, has produced a type as different from our own as the individuals of that type are like one another. And in the Chinese of British Columbia we, therefore, find certain ingrained, indurated habits of thought and action, alien, beyond the chance of change, to everything Canadian; and find these producing distinctive effects upon Canadian interests.

Untiring industry is one of the features to be found, not only in the type, but in almost unvarying degree in the individual as well. Their industry is of a domestic order. Inherent in their nature, it has been fostered by their idolatrous worship of ancestors. From the time of Abraham "down through the ringing grooves of change" to the present hour, sacrificial rites offered at the Chinese family shrine to the tablets of those "illustrious ones who have completed their probation" have without change been one of the chief formative principles in Chinese life. It is not so much a religion as a ritual—a few simple, ceremonial acts of reverence before the tablets erected to the dead. Its social incident is a family feast. It begets a spurious patriotism—not love of country, nor even love of home, but a longing desire to become the patriarch of his family and after death to be laid away in the tombs of his ancestors, there to be worshipped in his turn. Hence it is that every Chinese settler in Canada returns, dead or alive, sooner or later—usually within a very few years—to the homestead of his youth. His mission here is not to colonize, but to capture and decamp. Not even his bones are left to fertilize our fields. A western surgeon, not realizing the force of this fatuous desire, recently cremated the amputated arm of one of his Chinese patients. Reminded of the awful consequence—the incomplete anatomy of his patient could not be canonized—his action was prompt and along the line of least resistance. Instead of converting the heathen from his pagan beliefs he procured another arm, which he palmed off as the genuine article upon his unsuspecting patient! But, as this worship

has for its real motive and supposed result, not the love or fear of an Unseen Power, but the success of its devotees in worldly affairs alone, they are led to look only to this world for their rewards and punishments and only to pleasures, dignities and riches for their happiness.

Untrained in the higher intellectual, artistic and literary pursuits and moved only by the first law of nature and by that which soothes the animal spirits and feeds the animal passions, their pleasures are of the coarser kind to be found in the dice-box, the opium-pipe and the brothel. The dignities, on the other hand, are those of office under a despotic Government, few in number, and only reached through public examinations which few attempt to pass and fewer still succeed in passing. Wealth is the be-all and end-all of their existence; not the wealth of true knowledge and fine thoughts, for the six ancient school-books of Confucius teach neither; not the wealth of political power, for all power is in the Emperor, the vicegerent of Heaven, and by him is deputed only to his chosen Mandarins and graduates from the Examination Halls; not the wealth of freedom, for liberty is a thing for which the speech of China has not even a name. It is material wealth. Not great material wealth to enable its owner to embark on new enterprises, for the statutes forbid change of occupation; "generation after generation they must not alter or vary it," says Section 76. It is bread, the necessaries of life, enough to maintain himself and the family, which circumscribes all his hopes, aspirations and affections. Patient, plodding toil to this end has with him become a habit, a national trait, which, ground into his character by statute law and the iron law of custom and cult, he takes with him into the mines of British Columbia or wherever else he goes, and of which he could not divest himself if he would.

Another trait of the Chinese immigrant is his low standard of living. By this it is meant that his fixed, persistent, racial habits lead him to choose a cheap house to dwell in, cheap clothes to wear, cheap food to eat and beyond these meanest wants to throw aside every other weight in the race of life. The causes are not far to seek. Rice, their staple food, yields to labour large returns. The loess land in China is one

of nature's phenomena which western science has yet to explain. Their loess-beds, covering an immense tract, often to a great depth, and terracing many of the mountains, consist of a powdery, brown earth rendered extremely porous and fertile by the fact that every particle is perforated by minute cells lined with carbonate of lime and always extending in the undisturbed state in a vertical direction. Except in seasons of drought this deposit yields, and has for 4000 years yielded, to Chinese industry two and sometimes three large crops of rice a year. The cost of production being small, the wage of the producer is small—merely enough to procure this cheap food and his other necessaries; but the yield to his labour being far beyond what he himself requires for food, other mouths have increased up to the number that can subsist on the surplus of the yield. So that a dearer food has become to the Chinese impossible and in their frequent seasons of drought a lower and cheaper kind is often their only means of subsistence. Habituated, as they have become, to the bare subsistence of beggarly food, scanty clothing and mean lodging, their numbers have so increased under it that their soil will not now yield to their 380,000,000 souls that comfortable subsistence which we believe the ordinary decencies of life require.

According to Tong, an educated Chinese official, a workman in China with four cents a day can find all his wants. True, it costs the Canadian employer who boards his men about ten cents a day to supply each Chinaman with food alone. But much of that food is wholesome Canadian produce and, like that of the Chinese domestic, dearer by far than what the vast majority of Chinese settlers feed upon. As their food, so will their shelter be. Gregarious in instinct, they always huddle together in dwellings that are cramped, filthy, foul and cheap. In the slums of British Columbian towns, and composed of the meanest tenements, divided and subdivided into rooms and stalls with tier upon tier of bunks not much bigger than coffins, the "Chinese Quarters" are often dens where, as Commissioner Chapleau in his report upon this question has said, daylight never enters, where one pure breath of air never penetrates, where the stench is something between a charnel-house and a wild beast's lair, but yet

where human beings are, as it were, packed away. It is estimated that in Vancouver, in the wretched hovels lining either side of Dupont Street for 400 feet of its length, and standing, many of them, on piles over the polluted waters of False Creek, there are upwards of 1,500 Chinamen herding together in squalour. These buildings are valued at \$33,100 and their sleeping air-space is estimated at 262 cubic feet per Chinaman. The inside scenes are a re-production in miniature of lower life in China—a wilderness of untranslatable sights, sounds and odours, the last lazaretto of an effete civilization. Less offensive but yet very cheap are the clothes of a Chinese settler, his inner and outer tunics and his loose trousers. In China the dress of civil and military officers in all its minutest details of form, fabric and colour is regulated by sumptuary laws; and imitation, the nearest approach to inventiveness possible or permitted to the common people, has led them, in aping official fashion, to be less uncleanly in their dress than in their dwellings.

The barbarous queue, worn at first as a sign of allegiance under the compulsion of a death penalty, is, under the galvanizing force of venerated usage, now worn as a sign of nationality. The life-standard of this ill-fed, ill-clad, ill-housed people is fixed—stationary in the habits of a stationary race. It is not raised by contact with our western way of life and for this reason: Chinese life with us is a tide that ebbs and flows; it is a moving panorama, an ever-shifting scene; with the arrival of each steamer come fresh increments to our Chinese colony, strangers to our western ways, and with its departure leave fresh detachments from that colony, those most familiar with our ways. These arrivals, fresh from China with Chinese ideals of life and comfort, act as a leaven upon the colonial lump to check any tendency in their unprogressive minds towards change. Indeed, so numerous and constant are these arrivals and departures that the whole *personnel* of our Chinese population changes every three or four years. Recruited, as this population is, by immigration and not by birth, it is important to look to its base of supply to ascertain the cost there of producing the immigrant and the class of immigrants supplied. The cost of rearing the Chinese immigrant in

China has almost, if not quite, as important a bearing as the cost of maintaining him during his short sojourn here. Fortunately for the enquiry but unfortunately for the cause of freedom and civilization, the conditions are such as to enable us to ascertain this initial cost with some degree of accuracy.

Although with us for obvious reasons the sale of human beings is not allowed, it is to a limited extent permitted and practised in China, even as it was in the Southern States in slavery days. Parents may, and under stress of circumstances do, sell their daughters and widowed daughters-in-law into prostitution and concubinage, and their sons into slavery. Archdeacon Gray, in his excellent work on China, says the usual price of an ordinary able-bodied slave is about \$100. But, as the price usually covers the cost of producing the thing sold, the cost of rearing an able-bodied Chinese immigrant, in China, cannot usually exceed \$100, a conclusion which all accounts of travellers confirm. Again, with reference to the class of immigrants and the available number at the base of supply, it is to be observed that not all China has turned its face towards Canada. The Province of Kwangtung, lying on the coast in the south-east corner of the Empire, being considered unhealthy, has with Kwangsi and Yunnan long been used as a place of banishment for criminals from other districts. Many of its coast towns are surrounded by small boats, or tankia, inhabited by whole families who begin and end their days on board and whose scanty meal, we are told, is sometimes the nastiest garbage thrown from European vessels. To escape punishment or poverty, many of the men are criminals or their descendants, most of the women prostitutes. It is from this Province that our Chinese immigrants come. So that, whether we look to China or to British Columbia, it has been observed of the Chinaman, and we shall find, that "the long-continued, uniform operations of overmastering external conditions has compelled him, and it also has enabled him, to subsist on the very least which in his case will merely maintain the nerve-force that drives his muscular machinery."

A third disturbing cause is their dumb submissiveness to superiors. The influences that super-

infuse over Chinese character this abject spirit, as well as the spirit itself, are so entirely wanting in our own institutions and people, that it is difficult for us, and especially for those of us who are not eye-witnesses of its manifestations in British Columbia, to form an adequate conception of it. The placid self-complacency with which they accept their inferior station has no analogue in Anglo-Saxon character. If allowed to move along in their accustomed groove in the quest of wealth, they will suffer multiplied insults, oppressions and cruelties without resistance. Not to a sense of duty but to truckling fear and ignorance is this servility due. Confucius, their great preceptor, taught subordination to superiors—child to parent, wife to husband, subject to prince, minister to king—a subordination to be attained only by strict observance of the conventionalities and rites proper between man and man. Upon these precepts their whole system of government is built. The Emperor is the sole head of the constitution, amenable only to heaven, supreme in everything, without limit or control. His powers are deputed, as we have seen, only to officers of his own choice, who are answerable only to their superiors and to him. The Code does not concern itself with the rights or liberty of the subject at all, but is very minute in defining his duties towards his superiors and prescribing the outward ceremonial he is to observe. The officers charged with the administration of the law regard the masses, whose rights are thus unsecured, as their legitimate plunder. The latter, deprived and ignorant of their rights and confounding institutions with men, fear not only the officers of the law but the law itself, and either keep aloof from both, or truckle to the former through the dwarfing ceremonial of the latter.

So far, we have been considering the three operative causes of industry, low life-standard and submissiveness, all deeply imbedded, as we find, in Chinese character. With these three habits, bred in them by long use, our Chinese labourers are producing distinctive effects upon Canadian life. Divided on the basis of occupation for the purpose of tracing these effects upon our industrial life, they naturally fall into the two classes of those who are their own employers

supported by their own capital and those who are employed by Canadian capital. The former class require but little, as we have seen, to maintain them in their labour, and, as their industrial undertakings are of the simplest, but little also to supply their rude mechanical forces. Their substitute for capital is their unceasing toil and low standard of life. The products of this self-employed labour are sometimes taken to China and sometimes left in Canada. As an example of those who export their gains, leaving no equivalent with us, the one thousand or more Chinese miners, who line the banks of our gold-bearing streams rocking for gold and working placer claims, may be cited. Maintained in their labour largely by Chinese imports, they serve no Canadian interests, whilst they abstract our wealth and drain our resources for the support of Chinese life and institutions. Another Chinese industry attended by the same results is that of salting salmon for export to China—results as distinctly Chinese in character as if a portion of China herself had become detached and been transplanted.

More mixed and varied are the results from those industries which are passing or have passed into the hands of Chinamen and in which the finished product remains in Canada. They are for the most part undertakings in which large capital and skilled labour, though an advantage, are not indispensable. In illustration of the way in which human exertion and inhuman living can be made to do duty for capital, it is sufficient to mention their first invasion and subsequent capture of the broom industry in San Francisco, U. S. Being obliged to keep a horse for the business, the six or seven Chinamen in it lived with the brute in the stable, cooking, eating and sleeping in the loft. In the manufacture of opium brought here in the raw state and the milling of rice brought here in the hull the field has always been all their own. In manufacturing charcoal for canneries and firewood for large concerns, in clearing wild lands and in ditching for municipalities they have, on the other hand, driven, or almost driven, their white competitors out of the field. In laundry work and market-gardening they lead the race by many lengths and in hog-raising and tailoring they are rapidly gain-

ing ground. It is becoming more and more the practice of our tailoring houses, for instance, to give out their custom work to Chinese tailors. With untiring toil from early morn till dewy eve they ply the needle and thread, using, many of them, the work-bench of the day for a bunk at night and a breakfast table in the morning. Even the tailor-shops themselves are passing into Chinese control. In all these industries and, indeed, in all industries where a return from labour-saving machinery to physical labour is possible, the tendency is strongly towards Chinese monopoly. And with the monopoly comes, not an increase in the sum of production, but a decrease in the capital employed in maintaining labour and supplying labour-saving machinery.

Industrial disturbances follow. The drive-wheel of progress is reversed. Machinery and the skilled labour needed to run it and to improve it cease to be agents of production, and bone-labour with merely capital enough to give it a bare subsistence takes their place. Instead of invention and new mechanical appliances, the mill-horse round of muscular toil; instead of labour-saving machinery, living capital-saving machines; instead of steam and electricity, a return to man's nerve energies; instead of the improvements of skill in productive and manufacturing methods, retrogression to the methods of unskilled, ill-housed and ill-fed labour and then stationariness there; instead of native capital, its foreign substitute; instead of a healthy middle class, the lowest that China can supply; instead of citizens, aliens; instead of Canada, a part of the Chinese Empire. In eastern as in western Canada these results may on a small scale be seen by the comparison of a white with a Chinese laundry. This reversal of the hands on the dial of industry is the work of the two much extolled virtues of Chinese cheap living and unremitting toil. Until, like them, we have stanchd the flow of our energies in every direction but that of toiling for bread and have reduced the cost of vitalizing these energies to the barest needs of manual labour; until, like them, we have conquered every disposition to reach out after and to realize the higher hopes and better ambitions of civilized life; we cannot stand up against the onward, irresistible

march of the so-called Chinese industry and frugality.

The employment of Chinese labour by Canadian capital presents new features. In those smaller industries which support a middle-class in western nations, there is in British Columbia, as we have seen, a gradual retreat of white labour and capital, and a steady advance of Chinese, until the latter gain absolute and exclusive control. But in the domestic service it is impossible for Chinese labour to combine with Chinese capital to oust its Canadian employer. The quantity and kind of food the domestic servant eats and the clothes he wears must also be adapted to the tastes of the home he enters. The maintenance of all domestic servants being at the expense of the master, it does not enter as an item into the computation of wages; that part of wage which in other employments is relative to food and maintenance is in domestic service wanting, the food being paid in kind. Because of this and because it is with woman that the competition is, the white and the Chinese rates of wages are not so widely different in the domestic as in other employments. Without his low standard of life but with his industry, it is here that the Chinaman is seen at his best. Apt at cooking, willing to work, and stronger than female help, he fills the place of indoor and outdoor servant about the house. It will always be a question whether he asks less for a given amount of work than his white competitor; the fact that he has elbowed her off three-fourths of the field in British Columbia would indicate that he does. But the small economy he effects for his master cannot be allowed to weigh, if it is found to be at the expense of other parts of our national life.

It is, however, in those larger enterprises of greater complexity, those in which the European because of his skill and capital is always the employer and the Chinaman because of his cheapness is always an employé, that the greatest derangements of our industrial society are taking place. It is especially in this relation that the peculiar submissiveness of Chinese labour so often plays with such telling effect upon white labour. In many of these Chinamen their native submissiveness is accentuated by the circum-

stance that, in order to raise the funds to get here, they gave to labour-brokers in China a bond on their future labour, secured by mortgage of their relatives at home, and, to prevent foreclosure of the mortgage and sale of their relatives into slavery, they are obliged to live up to the bond and be at the beck and call of local "bosses", the agents of these foreign mortgagees. It is seen in most of the sixty-two canneries along the Fraser, Skeena and Naas Rivers and River's Inlet. These employ each season some forty-five hundred Chinamen. The outside work of fishing is done by Indians, Japanese and white men, but the inside work of canning from the landing of the fish to the labelling of the cases is the handiwork of Chinese cunning. The whole is done under the supervision and control of white employers, foremen and engineers. In 1897 the output of these canneries was 1,015,477 cases. With the "boss Chinaman" every contract is made and to him every cent for Chinese work is paid. By him the workman is put on and laid off without a moment's notice, like "a mechanized automaton."

In railway construction and repair the same conditions obtain. The Chinese are the navvies of British Columbia. They are engaged, paid and governed through bosses or head-men. In China all government is through head-men, and the government of Chinese labour here is patterned after the same model. As one compact body, obedient to the will of the boss, it is certainly not in a condition of free contract. Neither is it in a condition of absolute slavery. Some of the workmen, no doubt, are slaves, and others, although not saleable chattels themselves, have mortgaged relatives who might become so if their bonds should become forfeit. Whatever their condition, and it is probably one between these two extremes, they are manned by these bosses, who are quick to see the opportunities of labour and by whom they are farmed out to do the drudgery and the unskilled labour in the saw-mills, the boats, the mines and other large ventures of British Columbia. One manifest outcome of this relation is that there is a saving to that part of capital engaged in the payment of wages, and well content it is with its increased savings. But in studying the effects of Chinese

immigration into Canada we must remember that our national life neither springs altogether from, nor exists merely for, the accumulation of the largest amount of capital. Still less is its aim to give facilities for this accumulation in favour of a few persons, and more especially, if with the accumulation come injuries to other interests. How, then, is the labour interest affected? Skilled workmen and those capable of managing and overseeing Chinese labour are, like capital, on the right side of the Chinese problem. Not so, however, with unskilled workmen. In some of these industries, as in the canning, for example, the Canadian workman has discreetly quit the field. To do otherwise, he must submit himself to the hard conditions of Chinese labour; he must live only to work with his hands and eat only to get strength for that work; worse still, he must waive the right of free contract and submissively answer *adsum* to the roll-call of a despotic head-man. Thank God, his necessities have not yet driven him to that.

Where, on the other hand, Canadian labour remains in the field in competition with Chinese, it is because of its greater efficiency in the higher grades of work, and there the latter always combines with capital to force the wages of the former down. In Eastern Canada, where the industrial system assigns labour to one class and capital to another, the two arranged on opposite sides engage in more or less equal combat. Here it is quite different. Capital has found in the Chinese a new ally. As the Superintendent of one of our coal-mines said on oath: "At the time of their coming here my Company had been suffering from a strike of white labourers, and we accepted the Chinamen as a weapon with which to settle the dispute." As the Chinese can, and the whites cannot lower their wages without lowering their standard of life, it is, of course, the aim of the Chinese bosses by undercutting the whites to gain control of the labour market, which, notwithstanding the cut, yields what is to them large returns. And capital is only too willing to gain what labour loses by the reduction. It is not the consumer that gains; lessened though the cost of producing our coal, canned salmon and lumber is by Chinese labour, their price is not therefore reduced, because their price

is determined by their chief market, the marts of the world. Capital alone is the gainer; and not only that capital which employs Chinese labour, but also that which engages white labour exclusively, because of the general reduction in wages which follows, and because of the Chinese "weapon" that hangs, like Damocles' sword, over the head of white labour.

Where the whole Chinese contingent has gone over to capital, labour cannot successfully organize to resist reduction. With less wages the workman can do less work and procure less comforts; his usefulness to the political, the religious, the social and the domestic life of the community is impaired. It is idle to say that our industrial needs are beyond the skill or greater than the supply of white labour: whatever the Chinaman can do the Canadian can do better—except, perhaps, to degrade his manhood for gain; and with our transportation facilities the supply will readily answer the demand. Besides, the disproportionate number of our idle, discontented, almost anarchistic class, wedged out of employment by Chinese cheap labour, is the largest fact that meets the eye in a survey of the industrial conditions in British Columbia. In the argument that labour begets labour, there is the fallacy of the "undistributed middle." Chinese labour begets labour, not for all, nor even for the many, but for the few overseers alone. For the masses it displaces labour. The only industrial argument in favour of Chinese labour is that it possibly increases the profits to capital owned largely by English and American investors. What with the wages of labour going to the west and the profits of capital going to the east, there is but little left for British Columbians. Our imports from China decreased from \$1,126,954 in 1886 to \$1,046,204 in 1897, and our exports to China rose from \$39,205 to \$761,976, and this notwithstanding the head tax of \$50 imposed by us upon Chinese labourers in the former year. And naturally so. Having, themselves, laws restraining the emigration of their labourers from China, they do not resent our law restricting their immigration into Canada. From every economic point of view, then, it is manifest that for increased profits to those engaged in the larger enterprises which it is beyond the present skill

and capital of the Chinese to monopolize, and for the small economy which the Chinese domestic effects for his master, we are not only sacrificing our smaller industries and the middle-class they support, but are driving out, keeping out and impairing the usefulness of, what after all is the chief factor of healthy production—a native labouring class.

In the political relation not only are they unfit to share in shaping our destinies but they take the place of those who could help to form the popular will, and they clog the machinery of government as well. The general testimony of our Judges is that they paralyze the hand of justice. It is next to impossible, for example, to fasten crime on a Chinaman through Chinese testimony. Accustomed only to oppression at home, they come into a Canadian Court prejudiced against its "foreign" Judge and unable through ignorance of its language and laws to understand its even-handed justice. Lying, one of their race characteristics and the ancestor of all sin, is therefore stimulated, and there is no form of oath to bind the conscience of a witness with whom duplicity that attains its end is the highest virtue and for whom there is no Unseen Power to mete out punishment. Even their resemblances work confusion. Their coarse, black hair, their yellow complexion, their oblique, almond-shaped eyes, their bridgeless noses and their round jowls, all uniformly "peering in the meanest habit", conspire to defeat the ends of government. Where, for instance, licenses and taxes are evaded by presenting tax-receipts handed from one to another, it is difficult, if not impossible, to detect the fraud; where crime is committed, their "quarters" are its suitable secreting place; and, where crime is sought to be proven, it is often laid at the door, not of the guilty party, but of his substitute, who runs the chance of conviction for sake of the money reward levied upon the clan for these "devoted men."

With reference to the religious aspect of the problem, there are many who think, and rightly think, that, the interests of humanity and of Christianity being paramount to those of Canada, we should be guided in dealing with it by our duty towards mankind and by the commands of the Saviour himself. So guided, our duty as

employers of labour surely is to use the means God has given us in employing by preference that labour which supports the institutions that make for higher civilization and for Christianity? As evangelists, on the other hand, it is our plain duty to see that the loss to Christianity is not greater than the gain. The Chinese labourers arrive here, almost every one of them full grown, with his habits formed and his intention fixed to make money and return. During his short sojourn here he remains all but impervious to our teaching, while he is multiplying the economic forces that degrade and dechristianize. His return is not to carry the glad tidings of the Gospel to his countrymen but to worship the shades of his ancestors. To teach this nation, therefore, we should plainly "go" to China, where avarice is not stimulated by new prospects of gain, where the plastic mind of youth can be reached and where the good our message will do will not be outweighed by countless countervailing evils to ourselves. Of those Chinamen who are already here and whom we could not deport, if we would, our treatment should at the same time be more humane: not only for the purpose of lessening the evils their industrial methods are working to our civilization, but also for the purpose of doing good unto all men "as we have the opportunity" We should redouble our efforts to let in upon them the light of Christianity, "the summary of all civilization."

In the social sphere we find an effect, neither Chinese nor Canadian in character, but a new resultant from the contact of two non-assimilating races. It is the adder's egg out of which the cockatrice of race-antagonism is being hatched. Social equality and intermarriage are the prerequisites of race-assimilation, but not within any measureable distance of time can these two races meet and mingle on a footing of social or even of political equality. Meanwhile, the mass of race-antipathy is gathering volume and violence and disintegrating the forces of our civilization. It is a fact that we must accept and that no amount of reasoning will change. It has been well said of the Negro that he is God's image in ebony and it may with equal truth be said that the Chinaman is God's image in saffron. But sentiment, the power that moves the world, is in



both cases unreasoning and does not stop to consider. The "negro problem" of the South has therefore appeared in British Columbia in an aggravated form; for the Chinaman, unlike the negro, can outstrip his white competitor in the chase after what is to him in very truth the almighty dollar. This antagonism, along with the other effects I have traced and with those in the domain of art, science, education and language, forms a full, unchecked torrent of evils to Canada of which an excessive statement can scarcely be made or a parallel be found. It seems unfortunate that the enquiry has by self-seeking agitators been crowded with strife-stirring charges of immorality against the Chinese, many of the charges being without verisimilitude and much of the immorality merely the re-appearance in Chinese dress of our own human frailties.

As to the remedy, it is plain, if my reasoning is correct, that the labouring and small industrial interests feel the blight of Chinese contact to such an extent that the general interests suffer, and consequently plain that increased protection should be given. It is only a question of the kind and degree; because, ever since Sir John Macdonald's Government introduced in 1885 the Bill imposing a head-tax of \$50 on every Chinese labourer landing on our shores and restricting the number carried by vessels to one for every fifty tons of the ship's register, the principle of protection to labour has had legislative recognition. The *raison d'être* of that Bill was the protection it would afford to labour, the revenue arising from it being purely incidental; and in this it differs from our present impost on imported commodities. The latter was at first merely a tax to raise a revenue. Afterwards, in response to popular appeal, and in order, as it was said, to protect our infant industries against the older-established industries of the United States and of Europe, the main burden of this tax was shifted to imported commodities of a kind produced at home: from being a tariff for revenue only it became a

tariff for revenue with incidental protection to industries. By the Bill of 1885, therefore, protectionism by a long step came out into the open and without the plea of revenue declared for protection, pure and simple, not to the commodity the manufacturer had to sell, but to the commodity the labourer had to sell—his labour.

So that, to get relief we do not have to establish a new principle; as I have said, it is only a question of kind and degree. As to the kind, it must either increase the wages of home labour, or increase the purchasing power of wages, or do both. To raise wages it may either render labour more efficient or diminish the supply of Chinese labour; to increase their purchasing power it may cheapen the commodities that labour buys with wages by lowering the duty on these commodities; to do both it may combine all these remedies. It therefore falls to the local Legislature to render labour more efficient by training our boys and girls in mechanical, industrial and domestic methods in the schools. To increase the purchasing power of white wages the Dominion Parliament, instead of increasing the duty on cottons and other articles of white consumption and lowering the duty on rice and articles of Chinese consumption, should reverse that process. Parliament should also diminish the supply of Chinese labour by restricting still further the carrying privileges of vessels and by increasing the head-tax. As to the degree of increase, it should be not merely sufficient to countervail the natural protection against white labour which the Chinaman has by reason of his cheaper transportation to British Columbia; but it should be sufficient also to counteract the decivilizing tendency of his low standard of comfort. As an effective method of exercising a discriminating control over the class of Chinese labourers who may still come under these increased restrictions, it is suggested that there should be extended to them a passport system, similar to that now applicable to Chinese merchants under the Chinese Immigration Act.

## THE CANADIAN IRON INDUSTRY

BY

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THE iron industry may well be termed the industrial and commercial barometer of nations. It has been said, and, historically speaking, amply demonstrated, that no nation has ever become truly great that has failed, either from natural or other causes, to successfully develop an iron industry. Every lover of history recalls historical data touching work in iron by Chalybians, Egyptians, Medes, Persians, Parthians, Scythians and Africans, and every lover of history will remember, with Swank, that "with the fading away of Asiatic and African civilization and magnificence the manufacture and use of iron in Asia and Africa ceased to advance." With the decay in the East came the more vigorous progress of the West, the Western people proving, as they have repeatedly done, their superiority over their Eastern brethren—at least in all manly arts and industries. And the utilization of iron is peculiarly a man's industry.

The Romans, Greeks, Spaniards, Germans and French, all in their turn made progress in the building up of iron industries in their respective countries (a position which the Germans and French still, to a considerable extent, maintain), till the westward march of civilization finally culminated in the splendid development, so far as Europe is concerned, of the iron industry of Great Britain, an industry which has added so much to the wealth of that great industrial nation. Moving still westward the seat of the iron industry is now on this Continent of America, where the United States has risen to first rank amongst the iron producers of the world. In both Great Britain and the U.S. the "iron trade" is still regarded as the barometer of national prosperity. When it is depressed, all lines of trade and commerce are more or less affected, showing great shrinkage in

values, and a consequent restriction in the purchasing power of the people. On the other hand, when it is prosperous, almost every other line of business is correspondingly so.

As to Canada's natural fitness for iron-making there is no question. That has been amply proved by investigations made by the officers of our Geological Survey and by the pioneer adventurers in the enterprise of iron-making in the Dominion—brown and red hematite, magnetites, spathic, bog and lake iron ores of almost every variety being generously and widely distributed throughout the Provinces of the Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In the extreme eastern and western Provinces splendid deposits of mineral fuel and flux are found side by side with the iron ore. In the central Provinces there is an inexhaustible growth of wood, well adapted for the manufacture of charcoal fuel, and almost everywhere throughout the territory are also present the necessary fluxes in abundance. Nature has certainly been lavish in her gifts to us, and it devolves upon capital and intelligent Canadian labour to combine and develop the really grand resources of the country in this respect.

The pioneer stage of the Canadian iron industry dates back to the establishment of the St. Maurice Forges, by the French Government, about the year 1737. The record of the operations of that furnace affords perhaps the most interesting reading in the industrial history of this country. The work there was first carried on by the French Government, and, after the conquest of Canada, by the British Government. Later on it passed under the control of private firms. All the records show that the physical character of the iron manufactured from the bog and lake ores of the district of St. Maurice and

Three Rivers was, as it is to-day, in point of value, of an extraordinary nature, rivalling in quality the finest iron ever made in Sweden. The work at the St. Maurice Forges (the seat of which industry was removed in modern days to the Radnor Forges) was followed at various periods by the erection of iron works at Batiscau, L'Islet, Hull, Baie St. Paul, and Moisie, in the Province of Quebec; Furnace Falls, Normandale, Marmora, Madoc, and Houton, in the Province of Ontario; Woodstock, in New Brunswick; Moose River, Nictaux, and Bloomfield in Nova Scotia. Labouring under many grave disadvantages, such as small outputs, lack of capital, lack of shipping facilities and other such good and sufficient reasons, the Canadian pioneer furnacemen were forced, in almost every case, to succumb to the competition of foreign iron, admitted free of duty into Canada in those earlier days. It is important to mark, however, that in not a single case has it been shown that lack of raw material necessitated the closing down of a pioneer Canadian furnace.

Passing over the pioneer stage, I come to perhaps the most important epoch in the history of the iron industry in Canada, viz., the introduction of the protective tariff on iron which came into force in 1887. This was the policy under which the great iron industries of Great Britain and the U. S. have been successfully established, and the introduction of the same system of protection has had a similar result in Canada, for to-day we find that, while the industry in a modern sense is yet in its infancy, there are strong establishments in active operation at the following points throughout the Dominion: viz., the works of the Nova Scotia Steel Co. at Ferrona and New Glasgow, N.S. with an annual capacity of some 30,000 tons of coke pig iron; the Hamilton Blast Furnace Co., at Hamilton, Ont., with a capacity of some 40,000 tons of coke iron per annum; a charcoal furnace at Deseronto, Ont., with a capacity of 10,000 tons of iron per annum; the works of the Canada Iron Furnace Co., Ltd., at Radnor Forges, Que., with a capacity of 10,000 tons of special charcoal metal per annum; and a charcoal furnace at Drummondville, Que., with a capacity of about 4,000 tons per annum—the capacity of the com-

bined plants affording an output of over 90,000 tons of metal, which is rapidly displacing the product of American furnaces hitherto used in the Canadian market. In addition to these furnaces the building of new plants is contemplated for Midland, Ont., where it is expected that some 20,000 tons of charcoal pig iron will be manufactured each year. And a still larger enterprise for the manufacture of coke iron is now being considered by American and Canadian capitalists, the location of which will likely be at Sydney, C.B. The ores to be used at Sydney will come largely from Newfoundland, but the fuel will be the product of Canadian mines, and it is expected that the iron produced will find a market in Great Britain and on the Continent of Europe.

In the face of all the difficulties attending the initial stages of the establishment of an iron industry, much has already been done, but the field for development, both at home and abroad, is still very wide. According to the best authorities, Canada, at the present time, uses annually upwards of 250 lbs. of the products of iron per capita. This on a population of, say 5,000,000, means, roughly speaking, an annual consumption of 600,000 net tons. In his Report of the Bureau of Mines of Ontario for 1892, Mr. Archibald Blue estimated the consumption to equal (after making all due allowance for waste in converting pig iron into finished iron and steel), say, 604,252 tons for 1891-2. This consumption has been constantly increasing ever since, and will continue to grow even more rapidly than the population, as this new country is opened up. To better realize the accuracy of the figures mentioned, it must be remembered, for instance, that Canada possesses to-day close on 19,000 miles of railway line, representing fully 2,000,000 tons of metal. The average life of a rail is fifteen years, therefore renewals are being made annually, and as a matter of fact the Dominion is using, in this department alone, upwards of 150,000 tons of the product of iron per annum. All the rails used in Canada to-day are of outside make. As a further illustration, the Rolling Mills at Montreal, Hamilton, New Glasgow, N.S., and elsewhere, are producing annually at a fair estimate 100,000 tons of the product of iron. Unfortunately the raw material for this special department of work is

quite largely external, although there is no good reason why, within the next few years, every ton of this should not be supplied by Canadian labour from Canadian raw material. The Canadian iron founders are using annually, at a low estimate, 100,000 tons of pig iron in ordinary castings, such as stoves, agricultural implements, and machinery of all classes—less than three-fourths of the material used in this class of work being the production of Canadian furnaces.

In the manufacture of railway car wheels, where high class charcoal iron must be used, if the lives of the railway passengers are to be considered, there is a very large field for the product of Canadian furnaces. According to the returns for 1898 there were in service in Canada 58,422 freight and baggage cars, under which there were in service close on 500,000 wheels. Some thousands of tons of charcoal metal are also required in the manufacture of malleable iron, for which charcoal is specially adapted. Aside from these leading lines, the country consumes each year a large quantity of such products of iron as band and hoop iron, special quality bar iron, steel boiler plates, steel sheets, sheet iron, chain cables, slabs, blooms, bridge and structural iron, railway fish plates, nail and spike rods, wire, locomotive tires, iron and steel for ships, steel ingots, bars, and other forms of iron too numerous to mention, but now, so far as the Canadian market is concerned, very largely the product of external labour.

Aside from the home market, well-located Canadian furnaces should, before many years pass by, be able to find a very profitable opening for their products in the markets of Great Britain. All familiar with the trade are aware that American iron, largely that made in the Southern States, has found a ready market during the past year or two in Great Britain, and that this is not by any means wholly due to the fact that the British producers of iron were too busy to take care of the demands made upon them for metal for home and foreign consumption. The British iron masters can no longer close their eyes to the fact that the mines of their own country and of Spain, from which Great Britain has drawn large supplies of late years, are in many districts well nigh worked out, and that

they have to increasingly depend upon other foreign sources of ore supply. The conditions are such, therefore, that the Canadian producers of iron may, sooner even than many interested in the trade suspect, become very important factors in the life of the iron trade of the Empire.

In the building up of the trade careful consideration must be given to the proper locating of coke and charcoal furnaces. These questions will be settled by the natural fitness of each Province for the production of coke or charcoal metal, as the case may be. The furnaces to be erected must be modern and possessed of the latest appliances, for the time is past when iron can be successfully produced without improved appliances, both in construction and modern methods of operation. The blast furnace must meet consumers' wants in quality of iron, and technical knowledge and administrative ability must be joined together to secure the increased out-put and high quality of iron which the times demand. To meet the large and increasing wants of the Rolling Mills throughout the Dominion, and thus secure for Canadian labour as much of the trade as possible, the question of auxiliary plants for the converting of pig metal into steel must be considered by the blast furnace people or the Rolling Mills, and this work must be undertaken promptly.

Canadian capitalists and men of affairs generally will do well to give the native iron industry more attention in the future than they have in the past. An industry that is peculiarly Canadian in every branch, drawing its wealth from Canadian soil and employing more labour in proportion to the value of the product than almost any other industry, is surely worthy of their legitimate support. The fact that the earlier iron industries of this country failed to succeed under most adverse circumstances is no reason why, under existing conditions, undeniably more favourable, the industry cannot be made a thorough success, not only affording a great field for the safe investment of capital, but indirectly benefiting other existing Canadian industries and interests, and thus aiding towards increased population and national wealth. Let the Canadian Government and people go steadily onward, and by all energy and sympathy build up this great national enterprise and interest.

# CANADIAN FORESTS AND TIMBER INTERESTS

BY

MISS CATHERINE HUGHES, of Ottawa.

IT is related in Norse Sagas that, in 1000 A.D., Lief, son of Eric the Red, was led by his daring spirit to cruise southward from his home in Greenland. His boats eventually touched upon the shores of Nova Scotia, and the intelligent Norseman, looking on its wooded slopes, named it Markland, "Land of Woods." An appropriate name, significant of the valuable heritage these woods have proven themselves within the past century! But not only Nova Scotia merited this enviable title. At that time all Eastern Canada was a land of woods.

*The Forest Area of Canada.* When the French settlements first began a magnificent virginal forest extended from the Atlantic slope westward, beyond the great lakes and out to the sparsely-wooded central prairies. This forest, from the Atlantic to the Lake of the Woods, was 2,000 miles in length. It covered an area of 315,000,000 acres, less the area of the water surface of innumerable lakes and rivers and streams. It has been statistically computed that, approximately, 30,000,000 acres of this land have been cut out for agricultural purposes, and that about 20,000,000 acres have been for other and various reasons almost denuded of their forest-trees. Of the remaining forested land vast areas have been ravaged by fire, and the merchantable timber taken out of the bush by three generations of lumbermen has left tracts of woodland of little present value. In the five older Provinces there remain, therefore, about 154,000,000 acres, or 240,000 square miles of forest area. This region, which includes the four chief lumber-exporting Provinces, contains now at least 45 per cent. of forest. Austria-Hungary with only 30 per cent. of forest area supplies the home demand of about 42,000,000 people, while her net yearly exports of forest-products amount to more than \$31,-

000,000 in value. But then her forests are most intelligently cared for.

Until there are more perfect means than now exist of estimating the forest area of the Dominion, more particularly the amount of merchantable timber growing thereon, all calculations must be necessarily rather less accurate than could be desired. The white pine is Canada's great commercial tree. Its excellence proven in foreign markets has lent an enviable distinction to Canadian forests. It must be noted with regret that but a small percentage—5.6—of the total forest area of Canada is known to be timbered with pine. In some localities the growth is dense, while in others it is found mixed with less valuable varieties of timber. In the table given below no estimate has been attempted of the pine remaining scattered throughout the Maritime Provinces. There is no pine (*pinus strobus*) in British Columbia, in Manitoba, or in the Territories.

## *A Statistical estimate of the forest area of Canada.\**

Provinces.	Total area. Sq. miles.	Forest and woodland. Sq. miles.	Percent- age. Sq. miles.	Pine lands, white and red pine. Sq. miles.	Other woods. Sq. miles.
Ontario.....	219,650	102,118	46.49	38,808	63,310
Quebec .....	227,500	116,521	51.22	31,468	85,053
New Brunswick..	28,100	14,766	52.55	.....	.....
Nova Scotia.....	20,550	6,464	31.45	.....	.....
P. E. Island.....	2,000	797	39.85	.....	.....
Manitoba.....	64,066	25,626	40.	.....	.....
British Columbia.	382,300	285,554	74.69	.....	.....
The Territories ..	2,371,481	696,952	29.38	.....	.....
Total.....	3,315,647	1,248,798	35.63	70,276	148,363

There are, then, in Canada 1,248,778 square miles, or 799,230,720 acres, of forest area. Taking the population as 5,000,000, these figures give an

\*I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness for these and other statistics to Mr. George Johnson, F.S.S., Dominion Statistician, whose Report on the Forest Wealth of Canada, issued in 1895, is an invaluable production, unique in its thoroughness as an Official Report upon Forests.

area per head of 159.8 acres, whilst there are in Sweden 9.30 acres per head, in Austria-Hungary 1.04 acres, and in the United States 7.03 acres per head. Canada's forest area, however, is not all covered with merchantable trees. A careful approximate estimate of the quantity of pine in the Dominion gives a total of about 37,500,000,000 feet, board measure. This has been calculated according to the Ontario Provincial estimate of 500,000 feet, B. M., to the mile, and assuming one-fifth of the forest area in the Maritime Provinces to be pine. If the present annual cut continues—Mr. Johnson has ascertained that 1,000,000,000 feet, B. M., is a low estimate of it—and the system of forest protection is not improved upon, our supply of marketable white pine will be exhausted within forty years. This is a very liberal estimate. There will then remain only faulty trees and an amount of young growth. The forests of the Ottawa Valley constitute Canada's great pine forest. Here the lumbermen are approaching the head-waters of the Ottawa's tributaries; fire has in many places been before them; and the end of this forest—at one time considered inexhaustible—may now be seen.

The forest area of British Columbia is 285,554 square miles—nearly 75 per cent. of the whole area. The conditions there would appear to be favourable for tree-growth, as the density of the forests and the gigantic size of their trees are world-famed. Along the coast the timber is not of as fine a quality as it is further inland or in the valleys running back to the interior. The central plateau possesses little timber of value. The timber upon the Railway Belt is estimated at 3,000,000,000 feet, B. M. The Douglas fir, a native tree, is to this Province what the white pine is to Eastern Canada. Large quantities of fir saw-logs are imported by the United States. The cedar, of which there are two varieties, yellow and red, is a magnificent tree, next in commercial importance to the Douglas fir. Spruce, hemlock, tamarac and poplar abound. Though the greater number of the forest trees are coniferous, there are some excellent hardwoods, oak, maple, etc.

In the Territories, according to the estimates of officers of the Geological Survey and of Domin-

ion Land Surveyors, there are 696,952 square miles of forest and woodland. But this land is usually sparsely timbered. In the prairie region the timber growing along the rivers and upon hills supplies in part the local demand, but there is none for export. In the districts lying on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains the British Columbia varieties of fir and spruce are being cut by lumbermen. In the extreme north along the coast there is no timber of commercial value. Lying toward the north, in the basin of the Mackenzie and its tributaries, the Athabasca, Peace and Liard Rivers, is the great forest of the North-West. It consists chiefly of poplar, banksian, pine and a superior quality of spruce. As this lies on Arctic waters it is of no present commercial value to Canada, but, when the country south of it has been opened up by railways, it will be of immense importance to Manitoba and the surrounding Territories. In Manitoba the area of forest and woodland is 25,626 square miles, or about two-fifths of the total area. The timber growing here, however, is not of commercial value. Spruce and poplar abound and are useful to the settlers. In the south-eastern corner of the Province, around the Lake of the Woods, there are patches of pine and cedar, the fringe of the Ontario forest.

Ontario's forest area is 102,118 square miles in extent, 22,557 of which are under license. South of the Height of Land and east of Thunder Bay district there are 64,762 square miles of forest; 24,850 in Thunder Bay district and 12,506 north of the Height of Land. Of this last only 150 square miles are pine lands. The plateau of the Height and its northern slope are well-wooded, particularly the former. Spruce is abundant, but there is very little pine. North from the Height to James Bay and west from the Albany River to the inter-provincial boundary, there stretches a vast peat-bog or *muskeg*, as the Indians call it, with some good timber—poplar, spruce, birch and tamarac—along the banks of the rivers. Eastern Ontario has been cleared of its forests many years. In the peninsula the old forests of pine and valuable hardwoods have about disappeared. The forests of the Georgian Bay district are rich in pine, but they are being rapidly depleted to supply logs to Mich-

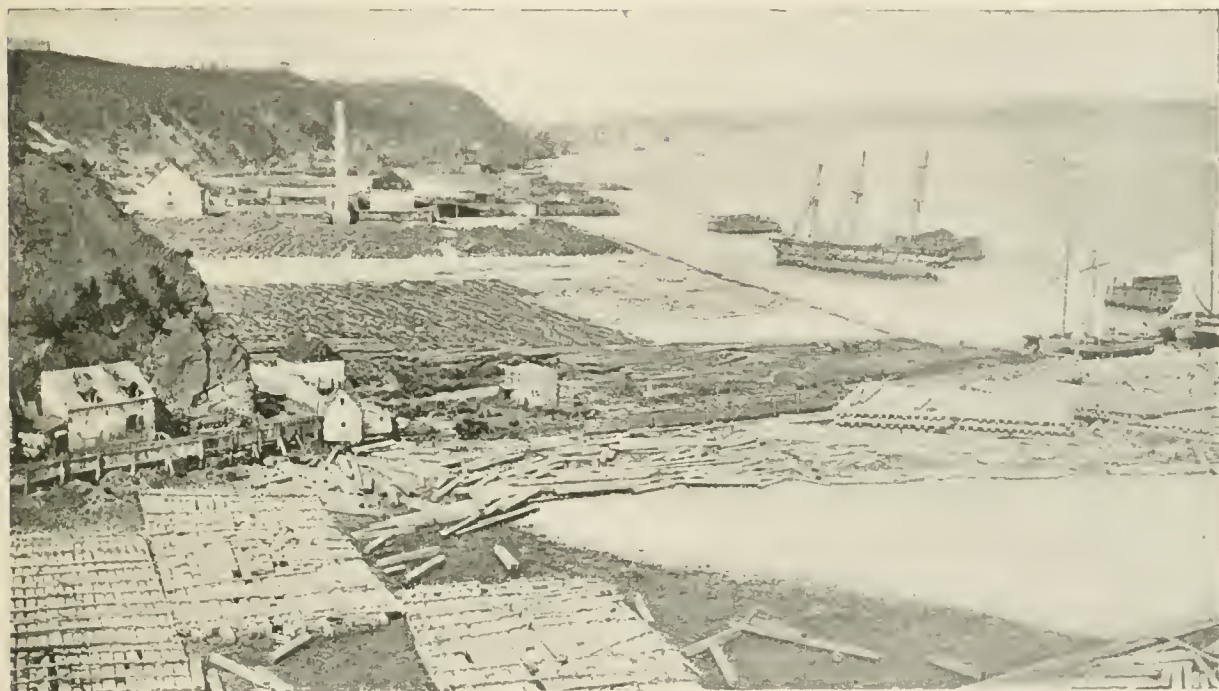
igan (U.S.) saw-mills, and will soon be of little value. The districts of Nipissing and Algoma are well-timbered with pine, birch, cedar, maple, spruce, poplar, tamarac, etc.

The portions of these districts lying about Thunder Bay, Rainy River, Spanish River, and Lake Temiscamingue are extensively operated by lumbermen. The Temiscamingue pine-lands lie at the western limit of the splendid Ottawa Valley forest.

There are in Quebec 116,521 square miles of woodland and forest; 46,556 square miles of which have been leased to lumbermen. That

of the St. Lawrence from the Gaspé peninsula to the international boundary only small scattered forests of pine remain. Spruce abounds, but the supply is being rapidly exhausted in furnishing pulp-wood to United States pulp-mills. A great deal of hemlock is cut for its tanbark; maple, birch, cedar and tamarac are also largely cut throughout the Province.

Labrador has not yet been completely surveyed, but the basins of the explored rivers have been found to be fairly well timbered with spruce, birch and tamarac. Tracts of sphagnum moss are met with inland. In New Brunswick there



Timber Cove, near the City of Quebec.

portion of Quebec extending north of the Ottawa to the Height of Land, and the districts watered by the Saguenay, the St. Maurice and their tributaries, have been covered with pine forests of immense value. They are still valuable although very much decreased in quantity by fire and lumbering operations. The Lake St. John and Saguenay region has been especially over-run by fire and few of its rich old pine forests remain. North and east of this region there is little timber of merchantable value; spruce and birch and tamarac constitute the ordinary growth. South

are 14,766 square miles of forest and woodland. In 1894, 6,318 square miles were leased to lumbermen. Pine has almost disappeared, and spruce is now the staple of the lumber trade. Very little timber remains along the Bay of Fundy, but the north-western corner of the Province is well timbered. In the Restigouche district considerable virgin forest is left, and excellent spruce and cedar are to be obtained there. About the Renous and Dunganon Rivers virgin forests also remain. The Miramichi district, so disastrously visited by fire in 1825, is

covered now with a young growth of red pine, poplar and spruce. The area of forest and woodland in Nova Scotia is 6,464 square miles—6,386 of which are granted lands, and 78 ungranted. It will be seen that the Nova Scotian forests are almost entirely in the hands of private owners. Extending through the counties along the north coast there is a belt of hardwood—oak and birch and maple. Merchantable pine is about exhausted, but a young growth remains for future use. Spruce and tamarac grow in abundance and there is also an extensive well-wooded region in the north-east of the Province, about the headwaters of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic. There are 797 square miles of forest and woodland in Prince Edward Island—775 square miles of which are granted and 22 are ungranted. The timber, consisting of coniferous trees and some good hardwood, which now remains upon the Island Province, is not sufficient to supply the local demand.

*Canadian Forest Trees.* There are more than one hundred varieties of trees in Canadian forests. The white pine—*pinus strobus*—the magnificent tree that has built up a reputation for Canadian timber, is now principally to be had in the Ontario and Quebec pine forest, extending from the Temiscamingue region to the St. Maurice, and in the Georgian Bay district. It is scattered throughout New Brunswick and is in very small quantities in Nova Scotia. The finest pine is generally that found mixed with hardwoods, rather than in a dense pine grove where the soil is not so rich or nutritious. It is reproduced slowly; at least half a century's growth is required to make a merchantable tree. Pine timber is extensively used in finishing house interiors, and providing material for innumerable articles of every day use, as pails, boxes, matches, furniture of all kinds, etc. The red pine, which is less valuable than the white, is usually found growing beside it. Toward the north it is more common than its sister tree. Banksian pine is an inferior species which extends even to the Mackenzie Basin.

Spruce is met with in all the Provinces. Because of its abundance and speedy reproduction and the growing demand for it, it stands next in value to pine as an article of commerce.

It is a very light, strong and elastic wood. The white spruce of British Columbia is of excellent quality, superior to that of Eastern Canada. The black spruce found in the interior of this Province surpasses even the western white in excellence. In Quebec, south of the St. Lawrence, and for some distance back into the interior on the north shore, the spruce forests are being exhausted to supply the pulp factories of that Province and of New York State. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Ontario forests have also been extensively cut into for spruce. The Douglas fir, known in commerce as Oregon pine, is of immense value to British Columbia's lumber trade. It is very strong and large, and is an excellent coarse building-timber. Dr. Nansen's vessel, *The Fram*, was made of it. Good fir-trees average about 160 feet clear from the ground to the first limb, and are from five to six feet in diameter at the base. The finest specimens are over 300 feet in height, with a circumference of 25 to 50 feet at the base.

The density of growth is an important feature of the fir timber limits. In consequence of this, a British Columbian fir limit yields many thousand feet per acre more than an Eastern pine limit. A reliable writer is the authority for the statement that "a prominent firm of loggers cut and measured 508,000 feet of timber off one acre in Comox district." The yellow cedar of British Columbia is a beautiful wood. Like the pine it is well adapted for joiner work. Red cedar is plentiful west of the Rockies, and as it is very easily worked it is a boon to the settlers there. Cedar of all varieties attains a gigantic growth in this Province. The cedar of Quebec and New Brunswick is of commercial importance, as there is a great demand for posts made of this wood. It is common in Ontario and is largely cut there for the home trade, but it has not appeared to any extent in the exports of the Province. Nova Scotia and the Territories contain very little cedar. It is a most durable wood, and is used for exposed work. Hemlock is commonly met with throughout Canada, if the Territories, Manitoba and Prince Edward Island be excepted. It forms an important item in each year's cut in Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Its bark is in demand for its tanning qualities. When cut for



this purpose, at an inconvenient distance from mills, the log is left in the bush to rot—a dangerous and wasteful practice. A cheap class of lumber is manufactured from the hemlock tree.

The poplar, of which there are many varieties, is found in all parts of Canada. It is especially abundant in the northern forests of the Territories. Poplar wood was used in the manufacture of pulp when this industry was first introduced into Canada, but it is now very little sought for the purpose, as it is considered inferior to spruce. The basswood, or *bois blanc*, is found growing in all the Provinces except British Columbia. It is not known to exist in any part of the Territories. In none of the Provinces can it be said to grow in abundance. It is a desirable wood, of commercial importance, used chiefly in the manufacture of carriages and furniture. It is light and durable and admits of a very fine finish. Tamarac is a common, useful tree. It grows in all parts of Canada, and is cut principally to supply local demand. The balsam fir is a very common tree, used in many ways by settlers in new districts, but it possesses no commercial value. The hardwood forests of Canada contain many valuable varieties. There are hardwoods in all the Provinces, but only to a small extent in Manitoba and Prince Edward Island. In Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia the hardwoods are cut to supply both local and foreign markets. Little has been yet exported from British Columbia, but there probably will be when the Province has been further developed.

Maple, the tree of Canadian song, gives a very strong wood, of commercial value, and is also a handsome shade tree. The sugar made from its sap is a toothsome dainty when pure, and a market commodity of some importance in spring. The hard, or sugar, maple grows slowly. "Soft maple" grows more rapidly. The curly and bird's eye varieties are eagerly sought after, as they afford a handsome wood for furniture. The white birch, of whose bark the Indian built his home in the forests and on the lakes—his wigwam and canoe—has of late been largely cut in Quebec and shipped to England and Scotland for the manufacture of spools. Black birch is often used for furniture

as a substitute for cherry. Hickory and beech are highly valued as firewood. The relative fuel value of shell-bark hickory (83.11) is exceeded only by that of Ontario's yellow chestnut oak—86.09. The nut of this tree is a pleasing edible, and if carefully cultivated would make a considerable article of commerce. Black walnut, at one time plentiful in the peninsula of Ontario, has almost disappeared. It was most wastefully used by the early settlers.

White ash is noted for the elasticity and strength of its wood, and as it is easily cut into thin layers, is used in making baskets, hoops and staves as well as cabinet work. The elm is a very handsome tree. Waggon and heavy furniture are made of rock elm, a strong, tough wood. The oak is chiefly of two varieties in Canada, the white and red, the latter being more common. The white oak of Ontario is almost unexcelled for shipbuilding. Quebec's white oak is inferior to that of Ontario. Both red and white oak command high prices when made into house furniture. They are used in making waggons, floors and any article requiring great strength.

*Exports of Forest Products.* Canada now ranks fourth among the world's wood-exporting countries. Norway and Sweden, Russia and Austria export larger quantities. But the forests of Austria and Sweden are systematically cared for and protected, and, when Canada's forests have been as well developed and as carefully guarded as those of the older countries, she must take a higher rank as an exporter. France early recognized the forest wealth of her young colony. Timber was shipped to France by the energetic Intendant Talon in 1667. After the conquest of Canada by the British, the Mother Country, being well supplied from the forests of Northern Europe, disregarded Canada's forests. But the issuing of Napoleon's Berlin Decrees, forbidding the continental nations to trade with England, caused Britain to look to other and friendlier sources for her timber supply. Then she saw that the unheeded colony was richly forested, and a steady trade in pine timber sprang up between the two. Great Britain's demand for square timber increased yearly until about thirty years ago, since which time there has been more demand for pine in smaller dimensions. This is

not to be regretted. It is a financial benefit to the country, for there is an unavoidable waste in making square timber and many thousands of Canadians, in consequence of the demand for sawn lumber, are given employment in the saw-mills.

The United Kingdom and the United States import now the greater part of Canadian lumber. Pine and spruce deals and deal ends form about three quarters of the total wood-exports to the United Kingdom. In 1856 the total value of Canada's exports of forest-products was \$27,175,686. The United Kingdom's importations amounted to \$12,187,807 of this, and those of the United States, \$13,868,445. This did not include ships, which were exported to the value of \$99,392. The remaining lumber was shipped principally to Newfoundland, Australia, British Africa, South America and the West Indies. The pine timber now being shipped from Canada is not as large or of as fine quality as that shipped thirty years ago, because a great many of the limits now operated have been previously cut over, and further, trees, which would not have been considered sufficiently good for timber thirty years ago, are now felled by a more careful generation of lumbermen. The United Kingdom still receives the finest of our pine, while the large exports to the United States include a great deal of inferior lumber. This country from its proximity and large wood-consumption affords a good market for second-class Canadian pine. The following table shows the development of the lumber-trade with the United Kingdom:

Year.	Amount.
1800. 130,000 cubic feet exported thither from Canada.	
1810. 6,265,000 " " " " "	
1820. 15,400,000 " " " " "	
1850. 52,640,850 " " " " "	
1859. 62,403,450 " " " " "	

Canada's percentage of the total wood-imports of the United Kingdom, as also the amount of her exports to that country, taken from the United Kingdom's Trade Returns, have been, in certain typical years, as follows:

Hewn.	Per centage.	Sawn.	Per centage.
1872 . 22,174,200 cubic ft. . . . .	24.87.	39,414,400 cubic ft. . . . .	25.57
1876. . 23,527,450 " . . . . .	21.80.	55,367,350 " . . . . .	26.99
1886. . 8,086,650 " . . . . .	10.21.	47,672,000 " . . . . .	25.85

	Hewn.	Per centage.	Sawn	Per centage.
1893 .	6,818,200	" . . . . . 6.41.	55,783,700	" . . . . . 23.43
1894. .	5,907,400	" . . . . . 5.	63,183,400	" . . . . . 23.2
1895. .	7,136,900	" . . . . . 6.2.	58,397,350	" . . . . . 23.

Here a steady decrease is found in the amount of square timber and, while other exports of forest-products were greater in 1895 than in 1872, yet they formed a smaller percentage of Great Britain's total wood imports. There has been an increase in the exports of square timber in 1895 and 1896. This was perhaps owing to the excellent quality of timber that has been recently cut in remote virgin forests. According to the Census Returns, the total cut of the Dominion in 1891 amounted to 2,045,073,072 cubic feet. The total value of the forest products was 80,071,415, and the exports were valued at \$27,207,547, or about 30 per cent. of the whole. The home demand was supplied with the residue of the home production, a value of \$52,863,868, and, with imports to the amount of \$3,132,516, made a total of \$55,996,384 for Canada's yearly consumption. This consumption is at the rate of \$15.59 per head. The following table shows the value of the average yearly export, by Provinces, of Canadian forest products, in 3-year periods, and is compiled from the Trade and Navigation Returns:

	1877-79.	1880-82.	1883-85.	1886-88.
	\$	\$	\$	\$
Quebec. . . . .	10,031,968	9,849,699	10,835,735	9,149,048
Ontario . . . . .	3,396,393	6,543,924	7,605,820	7,052,752
New Brunswick . . . . .	4,453,057	4,802,164	5,116,381	4,651,451
Nova Scotia . . . . .	939,571	1,291,381	1,483,311	1,504,866
British Columbia . . . . .	295,716	261,474	376,090	290,773
P. E. Island . . . . .	55,847	31,089	21,819	15,394
Manitoba . . . . .	.....	.....	121	337
The Territories. . . . .	.....	.....	.....	.....
<b>Total. . . . .</b>	<b>19,172,552</b>	<b>22,779,731</b>	<b>25,439,277</b>	<b>22,664,621</b>
	1889-91.	1892-94.	1895.	1896.
	\$	\$	\$	\$
Quebec. . . . .	10,087,240	9,306,913	8,490,445	10,946,151
Ontario . . . . .	8,474,251	9,222,411	7,927,235	7,719,194
New Brunswick . . . . .	5,174,245	5,075,757	4,933,013	5,543,612
Nova Scotia . . . . .	1,739,981	1,829,190	2,034,778	2,272,874
British Columbia . . . . .	389,970	420,630	500,048	685,740
P. E. Island . . . . .	9,041	9,257	4,378	4,975
Manitoba . . . . .	22	603	1,269	1,183
The Territories. . . . .	45	119	.....	1,957
<b>Total. . . . .</b>	<b>25,874,795</b>	<b>25,873,970</b>	<b>23,891,166</b>	<b>27,175,686</b>

The values of pine, spruce and oak, according to the Customs Returns of 1871, 1881, and 1891,

and the Trade and Navigation Returns of 1896, were as follows :

Square timber.	1871.	1881.	1891.	1896.
	\$	\$	\$	\$
White pine, per ton.....	7.50	10.25	14.40	16.00
Red " ".....	7.30	8.20	9.82	12.20
Oak " ".....	11.75	17.27	21.00	21.00
Logs.				
Pine, per foot.....		.83	.84	.90
Spruce, ".....		.50	.60	.56

As the greatest amount of square timber was exported to Great Britain, the prices received there in 1896 for pine and oak have been taken from the Returns. The prices quoted for logs are those received in the United States. During the last year named France imported 147 tons of white pine, valued at \$19.38 per ton. An important fact is to be noted of Canada's relative wood exportation to Great Britain and the United States. Canada shipped to Great Britain in 1890 68.07 per cent. of Britain's total imports of forest-products, and in 1895 33.41 per cent. She exported to the U.S. in 1890 30.67 per cent. of the Republic's total imports of forest products; and in 1895 66.05 per cent. The conditions existing in 1890 in the trade with the two countries have been exactly reversed. The increase in United States imports from Canada was due to our export of immense quantities of pine saw-logs, cut chiefly in the Georgian Bay district. It was as follows:

*Canadian Export of Logs to United States.*

	Feet, B.M.	Value.
1886.....	66,035,000	\$309,447
1890.....	103,416,000	681,275
1896.....	204,542,000	1,720,601

In 1886, 2,869,000 feet, B.M., of pine logs were exported, at a value of \$24,452, and in 1896 157,449,000 feet, B.M., of these logs, valued at \$1,423,989, were exported to the United States.

*Canadian Industries dependent on Wood Supply.*

From the forests to the shipping-ports, whether floated down the rivers as timber, or passed through mills and factories to be turned out in wonderful shapes, Canada's forest-trees carry with them national wealth and varied employment for the industrial classes. There were in 1891 (from census returns) \$99,637,522 capital invested in wood-industries, paying \$30,680,281 as wages with an annual output to the value of \$120,415,516.

The amount invested in saw-mills was \$50,203,111 or more than one-half the total capital. There were 5,666 saw-mills and 877 shingle-mills, employing an average number of 54,746 persons and paying \$13,242,251 in wages yearly. Since 1891 there has been a great increase in these industries, but an exact estimate cannot now be had. The greatest advance has no doubt been made in the wood-pulp industry. The products of the pulp mills in 1891 were valued at \$1,057,810 and the exports amounted to \$188,198. In 1896 the exports of pulp were valued at \$675,777, while the Canadian mills also supplied almost the whole newspaper demand in Canada, and furnished material for the various manufactures of pulp, viz., buttons, pails, car-wheels, coffins, pulleys, roofing material, etc. Very little wood-pulp has yet been exported to Great Britain but it has been most favourably received there. Some prominent manufacturers pronounce it superior even to Norwegian pulp; it is better adapted for "milling."

Pulp-making, because of the abundance and excellence of Canadian spruce, promises to be one of the leading industries of the Dominion, when instead of exporting 600,000 dollars' worth of pulp-wood to the United States, as in 1896, Canada exports wood-pulp and paper and other pulp manufactures to the United Kingdom, France, Australasia and the United States. Australasian imports include large quantities of paper from the United Kingdom and the United States; Canada, rich in fine spruce, possessing mills and unsurpassed water-power and with excellent facilities for trading with Australasia, should be capable of supplying this demand. Some of the more important of the remaining industries (thirty-eight in number) are carpentering, tanneries, ship-building and carriage and furniture factories. There is a continuous demand for ties and dimension-timber for the railways. To supply the ties alone, 530,000 acres of strong, young forest-trees are annually required according to an estimate by Mr. Johnson. The large wood-exports from the Dominion have greatly extended Canada's shipping interests; and the freights paid for their carriage throughout Canada amount to nearly one-fifth of the total railway freights, and more than one-third of the canal freights.

*Forest Preservation.* The patriarchal willow or butternut growing close to the cottage threshold, men love to picture in words as the "giant guardian of the lowly place." With no attempt at word-painting we may call all our forest trees "part guardians of our land." Canadians have for years calmly enjoyed all the advantages to be derived from the presence of forests—national wealth, the heightened beauty of natural scenery, beneficent climatic influences, and a secured water supply. But lumber operations and ravaging bush fires have lessened the Canadian forests to such an alarming extent that we are beginning to look toward Europe for instruction in the science of forestry. European Governments, more particularly those of Germany, Austria, and France, have expended much time and money in the development and protection of their forests. Each successive generation in those three countries will find its wooded areas more valuable than did the last.

As the Provincial Governments own most of the timbered lands in Canada, the introduction by them of this science will be rendered comparatively easy. Fire Acts have been passed in all the Provinces, imposing penalties upon parties who illegally light fires in the bush in summer, or without taking necessary precautions, and in Ontario and Quebec fire-rangers have been appointed to guard the timber limits of lumbermen who are willing to pay half the expenses. Ontario has made one large forest reserve, the Algonquin Park, in Nipissing District, and the Quebec Government has set aside the Laurentides National Park in the Saguenay region, and another reserve at Trembling Mountain. The other Provinces of the Dominion will doubtless soon recognize the need of like reserves, and will follow the wise precedent set by the older Provinces.

These parks, and five others reserved by the Federal Government along the head waters of rivers in its principal forest tracts and the Railway Belt of British Columbia, afford excellent opportunities for experiments in forestry. By cutting out roads, clearing away underbrush and caring for young trees, the forest wardens have shown that destruction by fire may be lessened to a great extent, and the growth of trees fos-

tered. In time it may be necessary to re-plant barren tracts unfit for agriculture. Along the Height of Land and in the Ottawa Valley, E. B. Borron, Dominion Surveyor, reports extensive areas suitable for the reproduction of pine and unfit for anything but forest growth. The Provincial Governments have legislated in the interests of forest preservation by limiting the cut to trees of certain defined measurements, and in other similar ways. The Federal Government has, by an intelligent imposition of export duties, endeavoured to control the cut. If the imposition or abolition of duties on exported forest products has not always been to the forest's greater interest it but remains for Canadian statesmen to legislate in this respect with fuller knowledge and with greater concern for the protection of Canada's greatest natural resource.

*The Lumbering Industry.* The forests of Canada are principally owned by the Provincial Governments. The Dominion Government owns the forests of Manitoba and the Territories, and those in the Railway Belt. Nova Scotian forests are almost entirely in the hands of private owners and the limited lumber operations of Prince Edward Island are carried on upon purchased lands. Absolute possession of land and timber is given in Nova Scotia to purchasers who pay 40c. per acre. There are no bonuses or ground-rents asked by the Government. The total annual cut of timber is somewhat more than 2,000,000,000 cubic feet, and the areas of timberlands leased to lumbermen throughout the Dominion were according to an estimate made in 1894 as follows:

	Square Miles.
Ontario.....	22,557
Quebec .....	46,556
New Brunswick .....	6,318
Manitoba and the Territories .....	2,707
British Columbia .....	1,249
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Total area leased .....	79,387

This estimate includes Indian lands. The receipts by the various Governments from these licensed lands were as follows in 1896:

Provinces.	Timber Dues.	Ground Rents.	Bonus	Tres-pass Int., etc.	Totals.
Ontario ... ..	\$1,017,376	\$53,119	\$75,005	\$9,925	\$1,156,425
Quebec .....	705,260	143,486	87,495	14,850	951,099

Provinces.	Timber Dues.	Ground Rents.	Bonus.	Trespass Int., etc.	Totals.
New Brunswick .....	98,422	32,418	.....	.....	130,840
British Columbia* .....	24,896	49,523	.....	.....	74,419
Canada, Interior Dept. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....	69,646
Canada, Indian Dept. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....	113,123
Total .....	\$1,845,954	\$279,546	\$162,590	\$24,775	\$2,495,552

Indian lands in all the Provinces are controlled by the Dominion Government, and the receipts therefrom are found in the \$113,123 collected by the Indian Department. In New Brunswick the forests are leased in blocks of one or more square miles for a term of twenty-five years and \$8 per square mile is the upset price, while the blocks go to the highest bidder. Limit-holders pay an annual rental of \$4 per square mile. Stumpage is charged according to the Government scalers' estimation. The charges are \$1 per 1,000 sup. ft. of spruce, pine and hardwood logs, and \$1 per ton of pine timber. In Ontario and Quebec the timber-lands are put up at auction and are granted to those who tender the highest bonuses. In both Provinces the licenses are renewed yearly, and the limit-owner pays an annual rental of \$3 per square mile. In Ontario the dues on pine timber are 2c. per cubic foot and from 1½c. to 3c. per cubic foot of other timbers. Upon pine saw-logs and boom timber, per standard of 200 ft., B.M., the dues are 20c., and on hemlock, spruce, etc., per standard of 200 feet, B.M., 10 cents. In Quebec the dues are 4c. per cubic foot of oak and walnut, and 2c. per cubic foot of pine and all other timber. The dues upon spruce, hemlock, cypress and balsam saw-logs, per standard of 200 feet, are 13c.; upon pine and all other saw-logs, 26c. Transfers of timber-berths may be made, subject to the approval of the Commissioner of Crown Lands in each Province. The forest-lands of British Columbia are leased for a period limited to twenty-one years, and are granted to those offering the highest bonuses. An annual rental of 10c. per acre, and a royalty of 50c. per 1,000 feet of logs, are paid by limit-holders. They are also obliged to erect mills capable of cutting 1,000 ft., daily, for every 400 acres of land covered by their leases.

The growth of railway service has done much

to widen this industry. It has lessened the expenses of lumbermen by affording speedy transit for men and provisions to the lumber camps. For years after the first raft was taken down the Gatineau—in 1806—*Le Grande Riviere* and its tributaries, throughout all the mellow Autumn days, were alive with gangs of woodsmen, rowing and *portaging* the familiar “lumber-boats” to their isolated winter-homes. The provisions were drawn into the camps by teams of horses or oxen during the winter months, when the lakes and streams were frozen and the blazed bush-roads were passable. When sunny May had quite unlocked all the frozen streams and lakes, from these arteries came flowing down on all sides to the St. Lawrence the riches of forest-depths, the result of eight months' labour in remote camps. Then, as now, the woodsmen became river-men, hundreds of whom have never returned to earthly homes from these dangerous, fascinating “drives.”

*The National Importance of Canadian Forests.* The forests of Canada have, perhaps, aided more materially in Canada's development than any of her other resources. The fur-bearing animals nourished in their recesses formed the greatest attraction in their new home to the first settlers, and everywhere, in pursuit of them, *coureurs de bois* spread over the unknown country and learned something of its physical features. In the wake of the lumberman followed forest-clearings, tilled lands, villages and busy towns. Ever further into the interior the lumberman penetrated, and Eastern Canada unfolded and developed her growth of blossom and fruit, her rich farm-lands and prosperous towns, behind him. And still this work of development continues, opening up new regions to settlers, giving them employment and offering a market for their produce; contributing, moreover, to four Provincial revenues more than \$2,000,000 yearly.

The export of forest products form one-fourth of Canada's total exports. During the past thirty years alone Canada has exported to the United Kingdom timber, logs and wood manufactures to the value of about \$355,000,000, and more than \$280,000,000 worth to the United States. Assuredly no other branch of Canadian export can make a like brilliant showing! No

\*Year ended 31st December, 1895.

†Total on rents and on Timber.

accurate estimate can be formed of the value of the large amount of timber retained during this period for home consumption. In the year 1895-96 our total exports of forest products amounted to \$27,175,686. According to the Census of 1891, the exports are but 30% of the total annual cut, so that an approximate value of the cut for that year would be \$90,585,229. A depression has existed in the lumber trade during the past few years, but there has been a widening of European markets for our forest products and a steady growth of demand for them. When these markets have disposed of some of their over-stock Canadian trade will doubtless experience a strong revival. The trade with South America has increased very much, and in Australasia, Canada will find an excellent market for her wood exports. An official report of British Columbia states that in 1890 Australia

imported 300,000,000 feet of lumber from the North Pacific Coast of America, and only 15,000,000 feet of this were shipped from that Province. There is room here for growth in Canadian trade.

In view of their past and present value, and of what we may reasonably expect from them in the future, our forests cannot, in the interests of national advancement, be too highly prized or too carefully guarded. When vessels, built of Canadian lumber and freighted with the forest-products of this strong, young nation, shall have anchored in every foreign port of note, and on all the high seas of commerce be recognized as the Canadian lumber fleet, our forests will still have fulfilled their destiny only in part. Toward health and wealth and fertility of soil and beauty of landscape the forest influence in a country tends perpetually.



The Hon. Sir William Young,  
Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, 1860-81.

## FOREST TREE CULTURE IN CANADA

BY

The HON. SIR HENRI G. JOLY de LOTBINIERE, K.C.M.G., M.P., Canadian Minister of Inland Revenue.

I DO not propose, in these short notes, to deal with the forests which have survived to the present day, and upon which we have to rely for the duration of such an important industry as our timber trade, though from the great revenue we derive from them they certainly deserve much more care and attention than they now receive from us, and that they would certainly receive if, instead of finding them full-grown and ready to yield their harvest without any work on our part, we had to cultivate them as the farmer cultivates his wheat ; if we had to prepare the bare ground for them, as the forester does in France and Germany ; and if we had to start them, and follow their growth, step by step, until they were ready to reward our labour.

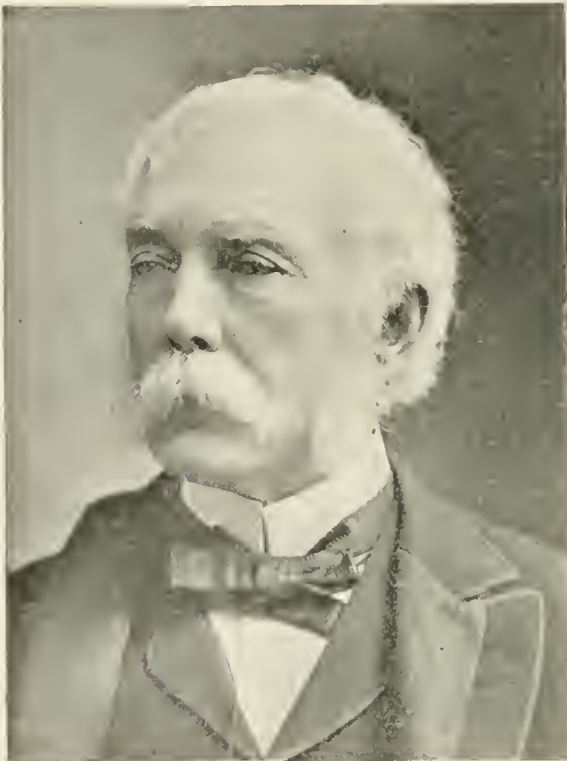
My present purpose is to deal with another branch of forestry, which, so far, has met with but little attention from Canadians, I mean the restoration of the forest where it has been imprudently destroyed (especially on land unfit for agriculture) and to consider the best means for repairing the injury likely to result from its destruction. We all know how valuable the forest is, intrinsically, supplying us with fuel, with lumber for building houses and ships, for making tools and so many useful articles. And even if we could replace the wood it produces with other material, as we have learnt, of late, to do in so many cases, nothing can ever replace the forest and fill the vital part which it plays in the economy of nature as a collector and storer of rain from heaven, dispensing it gradually to the land, as needed, to maintain that fertility upon which depends the existence of mankind, instead of allowing it to run to waste in a few hours, not only without profit but, too often, as a torrent, destroying everything on its course. Examples are found in many regions, not only in

the Old World, but in ours, of the fatal results following the destruction of the forest. Countries once renowned for their fertility and the home of flourishing communities are now transformed into barren solitudes. New forests are now being planted in Algeria, in the South of Europe, as well as on our continent—in Colorado, in Idaho and other Western States—not so much for the *wood* they will produce, however valuable that may be, but principally for insuring a regular supply of *water*, so as to furnish to the soil, by means of irrigation, the amount of moisture necessary for the successful growth of vegetation.

In regions threatened with long droughts the forest acts as a screen against the desiccating wind which sucks up the moisture off the land. It prevents floods, it keeps up streams and rivers to their normal level. It is even claimed (though this is not universally admitted) that it causes more frequent rainfalls, as the temperature, being lower under the shade of the trees than in the open country, the vapour in suspension in the atmosphere becomes condensed and descends in the form of rain. So far, we have not yet had sufficient time to appreciate the change in our climatic conditions which must unavoidably follow the destruction of our forests, but, we must expect to suffer, as older countries are now suffering, if we do not profit by their experience.

For the general welfare of a country there ought to be a certain proportion of its surface in forest. Does that proportion exist in Canada? Certainly not in the old settlements where the forest has been, in so many places, imprudently destroyed ; nor on our western prairies, where it never existed—at least within the memory of man. We need not go very far outside of our cities, in the country, before meeting with examples of the ease with which nature, without our

help, can build up a new forest. Cease to cultivate a field, and, in a short time, it will be invaded by thousands of young trees sprung up from seed of trees growing in the neighbourhood. As it happens that trees of inferior value, like poplar and white birch, produce the most abundant crop of seeds, of great germinating power and so light that the wind can carry them to a great distance, they generally take immediate possession of the ground, to the exclusion of other trees, and produce a forest of comparatively little value. We have only to profit by the lesson, and to help



Sir Henri G. Joly de Lotbinière.

nature by placing at her disposal only the seeds of valuable trees.

The cost of seed is merely nominal; apart from the nuts and acorns, which are heavier, there are thousands of tree seeds in one pound's weight. As for the labour, a great number of young trees can be grown from seed and cared for in a limited space of ground with comparatively little work. When they have reached a height of three or four feet, more or less, they are ready for transplanting, and it will take less time to take up one

hundred of these young trees out of the clean and well prepared ground, without doing them any injury, than it would to find half a dozen suitable ones in the forest (if it is near enough to be available) and to lift them up out of the confused mass of roots of the large trees among which they grow.

Those who have never tried it and have not observed how rapidly trees grow from seed in the abandoned fields as above stated, consider it time lost to sow trees. They say that life is too short for that (as if we were only here to work for ourselves) and, in their haste to show great results, they nearly always plant their trees so large that there is much less chance of their surviving than if they were only *one-third* the size; those which do not die the very first season linger for years before resuming their growth, and are overtaken and passed by the small trees transplanted early, at an age when their growth is not seriously checked by the operation, and can continue steadily growing without interruption.

The next question is: What trees should we plant? This depends on climate, soil, situation and other conditions, as well as on the special purpose in view. If trees are wanted to supply, under the shortest notice, shade and shelter on a barren spot, ash-leaved maples, poplars, willows and other fast growing trees will do, but they ought to be considered as only temporary, and slower-growing, but more valuable trees, such as maples, oaks, elms, white ash, butternuts and black walnuts, should be started at the same time, to take their place when sufficiently advanced.

If we take the trouble to plant trees, we ought to select the most valuable varieties. Once started, it will not be more trouble to grow them than poor ones, and as the great Scotch tree planter used to say to his sons: "Sow trees, and they will grow while you sleep." Among the trees that we can grow in Canada, I think the black walnut holds the first rank. It is a beautiful tree; on the markets of Europe the value of its lumber is about equal to that of mahogany; it grows more rapidly than either pine or spruce; it begins to yield nuts when about twelve years old, and these nuts mature even as far north as Quebec, and produce vigorous young trees.



Whenever practicable it is better to sow the black walnut where it is destined to remain permanently, as there is some difficulty in transplanting, owing to the great length of the tap-root. Experience shows that it is much better not to try and preserve too great a length of that tap-root; cut it at about ten inches underground, trim it and the other roots carefully, so as to remove all the torn and wounded parts. The head of the black walnut often dries after transplanting, which leads the beginner to think that it is dead, but by selecting one of the buds which invariably come out lower down on the stem, and allowing it to develop itself, it will absorb all the nutriment from the roots and rapidly grow into a fine straight leader. In fact, it is often advisable to remove the head, even when quite green, if its shape is not found satisfactory—when crooked or forked, or otherwise.

If the intense cold sometimes affects the black walnut, in our climate, it is not the part above ground which suffers to any serious degree, as would naturally be expected, but the part underground—I mean the roots. They are so thick and spongy that they absorb a great deal of moisture, and when the young trees have been planted in a situation exposed to a strong wind, which sweeps away all the snow so as to leave the ground bare and unprotected in winter, it often happens that the water held in the roots expands under the action of the frost and bursts the bark which covers the roots, and the tree dies. This can easily be remedied by placing some obstacle, fence, hedge or brush wood, to stop the snow. This simple and I may call it natural precaution is the only one

I have ever found necessary for the preservation of our young black walnuts, and only on spots where the snow does not rest. Canadians ought to know how much we are indebted to our Lady of the Snows for spreading her protecting mantle over our meadows and pastures and orchards, which are liable to suffer as much as the black walnuts and from the same cause. I would never advise the growing of these trees in wet soil; white ash and tamarac can thrive there where such trees as the maple will not live. Of course, it is perfectly useless to start a plantation of trees if it is not protected against the inroads of the cattle.

Trees require some care, at first, after planting, especially in the open. Planted in close order and in great number, they will soon prune themselves. In the open and isolated they require pruning, and it is painful to see how carelessly that operation is generally performed. In very many cases, when the branch is removed, a stump is left which protrudes too far to allow the new bark to grow over it and protect it against the destructive effects of the weather. Decay will soon set in on the unprotected stump and following it will penetrate gradually into the stem, reaching the heart and killing the tree. Close pruning is the only safe pruning, as in a surgical operation, and then the wound will heal in a very short time and get covered over by the bark, before decay can set in. In conclusion, I will remind beginners in tree culture that what is worth doing is worth doing well, and that this rule applies to Canadian tree culture perhaps more forcibly than to anything else.

**Forest Wealth of British Columbia. Editor's Note.** The Pacific Province of Canada may be said to possess the greatest compact area of merchantable timber on the North American Continent, and, if it had not been for the great forest fires which raged in the interior in years gone by and during which a very large portion of the surface was denuded of its forest, the available supply would be much greater than it is. However, as the coast possesses the major portion of the choice timber and that which is most accessible, the ravages of fire have not had, by reason of the dense growth and the humidity of the climate, any appreciable effect on that portion of the supply. Mr. R. E. Gosnell, in his Year Book of British Columbia (1897), gives much valuable data upon this subject and from that volume the following facts are, with his permission, extracted.

As far north as Alaska the coast is heavily timbered, the forest line following the indents and river valleys and fringing the mountain sides. Logging operations, so far, have extended to Knight's Inlet, a point on the coast of the mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island. Here the Douglas fir, the most important and widely dispersed of the valuable trees, disappears altogether, and the cypress, or yellow cedar, takes its place. North of this, cedar, hemlock and spruce are the principal timber trees. It will be of interest to know that the Douglas fir was named after David Douglas, a noted botanist who explored New Caledonia in the early twenties of this century. It is a very widely distributed tree, being found from the coast to the summit of the Rocky Mountains and as far east as Calgary and as far north as Fort McLeod. On the coast it attains immense proportions, is very high and clear of imperfections, sometimes towering three hundred feet into the air and having a base circumference of from thirty to fifty feet. The best averages, however, are one hundred and fifty feet clear of limbs and five to six feet in diameter. This is the staple timber of commerce, often classed by the trade as Oregon pine. It has about the same specific gravity as oak, with great strength, and has a wide range of usefulness, being especially adapted for construction work. It is scientifically described as standing midway

between the spruce and the balsam, and in the opinion of Prof. Macoun, the Dominion Naturalist, is a valuable pulp-making tree.

Perhaps the next two most important representatives of the forest wealth of the Province are the red cedar and the yellow cedar. The former is found all over the Province, but reaches its greatest development on the coast, where it outgirths all others. In addition to its commercial value for shingles and finishing purposes, it is the friend of the settler, inasmuch as out of its straight-grained logs he can build his house, make his furniture and fence his farm, and that with the use of the most primitive of tools only—an axe, a saw and a froe. It is especially valuable, however, for interior finishing, being rich in colouring and taking on a beautiful polish. For this purpose it is finding an extended market in the east of Canada, and no doubt its merits will soon find appreciation far beyond these limits. Important as the red cedar is, the yellow cedar, though much more limited in area and quantity, is still more important. It is very strong, comparing with the Douglas fir in this respect, is wonderfully durable, finishes to perfection, and grows to great dimensions. Lying farther north, it will not be probably as soon in demand as the more ubiquitous red variety, but is already occupying attention. During 1896 an extensive timber limit was disposed of in England, and a company has undertaken its manufacture. The cypress, which is found in great quantities in the interior of Vancouver Island, and on Mount Benson, near Nanaimo, comes within 1,200 feet of the sea. On the north coast of the Mainland it is also found lower down and is very plentiful.

Coming next in usefulness—and, economically considered, this may be taken exception to, as there are many who will class it as the most useful of all—is the white spruce. Its habitat is principally low, swampy and delta lands, usually interspersing the forest of fir and other trees, but in no place is it found in very large or compact bodies. From its comparative scarcity and the many uses to which it may be put, it is commercially more valuable than the Douglas fir, to which it is first cousin. It attains a circumference almost equal to the latter, but does not grow so tall or so clear of branches. It is utilized largely

for making doors, finishing, salmon boxes, barrels, fruit cases, and many other similar purposes, being the best adapted for these uses of all the native timbers. It is *par excellence*, too, the wood for pulp manufacture, which some day or other will be one of the most important industries of the Province. It increases in quantity towards the north. Hemlock is a common timber, and up the coast is found in considerable quantities. It is a useful tree, and answers about the same purposes as the Douglas fir. For that reason it will not be in general demand until the latter has become to some extent exhausted. White Pine for cabinet purposes and general utility is very valuable, but is limited in quantity. Balsam is widely distributed, being found principally in river valleys, but is commercially of little value except for pulp. With the exception of the yew and tamarack, of which there are several varieties, the foregoing are the representatives of the family of coniferous trees.

Of deciduous trees the large leaf maple, vine maple, alder, crab-apple, oak, two varieties of poplar or cotton-wood, aspen poplar, arbutus, birch, willow and juniper are the principal. The maple, alder and arbutus make first-class cabinet woods, though they are not abundant enough to be extensively used for this purpose. They also make popular finishing woods. Poplar, or, as it is more commonly called, cotton-wood, has been principally used in the past for the manufacture of "Excelsior," but its greatest use will be in paper-making. The aspen poplar is common in Vancouver Island and the northern interior of the Province. It is also a good paper-maker. The oak is mainly confined to the southern end of Vancouver Island. It is a stunted, gnarled species, of little use, but very picturesque. Crab apple is plentiful in swampy places around ponds, beaver meadows and along river banks. The hard woods are usually found in bottom lands, and indicate fruitfulness of the soil. There is no part of British Columbia where the timber supply is not sufficient for local demands.

One feature of the forests of the coast is their density. As high as 500,000 feet of lumber have been taken from a single acre, which seems almost incredible to a lumberman of the east, where 20,000 is considered not a bad average. There are over eighty sawmills in the Province,

big and small, with a daily capacity of about 2,000,000 feet, mainly on the coast, but this limit has never been reached, the annual cut running between 50,000,000 and 100,000,000 feet. Various estimates have been made of the amount of timber in sight. These range between forty billion and one hundred billion feet, a guess that is only practical in showing the possible limits of supply as extremely wide. The acreage of timber under lease is about 1,175 square miles, and the total area of forest and woodland is put down by the Dominion Statistician as 285,554 square miles, but this must not be taken as all of commercial value, as much of it is covered with small trees, suitable only for a local supply of fuel and lumber.

Economically, the value of the forests of British Columbia could be greatly enhanced by diversification. There is such a wide area unsuitable for any other growth than trees and grass that there is almost illimitable opportunity for the seeding and planting of trees on the summit of hills and the sides of hills and mountains, and the introduction of nearly all the deciduous trees of the temperate zone. The climate is favourable to tree growth, and the experience of the Dominion Experimental Farm goes to show that the range of successfully acclimatized trees and shrubs is very wide indeed. A careful estimate of the aggregate cost of the mills in operation places the amount at \$1,500,000. This does not include all the capital invested necessary to carry on the industry, which would increase the amount to \$2,000,000. The investment in timber limits is additional to this. Although the conditions are hardly ripe for it yet, one of the most promising industries in store for British Columbia is that of the manufacture of wood pulp. Statistics of the timber and lumber industry are not available prior to the year 1888, when the Reports of the Inspector of Forestry began to be published. Since that time a very complete annual statement has been included in the Report of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. However, a careful estimate of the cut of timber in the Province, since the commencement of the industry, made from available data in various years, gives the following result: to 1871, 250,000,000 feet; 1871 to 1888, 595,000,000 feet; 1888 to 1896 inclusive, 654,986,465 feet, or a total of 1,500,000,000 feet.

## THE FISHERIES OF CANADA

BY

THE EDITOR.

A COUNTRY bounded by three oceans; possessed of more than 5,500 miles of sea coast; and including within its territories or upon its inland borders the greatest bodies of fresh water in the world; must necessarily have great fishing interests. So vast indeed is the natural wealth of Canada in this respect that more than once the external policy of its Government and the diplomacy of the Empire as a whole have had to be exercised, through long periods of strife and discussion, for the protection of its fisheries on the Atlantic, in the Behring Sea and, in a minor degree, on the great lakes. Yet the possession of these immense resources is hardly appreciated, to say nothing of being properly known, by the Dominion as a whole. In Nova Scotia, where \$124,000,000 worth of fish have been exported since 1868; or in British Columbia, where \$30,000,000 worth have been exported since 1882; their value may be estimated properly. But elsewhere such is hardly the case. Writing in 1870 the Hon. Peter Mitchell, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, declared that:

“As a national possession they are inestimable; and, as a field for industry and enterprise, they are inexhaustible. Besides their general importance to the country as a source of maritime wealth and commerce, they also possess a special value to the inhabitants. The great variety and superior quality of the fish products of the sea and inland waters of these Colonies afford a nutritious and economic food, admirably adapted to the domestic wants of their mixed and labouring population. They are also, in other respects, specially valuable to such of our people as are engaged in maritime pursuits, either as a distinct industry or combined with agriculture. The principal localities in which fishing is carried on do not usually present conditions favourable to husbandry. They are limited in extent and fertility, and are subject to certain climatic disadvantages. The prolific nature of the adjacent

waters and the convenience of their undisturbed use are a necessary compensation for defects of soil and climate. On such grounds alone the sea and inland fisheries to which British subjects have claims on this continent are of peculiar value.”

Yet at that time the total export of Canada in this connection was only \$3,600,000. In 1897 it was \$10,300,000, with still greater possibilities of increase. Of course the exports do not give a full view of the production or development in this respect. The home consumption is very great, while the returns of the annual catch to the Department are always under rather than above the mark. In 1884 Mr. L. Z. Joncas, M.P., estimated before the British Association at Montreal that this local consumption, apart altogether from fish caught for export or the trade, was \$17,000,000, or double the amount exported, and equal to the amount said to have been produced. In view of the increase of population since then it is now reasonably safe to place this figure at \$20,000,000, which added to the stated yield of \$20,400,000 in 1896 will sufficiently indicate the richness of Canadian fisheries. Professor E. E. Prince, Dominion Commissioner of Fisheries, however, makes the estimate only \$10,000,000 more than the officially stated production. The fact that foreign nations cling tenaciously to every privilege they may possess by treaty in Canadian waters, and even try to assert rights which they do not possess, helps to further indicate the importance of our fisheries. A practical proof of international interest was the Award of 1877, by which the United States had to pay \$5,500,000 for five years use of our Atlantic fisheries. The following table gives the value of the yield by Provinces since 1869—Manitoba and the Territories as well as Ontario being mainly inland fisheries:

Year.	Ontario.	Quebec.	Nova Scotia.	New Brunswick.	Manitoba & Territories.	British Columbia.	Prince Edward Island.	Total of Canada.
1869	190,203	1,406,240	2,501,507	638,576	.....	.....	.....	4,376,526
1870	264,982	1,161,551	4,019,425	1,131,433	.....	.....	.....	6,577,391
1871	193,524	1,093,612	5,101,030	1,185,033	.....	.....	.....	7,573,199
1872	267,633	1,320,189	6,016,835	1,965,459	.....	.....	.....	9,570,116
1873	293,091	1,391,564	6,577,086	2,285,661	.....	.....	207,595	10,754,997
1874	446,267	1,608,661	5,652,303	2,685,792	.....	.....	288,863	11,681,886
1875	453,194	1,596,759	5,573,851	2,427,654	.....	.....	298,927	10,350,385
1876	437,229	2,097,668	6,029,050	1,953,389	30,590	104,697	494,967	11,147,590
1877	438,223	2,560,147	5,527,858	2,133,237	24,023	583,433	763,036	12,029,957
1878	348,122	2,664,055	6,131,600	2,305,790	.....	925,767	840,344	13,215,678
1879	367,133	2,820,395	5,752,937	2,554,722	.....	631,766	1,402,301	13,529,254
1880	444,491	2,631,556	6,291,061	2,744,447	.....	713,335	1,675,089	14,499,979
1881	509,903	2,751,962	6,214,782	2,930,904	.....	1,454,321	1,955,200	15,817,162
1882	825,457	1,976,516	7,131,418	3,192,339	.....	1,842,675	1,855,687	16,824,092
1883	1,027,033	2,138,997	7,689,373	3,185,675	.....	1,644,646	1,272,468	16,958,192
1884	1,133,724	1,694,561	8,763,779	3,730,454	.....	1,358,267	1,085,619	17,766,404
1885	1,342,692	1,719,460	8,283,922	4,005,431	.....	1,078,038	1,293,430	17,722,973
1886	1,435,998	1,741,382	8,415,362	4,180,227	186,980	1,577,348	1,141,991	18,679,288
1887	1,531,850	1,773,567	8,379,782	3,559,507	129,084	1,974,887	1,037,426	18,386,103
1888	1,839,869	1,860,013	7,817,031	2,941,864	180,677	1,902,195	876,862	17,418,510
1889	1,963,123	1,876,194	6,346,722	3,067,039	167,679	3,348,068	886,431	17,655,256
1890	2,009,637	1,615,120	6,636,445	2,699,055	232,104	3,481,432	1,041,109	17,714,902
1891	1,806,390	2,008,879	7,011,300	3,571,051	332,969	3,008,755	1,238,734	18,978,078
1892	2,042,198	2,236,732	6,340,724	3,203,922	1,088,254	2,849,484	1,179,857	18,941,171
1893	1,694,931	2,218,095	6,407,280	3,746,121	1,042,093	4,443,963	1,133,368	20,686,661
1894	1,659,960	2,203,386	6,547,387	4,351,527	787,088	3,950,478	1,119,738	20,719,573
1895	1,584,474	1,867,920	6,213,131	4,403,158	752,466	4,401,354	976,836	20,185,298
1896	1,605,674	2,025,754	6,070,895	4,799,433	745,543	4,183,999	976,126	20,407,424
Totals..	28,157,014	54,161,745	180,543,876	81,578,900	5,609,550	45,458,908	25,042,094	420,168,045

In the course of a quarter of a century during which this value of \$420,000,000 has been taken out of Canadian waters—a very much greater total if the local consumption be included—large interests have grown up, and whole fleets of men and ships have been employed. In 1879 there were 1,183 vessels of 43,873 tons, valued at \$1,714,917, with 8,818 men, engaged in the business. At the same time there were 25,616 boats, worth \$854,289, with 52,577 men, working on the sea coasts or on our inland lakes. In 1895 (16 years later) there were 1,221 vessels, of 37,829 tons, valued at \$2,318,290, with 9,804 men, and 34,268 boats, worth \$1,014,057, employing 61,530 fishermen. During 1879 the total capital invested was officially placed at \$4,014,521. In 1895 it was estimated at \$9,253,848. Meanwhile the total number of fishermen employed had risen from 61,295 to 71,334.

This result has been achieved in the face of the greatest difficulties. The fish were, and are, there in untold quantities and qualities of richness. But this Canadian interest has had to encounter a lack of capital, lack of facilities for selling and shipment, lack of markets, in many cases owing to distance or to hostile American tariffs and ever-present American competition—not only in the British market but in the fishing fields of the Atlantic coast, the great lakes and the Pacific shores. In the United States, as in Great Britain, every encouragement is given the fishery interest. Bureaus of information encourage knowledge and give practical help. Capital flows into the industry. Continuous improvement goes on in everything connected with it—ships, boats, nets and methods. Yet despite all these difficulties in their way Canadian schooners to-day compare favourably with the American,

while methods of fishing are improving yearly, and the Government of Canada sees more and more clearly the importance of its help in building lighthouses and harbours of refuge and in granting bonuses to the fishermen. These latter average \$160,000 a year—paid in 1896 to 29,486 men. It was little enough, surely, to pay for the promotion of those great maritime interests which have in the cases of France, Holland and Great Britain produced such striking national results. It was the experience obtained in such fields of labour that helped to make the British sailor what he is to-day in reputation and in deed.

The deep-sea fisheries of Canada are probably the most important, although much of its five thousand miles of coast has not yet been adequately worked. The coast of Nova Scotia from the Bay of Fundy, around the southern part; the coasts of Cape Breton, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island—including the Bay of Chaleur and the Gaspé Coast—and extending to the Island of Anticosti, the Labrador Peninsula and the Magdalen Islands, are the chief Atlantic points. Of these fisheries the largest single product is the cod. This fish appears on the Canadian coasts as a rule between the middle of May and the beginning of June. Its production seems to be diminishing. In 1883 the Maritime Provinces prepared for the trade and sold \$6,591,555 worth, while in 1896 the total Canadian yield was given as \$3,610,935. The quantity of cod along these coasts is very great and the fishing is carried on either in vessels of 60 or 100 tons on the Banks or in open boats near the shore. According to Mr. Joncas—already quoted—the finest cod in all America is cured on the coast of Gaspé, in Quebec Province. It is a very useful commercial fish. Oil is extracted from its liver; the head, tongues and sounds make excellent food; the offal and bones, when properly prepared, make a fertilizer equal, it is said, to the Peruvian guano; from the swimming bladder isinglass is made; while the roes are a good bait for sardine fisheries.

The herring fishery is next in importance. For many years past its value has been almost stationary—in 1883 \$2,135,000, and in 1896 \$2,183,000. The Quebec coast has immense resources in this connection, but they remain

largely undeveloped. As soon as the ice disappears in the spring vast shoals of these fish line the coasts, and remain there into December—some even through the winter. The mackerel is a very valuable fish in these waters, but its pursuit is described as difficult and precarious. Whatever the reason, the production seems to be diminishing.

A very different industry is lobster fishing and preserving. To Prince Edward Island it has meant much. In 1871 there was only one lobster-canning establishment in the little Province, while in 1881 there were 120 of them putting up 5,200,000 cans. So in New Brunswick, which in 1870 had one factory preparing 20,000 cans, and ten years later sent out 6,000,000 cans, in Nova Scotia there has been a similar result. In 1883 there were 600 factories in these Provinces shipping 17,500,000 cans, or 52,000,000 lobsters, valued at \$3,000,000. In 1896 the amount had lessened by nearly a million dollars. Between 1876 and 1898, however, Halifax, from which, at least a half of the export is shipped, had received from and for this one industry over \$21,000,000. Meanwhile the value per case had gone up from \$6.00 in 1884 to \$10.00 in 1898. In view of these facts, and the diminution in the catch, a Royal Commission has recently been investigating the whole subject. It may be stated here that the oyster fisheries of this part of Canada are very rich, though they do not as yet yield more than \$200,000 a year. The Atlantic seal fisheries of the Labrador coasts and the Magdalen Islands are also rich in themselves, and are largely developed by Newfoundland fishermen; but Canadians take little part in the work—perhaps because of the hardships involved. Yet the business is said to pay twenty-five, and sometimes forty, per cent. upon investment. Other fish found plentifully in these Atlantic waters are haddock, halibut, hake and white whale. In the estuarine fisheries of the Maritime Provinces are salmon, shad, gaspereaux (alewife), striped bass, smelts, and in the lakes, winninish, or land-locked salmon, lake trout, maskinonge, etc.

Turning to the more important of the fresh-water fisheries of Canada we find the great lakes—Ontario, Erie, Huron and Superior—teeming with fish, of every kind suitable for the table. So with the immense number of rivers running into

these vast bodies of water. Similar conditions exist in the Lake of the Woods district, with its many rivers ; in the marvellous chain of lakes and rivers comprised in the Mackenzie system ; in the Saskatchewan system ; and in the Pacific coast system. Food fishes of the most delicate flavour are simply innumerable. The whitefish, the salmon trout, the sturgeon, the pickerel, the pike, the black bass, the perch, the carp, abound in Ontario waters, and most of them are also found in those of Manitoba and the North-West in much the same measure. In British Columbia the staple is, of course, salmon, with a somewhat decaying seal fishery and undeveloped resources in whitefish, trout, etc. The following table gives the official and specific production of Canada in 1896, though as regards the fresh-water lakes of the country the figures, as already indicated, must be greatly understated :

Kinds of Fish.	Quantity.	Value.
Cod . . . . . Cwt.	809,608	\$3,610,935
Herring, pickled . . . . . Brls.	490,171	2,183,559
" smoked . . . . . Lbs.	10,980,430	221,292
" frozen, fresh . . . . . "	22,289,796	504,893
Lobsters, preserved in cans. "	10,906,638	1,526,928
" in shell, alive, etc. Tons	8,988	678,834
Salmon, pickled . . . . . Brls.	3,186	36,498
" fresh . . . . . Lbs.	5,439,942	965,029
" preserved in cans. "	29,872,740	2,988,258
" smoked . . . . . "	49,133	11,894
Mackerel, fresh and pre- served . . . . . "	2,427,972	199,033
Mackerel, pickled . . . . . Brls.	37,765	528,710
Haddock . . . . . Cwt.	125,122	421,204
Hake . . . . . "	94,808	241,687
Pollock . . . . . "	88,781	221,118
Trout . . . . . Lbs.	6,950,986	690,699
" pickled . . . . . Brls.	2,275	22,750
Whitefish . . . . . Lbs.	13,374,000	773,345
Smelts . . . . . "	9,970,805	498,539
Sardines . . . . . Brls.	86,981	176,414
" preserved . . . . . Cans	576,700	28,835
Oysters . . . . . Brls.	48,574	194,296
Hake sounds . . . . . Lbs.	69,867	34,933
Cod tongue and sounds . . . Brls.	845	8,450
Alewives . . . . . "	52,616	209,194
Shad, pickled . . . . . "	8,586	87,370
Eels, " . . . . . "	7,333	70,690
" fresh . . . . . Lbs.	1,037,535	62,252
Halibut . . . . . "	3,672,625	253,435

Kinds of Fish.	Quantity.	Value.
Sturgeon . . . . . "	2,403,801	152,757
Maskinonge . . . . . "	807,950	48,477
Bass . . . . . "	1,294,590	94,442
Pickerel . . . . . "	6,897,810	274,931
Winninich . . . . . "	90,000	5,400
Pike . . . . . "	3,594,799	99,008
Tom cod or frost fish . . . . . "	2,657,465	137,832
Flounders . . . . . "	189,159	9,613
Squid . . . . . Brls.	24,500	98,000
Oulachans . . . . . Lbs.	581,500	29,550
Clams . . . . . Brls.	19,791	70,960
Fur Seal-skins in British Columbia . . . . . No.	55,677	501,093
Hair Seal-skins . . . . . "	16,808	19,157
Sea otter-skins . . . . . "	23	4,025
Beluga skins (white whale). "	222	5,328
Fish oils . . . . . Gals.	557,140	224,633
Haddock, smoked (finnan haddies) . . . . . Lbs.	1,116,000	72,180
Perch . . . . . "	1,333,550	38,840
Coarse and mixed fish . . . Brls.	104,832	284,639
Fish used as bait . . . . . "	256,146	384,219
" manure . . . . . "	127,658	63,830
Guano . . . . . Tons	3,416	49,540
Home consumption not in- cluded in returns . . . . . Lbs.	1,894,856	287,896
Total . . . . .		\$20,407,424

In British Columbia the salmon is a great economic factor. The Fraser River is the chief seat of the industry, the sockeye salmon being the favourite variety and its numbers prodigious in the season, which lasts through July and August. Next come the cohoes (in September). The spring salmon is plentiful on the coast from November to April. At the mouth of the Fraser as many as 2,000 boats may be seen fishing at one time and in big runs they will average 100 to 500 fish each in a night. Forty-two canneries were situated on this river in 1896 and 20 upon the others, including the Naas and Skeena Rivers, Rivers' Inlet, etc. The industry began in 1876 with a pack of about 10,000 cases (48 lbs. to a case), and has increased until, in 1897, the production was estimated at 1,000,000 cases valued at \$4,000,000. The following table from official sources gives the total value of the fish product of British Columbia in 1896 and from 1876 to 1896 :

Kinds,	1896.	Total Values from 1876 to 1896 inclusive.
Salmon in cans .. .. .	\$2,985,304.00	\$28,873,083.90
Salmon, fresh and smoked	127,094.00	2,915,131.60
Salmon, salted .. . . .	24,130 00	699,326.00
Herring, all kinds .. . . .	12,835.00	212,554.00
Trout .. . . . . . . . . .	6,450.00	70,623.00
Sturgeon .. . . . . . . . . .	19,025.00	240,650.30
Halibut .. . . . . . . . . .	227,655.00	799,762 00
Oulachans .. . . . . . . . . .	29,550.00	192,301.00
Oysters .. . . . . . . . . .	34,630.00	61,750.00
Clams .. . . . . . . . . .		85,349.00
Crabs and Prawns ... )		199,920.00
Smelts .. . . . . . . . . . .	2,750.00	35,115.00
Skil .. . . . . . . . . . . . . . .		35,642.00
Tooshqua .. . . . . . . . . . .		72,157.00
Cod .. . . . . . . . . . . . . . .	15,060.00	103,991.00
Fur Seal Skins .. . . . . . . . . .	556,770.00	7,300,299.00
Sea Otter Skins .. . . . . . . . . .	1,500.00	92,175.00
Assorted or mixed fish .. . . . . .	21,270.00	298,604.50
Fish Oils .. . . . . . . . . . . . . .		1,164,718.00
Fish products .. . . . . . . . . . .	834.00	298,921.50
Fish for home consumpt'n	250,000.00	2,160,612.50
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$4,314,857.00	\$45,912,686.30

The seal fisheries are a famous and historical feature of British Columbian industry. There were in 1895 some 14,120 Canadians engaged in sealing, with sixty-one vessels and 638 boats and canoes, valued at \$421,425. The product, as above stated, was \$7,300,000 during a term of twenty years. Had it not been for the harassments of American warships, and the bitter competition of the Alaskan Company, the total would have been infinitely greater, the profits large, and

the industry itself in no more danger of extinction than it is now at the hands of the American seal hunters. It may be added that the total capital invested in British Columbia fisheries was \$2,085,435 in 1895, which two years later had risen to \$2,780,580. Away in the most northern part of the Dominion—bordering on the shores of Hudson's Bay and the Arctic Ocean—are the richest whaling grounds in the world, and the last home of the leviathans. Walrus, sea-trout, the inconnu (a large river whitefish), pike, sturgeon, and others also abound in these waters, or in the rivers running into them.

To sum up, Canada has fisheries whose estimated annual production is now \$30,000,000 as against \$150,000 in 1850, \$11,000,000 in 1876 and \$18,000,000 in 1886. They are controlled by a Government Department which makes regulations for close seasons; for fishing licenses; for the prohibition of obstructions, pollutions, etc.; and for artificial fish culture in order to introduce fry into new waters or for supplementing production in old fishing grounds. These operations cost some \$35,000 a year and in 1895 300,000,000 of the fry of the lobster, salmon, lake trout and whitefish were hatched and shipped under the directions of the Department. It may be said in conclusion that Canadian resources in salmon, lobsters, oysters, and the best fresh-water fish are simply beyond calculation. The resulting development must be more and more extensive as the years go by until our fisheries take their full and rightful place with the forests and farms of the Dominion.





CANADIAN SCENERY—JARVIS STREET, TORONTO.



**Agricultural Implement Industry—Editor's Note.** In no branch of Canadian industry has there been such marked development as in that of making implements and machinery for the farm. From the days of sickles and scythes and cradles to those of reapers, mowers and harvesters there is a considerable stretch of slow evolution—and amongst the pioneers of our Canadian fields the earliest implements used were of the most simple and crude character. The first important changes upon this continent came in the United States where, over a term of years, McCormick, Miller, Whiteley, Wood, Deering and others introduced a variety of successive and successful improvements. In England Hornsby, Nicholson and others followed suit.

Canadian progress in this direction owes its first impetus and its greatest development to the late Hart A. Massey, of Toronto. His father, Daniel Massey, imported about 1830 for his farm one of the first threshing machines used in what is now the Dominion, and in 1847, under pressure from his son, established a foundry and machine shop at Newcastle, Upper Canada, which in time developed into the Massey-Harris Company of present-day fame. Mr. H. A. Massey at an early date took the management of the business and soon acquired complete control. In 1852 he commenced to manufacture the Ketchum Mower and the Burrell Reaper; in 1856 a combined reaper and mower; in 1862 Wood's Mower; and in 1863, for the first time in Canada, a self-rake reaper. The concern moved to Toronto in 1870 and there rapidly grew in the volume of its operations until, as the Massey-Harris Company, Limited, it has done for some time past the largest business of its kind under the British flag. The present Company was incorporated in 1891, with its head office at Toronto and was formed by the amalgamation of the following Companies: The Massey Manufacturing Company, of Toronto; Massey & Company, Limited, of Winnipeg; A. Harris, Son & Company, Limited, of Brantford, Ontario; The Patterson & Brother Co., Limited, of Woodstock, Ontario; and J. O. Wisner, Son & Company, Limited, of Brantford, Ontario. The capital stock is five millions of dollars (1899) fully paid up. This Company manufactures all kinds of cultivating, seeding, hay-making and harvesting

machinery and bicycles. It has two factories, one at Toronto and the other at Brantford, and employs about 2,500 men. It has branch houses in Winnipeg, Montreal, St. John, N.B., London, England, and Melbourne, Australia, together with agencies and distributing warehouses in all parts of the civilized world—excepting the United States. To give some idea of the extent of its business and the bearing this has on the general prosperity of the country the following figures, showing some of the approximate annual requirements of the Company, may be given:

Iron melted, about .....	10,000 tons
Malleable iron used, about .....	3,000 "
Steel and iron bars used, about.....	12,000 "
Nails, nuts, pipes, &c., about .....	800 "
Fuel—coke and coal, about .....	3,500 "
" oil, about .....	200,000 gals.
Lubricating oil, about .....	12,000 "
Cotton duck, about.....	200,000 yards
Lumber, about .....	12,000,000 feet

Affiliated with the Massey-Harris Company are the Verity Plow Company, Limited, of Brantford, Ontario, manufacturers of all kinds and descriptions of plows, etc., and the Bain Waggon Company, Limited, of Woodstock, Ontario, manufacturers of waggons, carts and sleighs. The Company is also largely concerned in the sale and distribution of the goods turned out by Sawyer & Massey Company, Limited, of Hamilton, Ontario, manufacturers of threshing machines, engines, and road machinery. There are a number of other more or less important firms engaged in this business in Canada and including the making of windmills, threshing-machines, stump lifters, etc.,—not only for the home market, but for outside countries. But, in comparison, their output is small.

The Canadian exports of agricultural implements in 1887 amounted in value to \$16,658, and in 1897 to \$593,464. The imports were \$149,877 in 1887, and \$446,070 in 1897. These figures of export are, however, very partial. Large quantities of manufactured product go in bond by way of New York or San Francisco, and never appear in Canadian tables of export. Of the progress of the industry generally the following table, compiled from the respective Census returns, speaks much more adequately:

Year.	No.	Hands employed.				Yearly Wages.	Value of Raw Material.	Value of Articles.
		Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.			
1871	252	2,300	25	131	\$ 856,084	\$ 889,817	\$2,685,303	
1881	231	3,489	16	111	1,211,279	1,839,147	4,495,307	
1891	221	4,372	11	160	1,812,650	3,126,966	7,193,621	

Writing in 1889, Mr. E. B. Biggar, who had studied the matter with some fulness, estimated the capital engaged in this business in Canada as being about \$10,000,000. The Census for 1891 placed the fixed capital engaged in the industry at \$345,948 in land, \$980,935 in buildings, \$933,216 in machinery, etc., and gave the working capital as \$6,364,704.

**Miscellaneous Canadian Industries—Editor's Note.** The returns of the Census of 1891 show 75,741 industrial establishments in Canada, an invested capital of \$345,526,259, employing 370,104 hands, distributing to wage-earners \$100,656,502 a year, and producing articles valued at \$476,183,356. The following tables indicate the growth of industrial activity between the Census years 1881 and 1891. Exception has been taken to some of the productions included as not being distinctively manufacturing industries, but they are given here in accordance with the Census returns :

TABLE NO. 1, 1881.

Industry.	No. of Establishments.	Capital.	No. of Employes.	Wages.	Value of Output.
Arms and Ammunition.....	41	\$ 189,650	146	\$ 62,817	\$ 39,755
Books and Stationery.....	489	5,619,810	6,975	2,256,055	6,792,830
Carriages, etc.....	3,168	5,113,893	11,939	3,583,327	1,588,817
Chemicals.....	350	1,385,819	981	324,193	2,452,771
Drinks and Stimulants.....	538	10,236,321	7,294	2,044,832	20,975,366
Fibrous Material.....	60	962,550	1,385	263,925	1,258,472
Foods—Vegetable.....	3,959	17,803,422	19,117	3,810,662	54,282,110
Foods—Animal.....	483	2,568,129	3,176	622,111	9,890,065
Furniture, Houses and Buildings.....	3,095	7,504,998	12,809	3,423,150	13,777,335
Gold and Silver.....	359	668,616	918	304,942	1,175,591
Leather, Boots and Shoes.....	6,813	11,324,034	27,513	6,722,730	36,505,272

INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS IN CANADA (1891).

Provinces.	No. of Establishments.	Fixed Capital.				Hands Employed.				Total Amount paid in wages during the year.	Total value of raw material.	Total value of articles produced.
		In Land.		In Buildings.		Over 16 years.		Under 16 years.				
		In Land.	In Buildings.	In Machinery and Tools.	Working Capital.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.			
British Columbia .....	770	\$ 2,153,106	\$ 1,836,650	\$3,255,996	\$ 7,157,732	9,615	1,331	491	157	\$ 3,581,887	\$ 5,119,258	\$ 11,999,928
Manitoba.....	1,031	38,214	912,431	1,829,726	2,561,836	3,729	31	102	31	1,905,921	5,688,151	10,157,152
New Brunswick.....	5,429	9,919,906	3,404,732	5,630,599	5,894,618	25,713	4,750	1,811	563	5,970,914	12,501,453	23,849,655
Nova Scotia.....	1,496	1,655,362	4,072,736	5,003,919	9,089,710	19,534	6,566	2,049	625	7,240,611	16,099,209	31,043,322
Ontario.....	32,150	15,548,335	27,693,211	38,361,178	91,129,789	123,137	32,735	7,972	2,482	49,752,759	128,149,391	239,806,166
P. E. Island.....	2,679	2,686,868	199,443	673,598	1,541,054	5,765	1,349	643	192	1,101,620	2,092,067	4,345,910
Quebec.....	23,011	10,410,687	21,686,551	26,281,035	59,763,556	84,839	22,871	6,517	3,007	30,672,547	85,564,579	154,155,813
Territories.....	375	108,659	228,506	333,316	1,042,677	921	59	31	3	425,153	845,017	1,827,310
<b>Canada.....</b>	<b>75,911</b>	<b>31,455,358</b>	<b>60,325,583</b>	<b>81,373,337</b>	<b>181,371,981</b>	<b>273,327</b>	<b>70,156</b>	<b>19,556</b>	<b>7,065</b>	<b>100,656,132</b>	<b>256,060,115</b>	<b>476,183,356</b>

Lighting.....	108	7,874,037	2,169	611,769	5,543,616
Machines, Tools and Imple- ments.....	10,116	27,169,013	37,271	11,067,787	36,654,169
Matters—Animal.....	193	1,115,123	1,552	308,912	2,004,274
Matters—Vegetable.....	11,102	34,237,136	69,351	11,989,299	53,524,813
Mathematical Instruments, etc.....	10	81,900	71	23,180	66,206
Musical Instruments.....	41	609,379	911	417,833	1,220,135
Ships and Boats.....	530	2,899,752	5,271	1,339,956	4,319,070
Stone, Clay and Glass.....	989	2,539,317	7,726	1,752,005	4,690,297
Textile Fabrics and Dress.....	6,265	20,298,835	41,337	7,716,226	40,763,843
Miscellaneous.....	297	959,781	1,839	385,533	1,705,067

TABLE NO. 2, 1891.

Industry.	No. of Establishments.	Capital.	No. of Employes.	Wages.	Value of Output.
Arms and Ammunition.....	54	\$ 1,167,011	495	\$ 175,394	\$ 1,105,305
Books and Stationery.....	723	10,540,431	9,906	3,875,533	10,553,457
Carriages, etc.....	3,384	10,918,285	14,462	5,369,946	19,711,581
Chemicals.....	733	4,138,177	2,895	981,628	5,505,419
Drinks and Stimulants.....	569	27,439,074	10,938	3,612,212	33,729,896
Fibrous Material.....	248	3,235,325	2,861	627,352	3,148,971
Foods—Vegetable.....	4,633	31,442,765	16,573	5,009,553	69,806,988
Foods—Animal.....	7,280	11,339,570	34,622	3,406,339	25,864,305
Furniture, Houses and Buildings.....	3,738	18,212,155	19,183	6,514,756	25,009,381
Gold and Silver.....	691	2,487,131	1,923	780,332	3,099,501
Leather, Boots and Shoes.....	7,773	18,801,585	23,699	7,574,770	35,193,982
Lighting.....	225	21,324,214	3,892	1,293,165	7,475,821
Machines, Tools and Imple- ments.....	12,641	55,684,129	43,422	17,815,445	62,016,173
Matters—Animal.....	255	1,639,737	1,516	524,836	3,379,331
Matters—Vegetable.....	11,715	78,386,050	83,262	21,374,061	84,548,742
Mathematical Instruments, etc.....	18	47,555	52	19,410	74,975
Musical Instruments.....	92	2,389,633	2,204	973,223	3,339,213
Ships and Boats.....	664	2,555,951	4,145	1,213,122	3,712,462
Stone, Clay and Glass.....	1,314	8,362,255	12,406	3,580,620	10,221,207
Textile Fabrics and Dress.....	15,458	43,056,149	71,847	15,547,726	67,172,034
Miscellaneous.....	487	9,820,204	1,493	318,433	1,169,117

It may be added that during these ten years the number of establishments increased 25,000 in round numbers; the capital by \$190,000,000; the number of employes, 116,000; the wages paid, \$40,000,000; the value of total output, \$16,000,000. The table which follows gives the position of industrial activity in each of the Provinces as shown by the Census of 1891, and its careful revision by the Dominion Statistician for the Government Year Book of 1893 explains a slight discrepancy between the totals given below and those which appear on page 481.

SOME REPRESENTATIVE CANADIAN  
MANUFACTURERS.

**Ezra Butler Eddy** is the son of the late Samuel Eddy, whose ancestors came originally from Scotland, by his wife, Clarissa Eastman, a direct descendant of Miles Standish. Born on his father's farm near Bristol, Vermont, U.S., August 22nd, 1827, he was educated at the District School, and commenced his business career in New York City. Removing to Burlington, Vermont, he embarked in the manufacture of friction matches, 1851. In 1854 he came to Hull, P.Q., where he erected extensive shops and warehouses and became the largest manufacturer of matches in the British Provinces. In 1856 he added to his business the manufacture of wooden-ware, and more recently (1892) the manufacture of paper. His combined establishment is now among the very largest and most flourishing in the world, and furnishes employment to over 2,000 hands. In 1886 Mr. Eddy found it desirable to form a joint stock company, since which time the various branches of his business have been carried on under the name of "The E. B. Eddy Company," of which organization he is the President. Mr. Eddy sat for Ottawa County in the Legislature, 1871-1875. He has also been Mayor of Hull, and has held high rank in the Masonic Order.

**Andrew Frederick Gault** was born at Strabane, Ireland, in 1833. He accompanied his parents to Canada in early life, and was educated at the Montreal High School. Turning his attention to commerce, he obtained his business training in the dry-goods firm of which the late Walter McFarlane was the head. In 1853 he established the wholesale dry-goods house of Gault, Stevenson & Co., his partner being the late J. B. Stevenson. This partnership was dissolved in 1857, when Mr. Stevenson retired. His brother, the late Robert L. Gault, then became associated with him in the business, and the firm of Gault Bros. and Co., which still exists, was founded. Mr. Gault has been for many years interested in the manufacture of cotton and woollen goods, and, since the adoption of the "National Policy" in 1878, has been

popularly called "The Cotton King of Canada". He is President of the Montreal Cotton Company, of the Globe Woollen Mills Company, of the Campbellford Woollen Mills Company, of the Dominion Cotton Mills Company, and of the Canada Coloured Cotton Mills Company. A prominent member of the Montreal Board of Trade, he is also a Director of the Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company, of the Royal Victoria Life Assurance Company and of the Bank of Montreal, and Vice-President of the Manufacturers Life Insurance Company.

**William Watson Ogilvie** was born at Coté St. Michel, Montreal, February 14, 1835. Educated at the Montreal High School, he, in 1860, entered into partnership with his brothers Alexander and John as grain merchants and proprietors of the Glenora Flour Mills, on the Lachine Canal. Subsequently they built mills at Goderich, Seaforth and Winnipeg, and more recently a second mill in Montreal, known as the Royal Mills. After the retirement of his elder brother in 1874, and the death of his brother John in 1888, the entire business fell into the hands of Mr. W. W. Ogilvie. The present (1898) combined output of his mills is estimated at 8,200 barrels of flour daily, made from 35,000 bushels of wheat, which is supplied from his own elevators in Ontario, Manitoba and the North-West Territory. Mr. Ogilvie was the pioneer wheat-buyer in Manitoba. He possesses a thorough knowledge of wheat, wheat-lands and the production of flour, and he was, according to Mr. Henry J. Morgan's *Canadian Men of the Time*, the first to put into operation in Canada the roller milling process, as well as many other of the latest methods of invention in flour-making. He was on the Directorate of the old Dominion Board of Trade; has served both on the Council and on the Board of Arbitration of the Montreal Board of Trade, and was President of that body, 1893-4; has been a Harbour Commissioner, and was for one or two terms President of the Corn Exchange.

**Edward Wilkes Rathbun** is the eldest son of the late Hugo B. Rathbun, founder of Deseronto, Ontario. Born at Auburn, New York, he gained his business training in the house of Storm,

Smith & Company, East India merchants of that city. In 1861 he joined his father, who had been carrying on lumber operations at Deseronto. He took charge of the business under the firm name of H. B. Rathbun & Company, which, in 1883, by Act of Parliament, became "The Rathbun Company." Of this Company he is President. He is also President of the Bay of Quinte Railway Company, and has been Mayor of Deseronto. The Rathbun Company, under his management, has become a pioneer in many industrial enterprises in Canada, including the roller process flour mill. In 1897 he was included in the Royal Commission appointed to examine and report upon the forests of Canada.

**Alexander Gibson** was born at St. Andrew's, N.B., of Irish parents in May, 1819. Commencing life a poor boy, he found employment in the lumber regions of his native Province. Advancing step by step, as a successful man of business, he became lessee of what was then the finest and fastest mill in the Province. It was situated at Lepreaux, and was owned by the late William K. Reynolds, St. John, N.B. Subsequently, about 1864, he acquired the lumber establishment of Rankine, Ferguson & Co., on the Nashwaak, about two miles from Fredericton, which had fallen into decay. He at once began a series of improvements which have since excited the wonder and admiration of every visitor. The place

is now called Marysville, and here Mr. Gibson has established saw-mills for large and small lumber, cotton mills, brick yards, tanneries, etc. In addition he employs in the woods about 1,000 men with 12,000 horses, for the purpose of getting out lumber. He is an extensive shipper to Europe, the lumber thus exported amounting to a very large amount annually. Locally he is known as the "King of Nashwaak." Within the past two years, by the purchase of property at Blackville, he has extended his lumber operations to Miramichi, and begun the development of a new business in that region. His cotton mill at Marysville is regarded as the largest in Canada, and employs 700 hands. Mr. Gibson has likewise acquired fame in other fields. While attending to his regular business he found time, some years ago, to build the North-western Railway, running across the country to Miramichi, and in its course opening up immense tracts of valuable timber lands and promoting settlement everywhere. This road he still owns. He was also instrumental in securing the construction of the New Brunswick Railway to Edmunston. Mr. Gibson is regarded as one of the wealthiest men in Canada. In 1897, owing to the great increase in his business, which made it impossible for one man to attend properly to all its complicated details, his large properties passed into the hands of a Company, of which he is the President and Manager.

# GENERAL INDEX

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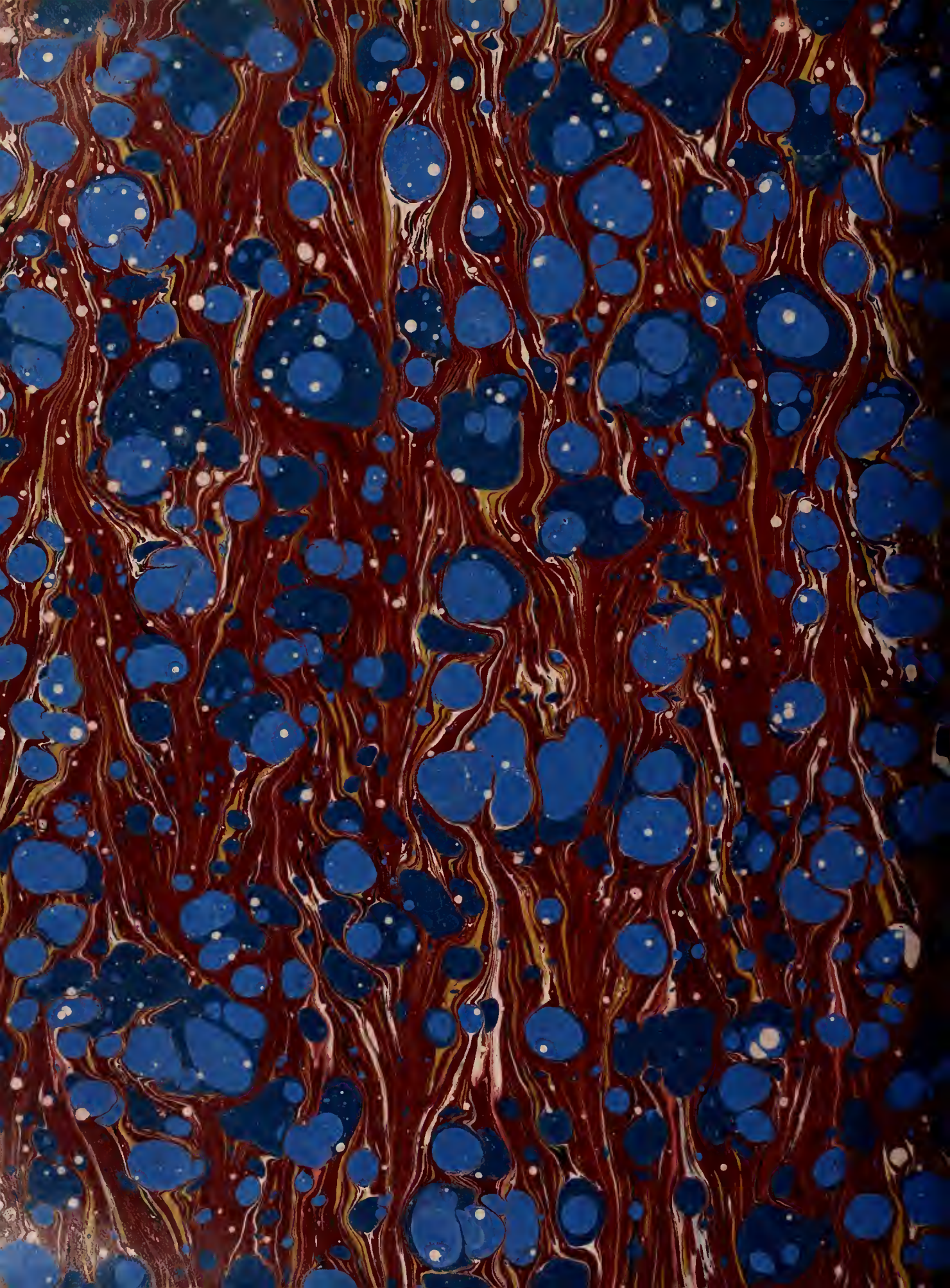












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